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

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BEREA TO SELL 50 SCHOLARSHIPS TO BFRAL (1869)

Prudential Committee Minutes, Berea College, Dec 6, 1869

"Voted to sell to the B.R.F. & A. Lands fifty scholarships giving 4 years tuition to the holder in any Department of B.C. for the sum of $30 each according to the terms agreed upon by Bros. Fee & Fairchild with Co. B. F. Runkle."

BEREA ACCEPTED DONATION FROM AVERY FUND FOR BLACKS (1866)

Trustees Minutes, Berea College, July 23, 1866

p 50/ Accepted donations from the executors of Charles Avery and established an Avery fund for "the education and elevation of the colored race."
Prescribed, that John C. Fee in his trip to Camp Nelson next week and on his return ascertain whether so many as six colored preachers can be induced to come to Berea to form a class and be educated in such branches and by such lectures as will qualify them for a useful ministry—said class to commence in the middle of Jan., 1866, and continue from six to eight weeks, and to report to the Com. on his return.

"If such number can be obtained, he is authorized as Pres. of the Board, to lay the claim of the institution before the Freedmen's Aid Soc. of Cincinnati, C., and secure if possible as much as $300 for the purpose of filling up a house &c. for said colored preachers accommodation."

B. MITCHELL'S SCHOOL REPORT, LEXINGTON, FEB-MAR 1866

"Teachers' Monthly Report," AmA Free Sch, Lex, Feb 8-Mar 8, 1866

78—average daily attend.
29—neither tardy nor absent
38—males
57—females
All but 2 students ages 6 to 16
15 students in her night school
"I do not feel able to buy books" for singing lessons.
G. S. Pope in Lou to E. M. Cravath, Sept 15, 1870, ama, arc, roll 3, 44637

Pope has just arrived in town; he looked over the school and grounds. "I am very much surprised to find so little blackboard in the school house. There is only about enough in each room for two scholars to work upon at the same time, and they are not fit for boards for the wall is so very rough that it is almost impossible to use it. ... The seats in what has been the Fifth Reader room are very unsuitable. They need repairing, being made lower, and must be all fastened down again unless they are replaced by good ones. They are all attached together, that is all in each row of desks; and when one scholar moves, he disturbs all others sitting in the same row. This is a continual annoyance especially when the school is writing or drawing maps &c. One or two of the primary rooms are furnished with the same kind of seats, but they are shorter and lower and so can be made firmer. ..."

fee to geo whipple, dec 12, 1866, ama, arc (roll 3, 44388)

"Gen. Ely does not like Bro. Schofield & 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 proffits."
There were present this morning near two hundred pupils. We expect during the term at least one hundred more. A large amount of this increase is possibly attributable to the mustering out of the 114th cold, infty. Less than two years since the introduction of colored pupils we found the school suddenly reduced to the number of thirteen. Many of those who suddenly left came back. During the last term the school was about equally divided colored & white. Though there is yet in the state much prejudice against impartial education, yet in many instances this is going away."

"Whatever our politicians & office holders may do for party & office, there are very many of the 'people' who feel that liberty to all as a fixed fact, and that it is the part of good sense to address themselves to the existing state of affairs and encourage the elevation and well being of all."

"Gens. Howard has endorsed our work by turning over some seven thousand dollars."

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REV MONROE COMMENTS ON SCHOOL IN LEX (1865)

Jas Monroe to E. P. Smith, Nov 18, 1865, AMA, ARC Roll 3, No 44257

the teacher you sent me from anville. Va is here teaching a small school of some 50 or 60 scollars. [sic.] This is as many as we had room for at present nor are we trying to get a room large enough for our purposes. We can collect not less 2 or 3 hundred children."

"Can you help the school to any books or clothes or shoes or anything that will be use to the school will be thankfully received. Forwarded to the care of J. J. Monroe, Pastors of the 1st Baptist Church, Lexington. Y. . . ."

C. B. Mitchell.
WHITE REPUBLICANS OBJECT TO RUNNING BLACKS FOR OFFICE

The New York Globe, Sept 29, 1883 (from Eugene Evans)

"Lexington, Ky, Sept 22.--The great trouble with the white Republicans of this State is to frame a lawful excuse for the 16,202 white voters, that scratched Mr. Asbury, the colored candidate /sic/ on the State Republican ticket. The Louisville Tribune, the leading Republican paper of the State, thinks that this is a lesson to the white Republicans, and that they won't try the experiment of running a colored man on the ticket again. Some of the leading white Republicans in the State are of the opinion that the sooner the colored voters leave the old party the better. They claim that white Democrats, who have become tired of the old Democratic ship, will never leave while the Republican ship keeps on board so many colored voters. But some of the shrewd Republicans /sic/ leaders of the State are not willing to lighten the old ship of the 50,000 colored voters for uncertain Democratic votes. But the intelligent colored people expect to fight it out, if takes all winter. The end is not yet."

BLACKS VOTE FOR WHITE JUDGE FOR LEGISLATURE WHO HAD VOTED FOR EQUAL

The New York Globe, Sept 29, 1883 (from Eugene Evans)

"Over 800 colored men voted for Judge Mulligan, the Democratic candidate for Legislature, at the last election. Mr. Mulligan is the author of the late school bill, allowing an equal distribution of the school fund to colored and white alike in this State. Mr. Mulligan, notwithstanding he is a Democrat, has proven himself to be a strong friend to the colored people of this State."
"The Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Fair held its 15th annual fair one mile from Lexington, four days last week. The fair was largely attended and was a success financially."

"The Ladies College Society is holding its first annual meeting in Louisville, this week. The object of the society is to raise money to pay off the debt of the Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute, at Louisville. It is the outgrowth of the productive brain of Prof. Wm. J. Simmons, A.M., president of the institute and the able editor of the American Baptist."
National Colored Convention Held in Louisville, Sept 1883

The New York Globe, Sept 29, 1883 (reported by "Junius")

Dateline, Louisville Ky, Sept 25, "Special Correspondence of The Globe" Convention called by Fred. Douglass; convened Monday, Sept 24, 1883, at Liederkranz Hall in Louisville.

"No convention held since the emancipation of the colored race gave rise to such general feeling of interest and was considered of greater National significance as regards the colored citizen. Assembling in this convention the Negro was for the first time in the history of his race looked upon as a full citizen demanding rights equally with his fellow white citizens; and receiving recognition and a respectful hearing from all quarters. Much of this your correspondent attributes to the teachings of The New York Globe. The spirit of independence was evident in all the proceedings of the Convention, but chiefly among the young colored men."

"At 12 noon the meeting of the Convention was announced by excellent music as discoursed by the Silver Cornet Band of this city. Mr Milton M. Holland, chairman of the Washington Committee, declared the Convention assembled and requested Prof James M. Groegory, of Howard University, to read the call for the Convention, which was done. Rev D. W. Arnet opened the Convention in prayer, which for fervor of spirit, chastness in language and the rhetoric of style, we have seldom heard surpassed."

"The Convention then went into election for temporary chairman. Judge Dumont placed in nomination Rev A. M. Green, of Louisiana, and spoke eloquently of his nominee. Hon D. A. Straker of South Carolina placed in nomination the Hon Fred Douglass." Straker withdrew his nomination of Douglass at the insistance of Douglass people who wanted him to be permanent chairman. There were several other nominees, including Dr. Fitzbutler of

National Colored Convention Held in Louisville, Sept 1883

The New York Globe, Sept 29, 1883 (reported by Junius)

Louisville. Rev. A. M. Green elected temporary chairman. "... Green ascended the platform, assumed the gavel and delivered a most forcible and eloquent speech, reciting the oppression of the Negro race, the wrongs perpetrated against them, and the general denial of their social and civil rights." Green's speech was so good that many wanted him for permanent chairman, but he didn't get it. A credential committee established. At the evening meeting the delegations from Pa and Ky were contested were declared settled. Judge Dumont of La nominated Frederick Douglass for permanent presiding officer. "His nomination gave rise to great commotion and angry feeling. It soon became evident that Mr Douglass was not the unanimous choice of the convention by a great deal. It became evident that it was regarded that the principles set forth in the call for this National Convention of colored men could not be best represented by Mr Mr /sic/ Douglass, and as a result of this feeling Hon D. A. Straker of South Carolina, was put in nomination by Mr Young, of Tennessee, who made the ablest speech yet delivered in the convention, some of which I shall relate in my next. Mr Straker's nomination was seconded by Hon Geo W. Williams, the Negro historian, in one of his masterly speeches. He showed that Mr Straker, by his scholarly talent, his sufferings in the South, his prominence there and his complete acquaintance with the vexed difficulties in the Negro question, "et" And this was done with no "disrespect to Mr Douglass." End of report.
Dr. H. Fitzbutler delivered the welcome to the delegates. Douglass spoke, and when it was learned that Lincoln's Atty Gen, James Speed, was in the audience, he was invited to the stage. A cleveland reporter called Douglass' speech "'the grandest effort ever made by a colored American.'" The article continued with topics: "Mr Douglass's Address," then "Opponents of the Convention Answered," "The Labor Question," "Education," "The Freedman's Bank," "Civil Rights," "Political Equality," "Political Ambition," topics of Douglass' speech. They then presented some statements representing the views of the convention. 1) rejoice over emancipation, 2) They appreciate the laws passed by Congress to aid blacks, 3) "We do not ask any more class legislation; we have had enough of this. But we do believe that many of the laws intended to secure us our rights as citizens are nothing more than dead letters." Especially was this so in the Southern states. 4) "We regard the labor question, education and sound moral training paramount to all other questions. We believe that the question, especially in the South, needs recasting. The plantation credit mortgage system should be abolished; honest labor should be remunerated." 5) "We believe in a broad, comprehensive system looking toward the education of the young colored girls, so that they may become intelligent and faithful women, and the young colored boys may learn the trades, and become useful men and good citizens. Religious and moral training of the youth of our race should not be neglected. The hope of every people is their adherence to sound sociological and ethical principles. The moral element in character is of greater value than wealth or education, and this must be fostered by the family and encouraged by the pulpit." 6) They lamented the failure of the Freedmen's Savings Bank.

7) "The distinction made between the white and colored troops in the regular army is un-American, unjust and ungrateful." 8) not clear 9) Supported the effort at freedom of Irishmen. 10) "We earnestly desire the abolition of the chain-gang convict system and the admission to the trades unions of men of our race, and employment in commercial pursuits." 11) "In nearly every State in the Union, both North and South, the people of our race are not allowed to enter freely into the trades, or to gain employment in the higher walks of life. This is unworthy of our institutions and hurtful to the reputation of our country at home and abroad." They printed 5,000 copies of the proceedings. Thanked the Courier-Journal for the impartial way in which it reported the convention.
"Louisville, Ky., April 9. --The Bulletin, our sister journal, bids us farewell forever. There are over 25,000 colored people in Louisville who could easily take care of two dailies and a weekly. But I must confess, that it is a hard matter to get our people to support an organ of their own, but if you go in every other house you can find one of the white papers. When the question is asked, 'Why don't you take one of the colored journals?' the answer is, 'We are not able.' That won't do for an answer;"
"Our colored citizens are expecting something good from Mayor Reed, so I am told, but THE FREEMAN could not find out what it was. THE FREEMAN will suggest that if Mr. Reed wants to be called the reform Mayor of Louisville, he must give us representation in the different positions that are in his gift. The colored people are like all other folks and we must grumble. We see all nationalities in your administration are represented except the colored citizens, give us a few firemen, policemen and you can have the janitorship for an exchange."

The citizens of this city have formed a league. This organization held its inaugural meeting at Masonic Temple Theatre, Friday night, May 1. It was the largest mass meeting THE FREEMAN man every saw in Louisville. The people are determined that laws must be improved, and taxes diminished. They have put a legislative ticket in the field who have pledged themselves to give us an honest State government. They also intend to nominate a municipal slate for all the officers held here. This is the movement that should have taken place ten years ago, and then may be the colored citizens would have had civil rights in Kentucky. Now honest citizens, if you practice what you preach, pledge yourselves, and instruct your legislators to do justice to all nationalities, by passing a civil rights bill next session. Let us hear from you on this question before the election, if you want our votes."
FORMER BLACK SOLDIERS BARRED FROM CELEBRATION OF GRANT' BIRTHDAY

The New York Freeman, May 9, 1885

"The white soldiers who wore the blue, cater to the prejudice of those who wore the gray by drawing a color line on 88,000 colored soldiers. The white soldiers were under the leadership of Captain Silas F. Miller, Thomas Speed, Fishback, Col. R. M. Kelly, chief of the Pension Bureau at Louisville, and others who were the originators of this celebration. These so-called Republicans celebrated Gen. U. S. Grant's sixty-third anniversary in Masonic Temple Theater, Monday night, April 27. The celebration was a failure on the part of the whites but would have been a success if they had admitted the colored citizens who had come from the different parts of the State to take part in sending their sympathetic greetings to their hero. The colored visitors were ladies and gentlemen, and all ex-soldiers and their wives. The strangers were insulted by burly door-keepers, when they applied for admission to the celebration. One of the ladies told your correspondent that one of the ushers threatened to throw her down the stairs, if she kept protesting against going up into the gallery. This lady, I am told was the wife and widow of Charles Brown of Nelson County. He was killed in one of the battles fought in Virginia under the command of Gen. Grant and in a division that belonged to Gen. Benjamin F. Butler's corps. The question has arisen among the ex-soldiers will Gen. Grant accept this disgrace as a tribute? Will Gen. Grant allow those men to screen themselves behind his name, after such inhuman treatment to a dead soldier's wife who fell while bravely fighting? By request this question is asked by 5,000 colored ex-soldiers of Kentucky through THE FREEMAN correspondent at Louisville."

PROGRESS OF BLACKS: BUSINESSMEN & PROFESSIONALS IN LOU (1885)

The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885 (A May 5, 1885, letter from M. A. Norman, a recent-Feb- arrival in Lou)

Norman said he had only been in Lou since Feb, 1885. FURNITURE: "Jackson Burk & Sons have a store on Market street, where the most elegant and latest designs of household furniture are sold. Mr. James Tate carries on the same business a few doors above. He has a large double store, with entrance by two doors from the street. On the inside a wide arch opening is made, giving access to either side of the building without inconvenience. ... Moses Lawson carries on the same business adjoining Tate, though not on so large a scale." RUGS "Cain, Bazil & Sons, uptown on the same street are the largest colored dealers in carpets and upholstery. They have a fine store. All these are old business firms of fifteen or twenty years standing and are located centrally on one of the principal wholesale and retail business streets of the city. Their custom is principally from among the whites, although they receive to some extent patronage from the people of their own race."
"Kentucky Colored Lawyers.+
"How They are Treated at the Bar.+

"Louisville, Oct. 18.--A large crowd of people assembled at the court house Saturday morning, Oct. 17, to hear Mr. N. R. Harper, the colored attorney of this city, argue the point which he raised in the Circuit Court to squash the indictment against his client, W. Paul King, who is charged with the murder of Louis Young. Both are colored. It was a curious spectacle to see the prejudice that exists in the courts here. During the time Mr. Harper was delivering his argument he was interrupted five or six times by members of the bar, calling the judge's attention to something. Continual noise was kept up during the whole time of his speaking, which was very ungentlemanly. The commonwealth attorney argued against Mr. Harper's motion, asking the judge to overrule it. The judge requested Mr. Harper to file a brief."

"Convention To Be Held At Lexington.+
"Our Correspondent Urges the Establishment of Industrial Schools--An Important Trial.+

"Louisville, Oct. 24.--At this writing it seems to be a settled fact that we are to have a State Convention at Lexington, Ky., Nov. 26. I have no disposition to antagonize any movement intended to better the condition of the race, but I object to such gatherings as we have had in the past, at conventions held heretofore. Our programs were cut and dried affairs. I hope this will not be so at Lexington. I know of none ever held here by men, either white or colored, National or State, whose resolutions have been commented upon as the resolutions adopted at the late Lynchburg, Va., Convention of colored men. Both Democrats and Republicans conceded that it was an intelligent movement. The Lexington Convention, for the call, is of a different nature. I suggest that the delegates discuss all questions pertaining to us, such as labor, industry, education and civil rights. We should have an Industrial College in every State. State colleges of this kind could annually take in a great number of girls and boys, based upon population. They should be taken in upon an average percentage in competitive examinations. Each scholar could pay the expenses of their education by devoting three hours or four hours of the day to whatever industry the student had chosen. An Industrial College and civil rights are important questions to discuss."
The New York Freeman, Oct 31, 1885 (Lou Correspondent)

"Judge Jackson overruled Mr. N. R. Harper's motion to set aside the indictment against W. Paul King for the murder of Louis Young, on the ground that colored men were excluded from the grand and petty juries. The Judge held that there was no discrimination by the jury commissioners on the account of race or color. The Commissioners said in answer to questions asked by Mr. Harper, that there were no colored men's names put in the box. The reason they were not was because they did not know of any colored men who were qualified to sit upon the jury. Mr. Harper then referred them to the City Directory, saying that 28,000 colored citizens' names were inserted therein as colored men and women. The Commissioners hemmed and hawed before answering, but at last they said that they were not acquainted with them, but they did not neglect them on account of race or color. Yet these same Commissioners knew that the United States Court was in session here, and both grand and petty juries had colored men serving thereon. These Commissioners are old citizens, and I well know that they were acquainted with the Assessor's books."

HOD CARRIERS STILL ON STRIKE IN LOU (1886)

The New York Freeman, Aug 21, 1886

"The hod-carriers are still standing out on their demand for an increase of pay. They are determined to fight the bosses on these grounds if it takes all Summer. Though a few of their men have returned to the hodds, such desertions are not sufficient to weaken the order. There is about $1,250 in the treasury. A meeting will be held shortly to consider the disposition of this fund till the bosses can be whipped into compliance."

The Colored-Beat-Club-of-Louisville-is-the-first-of-its-kind-ever-
"The Colored Boat Club of Louisville is the first one of its kind ever organized in the United States. They will give their inaugural regatta Monday, August 23, at Arctic Springs. Everybody should attend this great boat race."

"Kentucky's Honor.+
"The city of Louisville, Kentucky, has crowned itself with glory by frustrating by prompt and determined measures the unholy purpose of an infuriated mob bent upon lynchingle two colored men charged with burglary and an assault upon a white servant-girl. An armed police and a Gatling-gun will always compel cowards who would outrage the majesty of the laws to let justice take its regular course. +
"The Louisville Sunday Argus traces the mob spirit to the 'incentiary talk so persistently argued and indulged in by the Courier-Journal and Evening Times, induced by the most impolitic and cowardly action of the chief of police in running away from a danger which did not exist.' Think of a great newspaper like the Courier-Journal lending itself to the excitation of mob violence! Surely a man of Mr. Watterson's National reputation cannot afford to have his name coupled to such an infamous business. When the great papers of the South shall insist as the Argus does that the law shall be allowed to take its course mob violence and infamy will be forced to hide their dirty head.+
"We commend the prompt and energetic measures taken by the Mayor of Louisville, and the prompt response of the Governor of Kentucky to the appeal of the Mayor for assistance to the cringing cowardice of the lawful authorities of the terror-ridden sections of South Carolina especially and other Southern States."
BLACK BARBER SHOPS IN LOU (1885); OTHER BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885

The barbershops are not only pleasant places for white and colored people, but they serve as places where the trade of a barber is done. The barbershops are well kept and the air is fresh. The customers are mainly white men.

Mr. Nelson Neal has a barbershop near the corner of Fifth Avenue and Queen Street. His shop is said to be the best in the city and is frequented by white and colored men. The barber is friendly and the shop is clean.

There are several other barbershops in the city, each with its own特色.

BLACK CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN LOU (1885); REPORTER QUESTIONS USE OF MONEY

The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885

There are several charitable institutions in the city, including the Odd Fellows, the Masons, and the Women's Auxiliary. These institutions are used to care for the sick and to bury the dead. They also help with funeral arrangements.

There is no end to charitable and benevolent societies: some of them have large sums of money in bank, the legitimate disbursement of which is caring for the sick and burying the dead. I am informed, however, that a large portion of it is expended in hall rents, brass bands and regalia. Disinterested people wonder why it is that these organizations have no halls or public buildings of any kind of their own and nothing to show for the hundreds and sometimes thousands of dollars passing through their hands annually. The inference is that it is squandered, misapplied and wasted. The Odd Fellows have a small property in the west end of the city, but it is claimed to be an inappropriate place for a public hall and has not been built upon.
DESCRIPTION OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS: THEIR MUSIC IN LOU (1885)

The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885 (from M. A. Norman)

The Colored Theological Seminary is a flourishing institution and has spacious grounds attached to the premises. This school is conducted by the colored Baptists of the State, with Prof. W. J. Simmons at the head. It has a mechanical department connected with it for the industrial training of its students. In the summer its grounds are lighted by electricity and afford the only resort in the way of a pleasure park owned by the colored people here. It is a pleasant little place, however, and I am told receives fair patronage during the summer. Intoxicating drinks and even cider is rigidly excluded from the place when ladies are present on the grounds.

The churches here are numerous. I saw in one of the papers not long ago where they were put down at 84. Seven of these are fine edifices and nearly all of them are finer inside than out. Louisville believes in large organs and choirs, and in that respect, at least, she is said to lead all other cities south of Boston and Boston line. I did not enjoy the artistic music. Easter was a fine opportunity for a sermon and boy and girl; the choir was made up of all the colored boys of the city and a small part of the colored people, while the choir of the church was made up of all the colored women of the city and a small part of the colored people.

BLACK MEDICAL DOCTORS IN LOU (1885)

The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885 (from M. A. Norman)

Dr. B. F. Porter is a new arrival here from South Carolina. He was at one time connected with the famous American African Expedition. He is pastor of Queen Chapel here and is growing a good deal. He is likely to do well as a physician, I think. Dr. Smith has been here some time. Dr. Smith is a good man and has the best among the colored people in that school of medicine. E. S. Porter, who has been for several years, is an orthopaedic surgeon and is widely known. He is a member of the board of health and the only colored man ever placed in that position. He is a graduate of Lincoln University, and is very respected. Dr. Mitchell's advice to physicians here to be the best colored surgeon.
LAWYERS AND THEIR PROBLEMS IN LOUISVILLE (1885)

The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885 (letter from M. A. Norman)

Samuel Curtis, formerly a claim agent here, has been admitted to the bar. Mr. Harper was admitted to the bar here nearly fourteen years ago and was the first duly licensed colored lawyer in Kentucky. I am informed that colored lawyers are scarce here and the colored people are to blame for it, for out of fifteen or twenty men who have opened offices here, Mr. Harper seems to be the only one who has received sufficient encouragement to remain with any amount of litigation going on all the time. Although there are any number of colored men admitted to the bar every year in various parts of the country, the every day practical colored lawyer is not so plentiful an article as one might suppose. I have met so many colored lawyers who were school teachers, clerking in stores, working in barbershops, in the employment of the government and every other capacity except that of lawyers that I had made up my mind that this profession was used more as a stepping stone for our young men than for any other purpose. Mr. Harper appears to be an exception to this rule here and the general verdict is that he has done well.

DESCRIPTION OF C.W.HINES, N Y FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT IN LOU (1885)

The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885 (letter from M. A. Norman)

When I first met your agent and correspondent here, Mr. C. W. Hines, I was favorably impressed with his activity and energy and from what I can learn the interest of The Freeman could not have fallen into more active or able hands. Mr. Hines is one of the earnest advocates of the interest of the race in this city and is widely known. In politics he is said to be an Independent Republican and takes great interest in all measures calculated to advance the interest of his race. We need more such men as Mr. Hines in our cities and towns where we have strong battles to fight for representation in all the avenues of life. He is one of the champions of equal rights in this city and as I understand has fought many a hard battle for exact justice. It would be a compliment to Louisville to have Mr. Cleveland appoint Mr. Hines to one of the highest positions in his gift.
The New York Freeman, May 16, 1885 (letter from ma norman)

Prof. J. M. Maxwell, Prof. W. T. Peyton, and Prof. Wm. H. Perry are leading principals of the three largest colored schools here and they are well conducted. I have not as yet had time to take personal observation of them, but have no doubt that they compare favorably with any schools in the country and fully sustain the reputation they have acquired for excellence of management.

I must not close this article without mentioning Mr. William H. Lawson, who is an artist by profession and has done some excellent painting. He needs greater encouragement by his people and this will be the means of stimulating other young men to the front in this line.

M. A. Norman
Louisville, Ky., May 8.

SEGREGATION IN LOU IN 1885: RACES, THEATERS

The New York Freeman, May 23, 1885 (from C. W. Hines, corres of NYF)

Louisville, May 17.—The Freeman correspondent was at the Galt House Saturday night looking up news. While conversing with Mr. Roy of New York city a gentleman acquaintance of T. M. Roy came up and Mr. Roy added the gentleman to your correspondent's list of acquaintances. He was Mr. Samuel C. Phillips of White side, England. Mr. Phillips said to your correspondent, "Why don't you paper men, white and colored, write against all places where discrimination is the bar against the native born Negro, especially when a larger per cent. of the Negroes of America are more than half white? Look at the brown-skin, look at the mulatto, look at the quadroon, the octoone, where does this amalgamation come from? It comes from the whites. I know if you stay in America two days you can see that this country treats them worse than England treats a dynamiter. I will state an incident as proof. On the second day of the Louisville races a carriage drove in front of the grandstand and stopped at the ladies' entrance. A gentleman and lady descended from the carriage and presented their tickets to the door keeper for admission. The door keeper...
WHITE WOMAN SEEKS DIVORCE FROM HUSBAND OF 9 YEARS, SAYING SHE DID NOT KNOW HE WAS COLORED (Louisville, 1885)

The New York Freeman, June 20, 1885, p 1 (from c w hines, corres nyf)
1885 GRADUATION EXERCISES AT LOU CENTRAL HIGH SCH; CRITICISMS OF COURIER-JOURNAL

The New York Freeman, June 20, 1885, p 1 (from nyf corres, c w hines)

The 18th Anniversary Meeting of Union Lodge (1885) Louisville

The New York Freeman, June 20, 1885, p 1 (from c w hines, corres nyf)
1885 GRADUATION EXERCISES AT LOU CENTRAL HIGH SCH; CRITICISMS OF COURIER-JOURNAL

The New York Freeman, June 20, 1885, p 1 (from nyf corres, c w hines)

BLACK NEWSPAPER STARTED; BLACK JUDGE; LOUISVILLE (1885)

The New York Freeman, June 27, 1885, p 1 (from nyf corres, c w hines)
1885 LEXINGTON CONVENTION OF BLACK TEACHERS

The New York Freeman, July 18, 1885, p 1 (from nyf corres, c w hines)

Before the final adjournment at Lexington last week the Colored Teachers' Association elected the following officers: President, W. H. Perry, Louisville; first vice-president, W. H. Mayo, Frankfort, First District; other vice-presidents, H. Shirley, Third District; R. D. Blythe, Fifth District; N. T. Peyton, Seventh District; T. A. Reid, Eighth District; J. S. Hathaway, Tenth District; Mrs. L. C. Claude, secretary; Miss M. E. Britton, Lexington, treasurer. A committee was appointed to secure desirable legislation at the next session of the State Assembly. It consists of W. T. Peyton, Henry Scroggins, W. J. Simmons, J. S. Hathaway and Henry Shirley. The newly elected officers made short speeches, as did John O. Hodges, Superintendent of schools of Lexington; Prof. Bartholomew of Louisville and J. D. Pickett, State Superintendent. The time and place of the next meeting will be announced by the State Board of Education.

BLACKS EXCLUDED FROM SOME FEDERAL POSITIONS IN LOU (1885)

The New York Freeman, July 18, 1885, p 1 (from nyf corres, c w hines)

United States Marshal Gross has filled all of his appointments. From all appearances none of them are colored. We are here to watch and record everything good for you, without bias, Democrats or Republicans alike. Captain Gross, the color line will defeat your party in '88. The same to you, collector tax.
The New York Freeman, July 18, 1885, p 1 (from nyf corres, c w hines)

POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE 1885

The New York Freeman, July 18, 1885, p 1 (from nyf corres, c w hines)
SHERMAN, IN LOUISVILLE, BELIEVES HE MUST RETURN FUGITIVE SLAVES
(Oct 1861)


"Two gentlemen unknown to me, but introduced by Mr. Guthrie, say some negro slaves have taken refuge in your camp and are there sheltered."

"The laws of the United States and of Kentucky, all of which are binding on us, compel us to surrender a runaway negro on application of negro's owner or agent. I believe you have not been instrumental in this, but my orders are that all negroes shall be delivered up on claim of the owner or agent. Better keep the negroes out of your camp altogether, unless you brought them along with the regiment."

same as or, vol iv, ser I, p 307

BLCKS FLEEING INTO UNION LINES FROM SOUTH OF GREEN RIVER (1861) 3782


"The subject of contraband negroes is one that is looked to by the citizens of Kentucky of vital importance. Ten have come into my camp within as many hours, and from what they say there will be a general stampede of slaves from the other side of Green River. They have already become a source of annoyance to me, and I have great reason to believe that this annoyance will increase the longer we stay. They state the reasons of their running away their masters are rank secessionists, in some cases are in the rebel army, and that slaves of Union men are pressed into service to drive teams, &c. +

"I would respectfully suggest that if they be allowed to remain here our cause in Kentucky may be injured. I have no faith in Kentucky's loyalty, therefore have no great desire to protect her pet institution, slavery. As a matter of policy, how would it do for me to send for their masters and deliver the negroes to them on the outside of our lines, or send them to the other side of Green River? I am satisfied they bolster themselves up by making the uninformed believe that this is a war upon African slavery. I merely make these suggestions, for I am very far from wishing these recrueat masters in possession of any of their property, for I think slaves no better than horses in that respect. +

"I have put the negroes to work. They will be handy with teams and generally useful. I consider the subject embarrassing, and must defer to your better judgment."

taken from OR, vol TV, Ser I, p 337.
SHERMAN BELIEVED SLAVES SHOULD BE DELIVERED TO MASTERS (Nov 1861) 3783
FROM UNION LINES

w t sherman in lou to gen mccook at camp nevin, nov 8, 1861, in the Negro in the military service of the US, m-858, roll 1, vol 2, frame 431, p 437.

"I have no instructions from government on the subject of negroes. My opinion is that the laws of the State of Kentucky are in full force and that negroes must be surrendered on application of their masters or agents or delivered over to the sheriff of the county. We have nothing to do with them at all, and you should not let them take refuge in camp. It forms a source of misrepresentation, by which Union men are estranged from our cause. I know it is almost impossible for you to ascertain in any case the owner of the negro. But so it is; his word is not taken in evidence, and you will send them away."

from or, vol iv, wer i, p 347

FUGITIVES FROM REBEL OWNERS TO BE ADMITTED INTO UNION LINES (Dec 1861) 3784

James B Fry, Asst Adj Gen in Lou to Gen Thomas, comd 1st Div, Lebanon, Dec 22, 1861, in the Negro in the military service of the US, M-858, roll 1, vol 2, p 455, frame 449.

Writing from the Dept of the Ohio Hdq in Louisville, Fry said: "Acting Brigadier-General Carter reports that by your orders it is forbidden to receive fugitive slaves into camp, and that occasionally slaves belonging to rebels in East Tennessee make their escape from their owners and apply to him for protection and are employed by officers as servants. + "The general directs that exceptions be made in regard to fugitives in such cases."
G. Robinson telegram to A Lincoln, from Lexington, Nov 19, 1862 in Negro in the Military Service of the US, M-858, roll 1, vol 2, p 643, fram 647

"The conduct of a few of the officers of the Army in forcibly detaining the slaves of Union Kentuckians may provoke a conflict between citizens and soldiers. To prevent such a catastrophe we desire you to say, as we believe you will, that Military force will not be permitted for the detention any more than for the restoration of such property, and especially in resistance and contempt of the legal process of a civil tribunal."


"Major-General Granger reports that he is much harassed by complaints of Union men in Kentucky of the abduction of their slaves by officers and men of his army; that many of the camps are crowded with worthless negroes, to the great demoralization of the troops, and he asks that some definite policy be laid down for his guidance. The subject is an embarrassing one. Can you advise me? I would propose issuing an order prohibiting the residence within camp or garrison limits of persons not belonging to the military service, and that all authorized civil processes shall be served within such limits, without obstruction on the part of the officers and men. This would, I believe, meet the difficulty and still be according to law. I judge, from information recently received, that this subject should be speedily acted upon."
KY UNION OFFICER IN LEX OBJECTS TO PRES LINCOLN REGARDING THE HOLDING OF SLAVES OF LOYAL MEN

M. Mundy, col 23 rd ky vols in Dist of West Ky Hdq in Lou, to A Lincoln Nov 27,1862, in The Negro in the Military Service of the US, M-858, roll 1, vol 2, p 647, frame 653.

"While I have been absent from my home serving our Country in the field to the utmost of my humble ability, I have not only suffered large pecuniary loss from rebel depredations, but worse still federal officers, particularly those of the 18th Michigan Infantry Volunteers, have taken within their lines and hold the negroes of my loyal neighbors and myself. That regiment has now not less than twenty-five negroes in Camp at Lexington, Ky., who belong to loyal Union men who have been martyrs for loyalty's sake, and among the rest one of mine. I called upon the officer commanding the regiment and mildly remonstrated against this injustice, particularly to myself, and requested him to have my negro turned out of his lines, which he flatly refused to do, justifying his detention by virtue of your proclamation and the new article of war." When his father-in-law, Col E. N Offutt, attempted to retrieve Mundy's slave through the Fayette Co Sheriff, but the Fed. officer refused to comply.

"Another fact I should mention in this connection, which is, that our negroes are being taught by the abolition officers from Michigan and other Northern States now serving in Kentucky, that on the first day of January next they are all to be free, and will have a right even to kill their masters who may attempt to restrain them which has aroused a lively apprehension in the minds of Citizens in Central Kentucky of a servile insurrection."

in Letters Received, War Dept

GEN. Q.A.GILLMORE DENIES RETURNING SLAVES TO OWNERS

Q.A. Gillmore Brig Gen Commanding from Near Lexington, Ky, at Hdq 2d Div, Army of Ky, to Maj Gen Gordon Grainger, commanding Army of Ky, Lex Ky, Dec 11, 1862, in The Negro in the Military Service of the US, M-858, roll 1, vol 2,

"The charges against me of 'nigger-cathing', /sic/ and of returning slaves to their owners, or agents, have not the slightest foundation in fact,... I have never, that I know of, by any order of mine, hindered any slave of his liberty in any way, shape, or form, and do not remember to have ordered but one to be sent beyond the lines."

"The object of my 'contraband order', /sic/ herewith inclosed, is shown upon its face. It was to avoid any further accession of that class of persons, male or female, and to provide suitable employment, under proper restraint, for those 'now within the lines or that may hereafter, in any way, gain access thereto.' I am most happy to be able to assure you that the order works admirably; that there are very few in my command who do not cordially indorse, although quite a number originally opposed, it; that the colored people are leaving daily, either voluntarily or by reason of being thrown out of employment, and that I anticipate no trouble, and but a few individual cases of difference of opinion on this subject." Granger endorsed Gillmore's order as "proper" and "eminently politic."

"The practice indulged in by some of the officers and men of this division of enticing colored people within the lines is becoming an evil of such magnitude as to demand the immediate and vigorous application of a remedy. It is demoralizing to an army to be encumbered with non-combatants—hangers-on of any kind or class—and they will not be allowed in this division, except under such restrictions as will place them within direct and entire control from these headquarters. It is especially made the duty of guards and pickets, and of brigade and regimental commanders, to refuse admission within the lines to that class of people known as 'contrabands'.

All those now within the lines, or that may hereafter in any way gain access thereto, will at once be taken in charge by the division quartermaster, and reported to these headquarters for such action thereon as may be deemed expedient."
1.

The New York Freeman, July 25, 1885, p 4

Meeting of Blacks called for Paris Ky, Aug 1885, to discuss 20 questions of importance to Blacks

The New York Freeman, Aug. 8, 1885, p 1

Our young men will assemble in convention at Paris Ky., Wednesday, Aug. 20, to discuss the following questions:

1. Our relations to the other races and nations in the country.
2. The political parties and their relation to the country.
3. Do the colored people owe any obligation to the Republican party?
4. The present Administration and its effect upon the country.
5. The benefits derived from the late civil war.
7. The memory and deeds of our fathers.
8. Have colored men any place in history?
9. Who saved the Union, the North or the South?
10. The Civil Rights bill.
11. The Southern Exposition at New Orleans.
12. The injustice of the railroads toward us as people.
14. Should the colored people celebrate Emancipation Day?
15. Is the word 'Negro' properly used when applied to the colored people?
16. Has the colored race received justice according to the United States Constitution?
17. Is our race more immoral than others?
18. Our race better than others?
19. The industrial outlook of the race.
20. The power of a well-trained and united people.
The New York Freeman, Sept 5, 1885, p 1

"The Rev. W. J. Simmons, D.D., President of the State University, has just returned from a trip through the State in the interest of the University."

The New York Freeman, Sept 12, 1885, p 1

Our Irish cops are always on the look out for an opportunity to prosectue [sic] offensive colored people. I give a sample. Two policemen, Tom Gibson and Pat. Cornelia, were before the City Court, Monday, Aug. 17, on a charge of disorderly conduct and were acquitted. The complaining witness, Mrs. Howard, a colored widow, whom the officers had arrested on the charge of keeping an assignation house. They visited her house on Monday night and demanded admittance, but were refused. The woman undertook to prove that her house was an orderly one, and did produce evidence to
"LOUISVILLE HOTEL" NO LONGER HIRES BLACKS Sept 1885

The New York Freeman, sept 12, 1885, p 1

The Louisville Hotel at one time was one of the popular houses in this city. It was run by Judge & Co. for thirty years, who stood at the top of the round among hotel proprietors of the Southwest for their courtesies towards the traveling public. They were also humane and clever to their employees both white and colored. They drew no lines on races, nor did they care to the prejudice of the white savages who in the past had neither respect for men or women if they were poor, white or colored, but that time has passed now, and the hotel has changed. It has fallen into the clutches of an old ante-bellum, ex-steamboat mate, who has no respect of humanity for his poor white or colored help. This proprietor, so I am informed, has issued orders to his employees which would cause the bronze statue of Henry Clay to blush, if some one would acquaint it with the incalculable proclivity of Lord D. Whitlow, new manager of the once popular house. He requires, so it is said, the help to pull off their hats, to shave of their beards, and to do other things that the meanest slave owners did not require of their slaves fifty years ago. On this account, said an Eastern gentleman, whose politics were Democratic, I shan't stop there any more. When a man claims to be a Democrat and can't forget the curse of slavery in twenty-four years, he ought not to be assigned to any position that would injure the good name of the Southwest, and if the hotel company retained such a man all the intelligent traveling public men, irrespective of religion and politics, should boycott the Louisville Hotel, no long as he is its manager.
BLACK LOUISVILLE SCHOOL TEACHERS APPOINTED 1885

The New York Freeman, sept 12, 1885, p 1

Kggs school teachers will be appointed shortly. Their names are: Charles S. Morris, Mattie M. Fowles, Octavia W. McNair, H. Booker, Rachel J. Davis, Samuel G. Murfree, L. B. Brannon, Bettie Daniels, Arabella Silkman, Lucretia M. Gibson, Anna T. Brown, Estella B. Jones, Willie Jones, L. Belle Alexander.

INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE IN LOU (Sept 1885)

The New York Freeman, Sept 26, 1885, p 1

In spite of civil rights, social rights will exist. Here is a sample of it in our city that occurred a few days ago. It was the marriage of Mr. Budd Rogers, colored, to Miss Lizzie Brag, white. They were married at Jeffersonville, Ind. Mr. Rogers is the son of N. B. Rogers, the barber at No. 439 West Jefferson street. Young Rogers is an intelligent man and has married a lady, so, I am told, who has a splendid education and will inherit a fortune from her German parents, who reside in the old country. The estate is also worth about $3,000 in real estate. The firm of Buchanan & Co. are the agents. Miss Lizzie resided at one time with a family at 4th avenue and Breakinridge streets in this city. Before the elopement she was stopping at Mrs. J. H. Kerlin's on the south side of Clay street. This was her last residence before the present one. Mr. and Mrs. Rogers came back from Indiana provided with their certificates, and spent a few days with the groom's father, who resides on the east side of 3rd street, between Breakinridge and Kentucky streets. Three days after the couple left for Cincinnati.

I was told by a young lady, who is a subscriber of The Freeman and who is domestic in service, that her employer said The Freeman was too radical toward the white people. He said he had read an article clipped from The New York Freeman by a white paper urging the freedmen to demand this, that and the other. "It's an impudent paper," he said, "full of slanderous publications. The whites are the freedmen's best friend, and if you want to be popular with a white employer stop reading that paper, or live with anybody who objects to me patronizing Mr. Fortune's paper. Its writers are free speakers in defenses of our race and that's the kind of paper I want to read, and it shall come wherever I go."
BLACK BANDS PARTICIPATE IN TOBACCO CELEBRATION IN LOU Sept 1885

The New York Freeman, Sept 26, 1885, p 1

LOUISVILLE, Sept. 19.—The greatest celebration ever witnessed in the Southwest happened here Sept. 17. It was known as "King Tobacco Day." Louisville was thronged by visiting sight-seers from all parts of the United States. The hotels could not accommodate the people. At 9 o'clock sharp, fifteen brass bands, two of them colored, made their appearance at 14th and Main streets ready for assignment. The chief marshal of the day cited them to their respective positions among ten divisions of the immense procession which moved at 10:30 up Main Street. It is said to be a fact that nothing ever seen before equaled the triumphant street pageant more than ten miles in length, celebrating the achievement of the sale of 100,000 bales of tobacco in eight months. This city has led the world in the sale of tobacco.

N Y FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT, C.W. HINES, CRITICIZED BY BLACK LOU NEWSPAPER, OHIO FALLS EXPRESS (Sept 1885)

The New York Freeman, Sept 26, 1885, p 1

I feel it an act of justice to defend 25,000 people of my race in this city as well as myself against the cowardly burlesque that appeared in Butler's alias Fitzbutler's paper of September the 12th, which read as follows: "C. W. Behind. The Express laments in tears to learn that Charlie Hines is not recorded on the poor list to get free school books for his children. What an ungrateful patronage this distinguished man must be receiving for the great services which he is performing to enlighten this benighted world." The article is a falsehood. My name was not recorded upon the list of free books, but some of my family's names were and that is a fact. We are too poor to buy books for three boys and do justice to an old grandmother who is nearly one hundred years old and two aunts who are following her fast to her grave. I try my best to take care of them as well as I do my children. I also consider poverty no disgrace, because we colored people came by it honestly under the system of slavery, which Butler alias Fitzbutler knew nothing about being a native of Canada. Let us see what harm the above will have on his children as well as our own or mine. The whites, at least some of them, will read it, and then they will effect some plan to keep from giving yours and my poor children books. Without books our children couldn't attend school and then they would grow up ignorant.

C. W. Hines, Sr.
COLOR LINE IN AMUSEMENTS; BLACKS SHOULD BLOCK VOTE IN CITY ELECTIONS (1885)

The New York Freeman, Oct 10, 1885, p 4

BLACK COMPLAINTS AGAINST EMPLOYERS OF DOMESTIC WORKERS IN LOU (1885)

The New York Freeman, Oct 17, 1885, p 2
COMMENTS OF BLACK COACHMAN ON EMPLOYMENT IN LOUISVILLE (1885)

The New York Freeman, Oct 17, 1885, p 2

The first person I met looking for work was a white girl. She asked me if I knew of any one wanting a cook or chambermaid. I mentioned the gentleman on 4th avenue. The girl said she would not work for him. "Why," she said, "Because," she said, "he is among the great number of mean employers who live in this city. She told me not to send them any more. I thought something must be wrong, and I thought I should inquire at the next door neighbor. The next day I called, stated errand to the first one I met, and thence the coachman. He said that that was one of the meanest places in Louisville, but said he, "It seems to me that all of the employers are getting meaner here of late, to their help. My folks have cut down my wages from $20 to $12 per month. I have four houses and two carriages to keep clean and drive twice a day. I intend to quit when my month is up. Come up stairs, I want you to take a look at the room they give me. It's not fit for a dog, let alone a person. I have worked in Chicago.

LOCATION OF SCHOOLS IN LOUISVILLE 1885

The New York Freeman, Oct 17, 1885, p 2

The rich and the poor men and women of both races accept the chances for an education. All the people want to know where the schools are located. I will take this opportunity to tell. Eastern Colored Night School is located at the Northwest corner of Jackson and Breckinridge streets. Western Colored Night School is near the Southeast corner of 16th and Magazine streets. Speaking about school, some of the trustees ought to visit the colored schools more than they do and take a peep at the overcrowded grades and rooms. Some of them have from 100 to 130 scholars to one teacher. They have to be seated upon the platform. Saw some of the little ones standing a watch waiting for their turn to get a seat.
CASE OF W. PAUL KING, INDICEMENT FOR MURDER, DEFENDED BY N R HARPER  
(Oct 1885)

The New York Freeman, Oct 17, 1885, p 2

The case of Paul King, colored, came up to the Circuit Court last Tuesday upon an indictment by the grand jury, which took place in the killing of his companion, Lewis Young, about five weeks ago. Upon his case being called, his attorney, N. R. Harper, appeared for him and entered a motion to quash the indictment on the ground that the jury commissioners had violated the constitutional rights of the accused in the formation of the jury, in that the names of no colored citizens had been placed in the box to be drawn as jurors, and that the venus was composed exclusively of white citizens who were thus chosen because they were white men. The motion was set for hearing Saturday, Oct.

BOWLING GREEN BLACK, JOS BRUCE, ACCUSED OF RAPE; TAKEN TO LOU 1885

The New York Freeman, Oct 17, 1885, p 2

Joseph Bruce, the colored man who attempted to commit rape on Mrs. Valentine, (so they say, but it is contradicted) near Bowling Green, a few days ago, was brought to this city last night for safe keeping. He went to the lady's house, so they say, while she was alone and assaulted her. In struggling against him, so they say, she was seriously injured. Bruce, escaped, but was caught later in the day by the Marshal. He resisted arrest, so they say, and the cowardly officer shot at him, putting out his left eye. He was then hanged in jail. The affair caused great excitement, and an organized effort was put on foot to mob him. Yesterday Sheriff O'Donovan slipped him to this city. I copy the above telegram to show how the white press of Kentucky urge on a mob. The reporters in the different sections of this State never give the true report of any difficulty that may happen.
RUMOR THAT BLACKS WILL BE ON NEXT GRAND JURY IN LOU; THE RESULT OF THE CHALLENGE OF BLACK LAWYER HARPER (Nov 1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 7, 1885, p 1

BLACK NEWSPAPER BOY ATTACKED ON STREET CAR BY DRIVER (Nov 1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 7, 1885, p 1
BLACKS NEED TO FORM A STATE PROTECTIVE UNION, SAYS NYFREEMAN CORRESPONDENT, C W. HINES (Nov 1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 7, 1885, p 1

... Colored men of Kentucky, if we are to have a convention at Lexington, Nov. 10, let each delegate go there with the intention of organizing a State Protective Union to defend ourselves against unfair litigations of all kinds; against mobs, assassins and other obstructions, that impede our progress as freemen. Every nationality except the freemen have protective organizations. Since freedom we have been the prey and game for the prejudicial whites, and will continue so, as long as we are scattered like the dust in a whirl wind. Now men, let us take a look at the Land League of Irishmen. What have they done in a nut shell. A few of them have defied millions of Englishmen. White labor unions have halted the monopolist who had sworn to devour the working-man's wages if he did not consent to work at starvation wages. Look at the drummers, engineers, printers and railroad conductors, who recently convoked in Louisville—yeardmen, brakemen, and hundreds of other societies. We should organize to protect life, liberty and property. I will cite you to reasons why we

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, CONCERNS OF BLACKS ABOUT POL LEADERS LOUISVILLE AREA, 1885

The New York Freeman, Nov 7, 1885, p 1
The New York Freeman, Nov 14, 1885, p 4

BLAACKS TO BE ON GRAND, PETIT JURIES IN LOUISVILLE 1885
WORK OF LAWYER HARPER

The New York Freeman, Nov 14, 1885, p 4

BLACK LAD WHO TESTIFIED AGAINST WHITE SHOT IN REVENGE (1885)

Mosby appeared as a commonwealth witness against him in a disbarry case tried before a Magistrate in this county, was found guilty and a penalty of one cent was fixed upon him. Mosby was employed by Crittenden's father as butter. The constable summoned him as a witness and by law he was bound to attend the trial. Crittenden was an habitual drunkard and a dangerous man, sober or drunk. Mosby was a young lad not familiar with Crittenden's desperate qualities. He testified to the truth, and nothing but the truth, so said the Court, and Crittenden was fined. He swore, after much discrepancy in the evidence, the jury were unable to agree upon a verdict, and a new trial was ordered.

After succeeding in his motion asking a new change of venue from Louisville, which was also granted, and they chose Taylorsville as the place for trial. Now, of course, he being white, at the first trial the jury would not agree and the Judge dismissed them. Now he has his third trial, and in all probability will be cleared, in spite of the strong evidence that is against him. I understand that they intend to try and prove by bought witness that Mosby had a stone in his hand at the time he was shot. Crittenden has tried to kill one or two men while out on bail. If any jury would turn.
NY FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT URGES KY CONVENTION TO CENSURE WHITES (1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 14, 1885, p 4

LODGES BUY MEETING HALL IN LOUISVILLE, 1885

The New York Freeman, Nov 14, 1885, p 4

"The consolidated lodge, G. U. O. of O., have purchased Eclipse Hall, corner of Thirteenth and Walnut streets, for $10,000. This is an evidence of the wise management of its affairs, and all concerned should congratulate themselves."
SCHOOL BOARD MEETING IN LOUISVILLE: EFFECT ON BLACKS; TEACHERS' SALARIES (1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 14, 1885, p 4

The NY Freeman correspondent urges Nov 26, 1885, LEX convention to take strong stand against discrimination; to organize.
BLACK WOMAN TAKES OUT WARRANT AGAINST WHITE LAWYER; ENDS UP PAYING A FINE (1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 21, 1885, p 1

NY FREEMAN SAYS LOUISVILLE BLACKS UNDER ATTACK FROM LOU PRESS (1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 21, 1885, p 1
D. C. Buell to J.R. Underwood, Chairman of Military Committee, Frankfort, Ky., Dated from Nashville, March 6, 1862, in The (Paris) Western Citizen, March 28, 1862.

Buell says:

"It has come to my knowledge that slaves sometimes make their way improperly into our lines, and in some instances they may be enticed there, but I think the number has been magnified by report. Several applications have been made to me by persons whose servants have been found in our camps, and in every instance that I know of, the master has recovered his servant and taken him away."

"I need hardly remind you that there will always be found some lawless and mischievous persons in every army; but I assure you that the mass of this army is law-abiding, and that it is neither its disposition nor its policy to violate law or the rights of individuals in any particular."

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FED GOVT CIRCULAR ON ENROLLMENT OF BLACKS (March 1864)

The (Paris) Western Citizen, March 11, 1864, p 2 (Circular No 8)

"The following circular has been addressed to the Assistant Provost Marshal of this State, by James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General of the United States, directing the enrollment of negroes, (free and slave,) in Kentucky:-- +

"War Dep't, Provost Marshal General's Office, Washington, February 29.

"Circular No. 8.--I. Pursuant to section 25, of the act approved February 24, 1864, amendatory of the act of March 3, 1863, boards of Enrollment in districts, in which there are any colored persons held to service, will, without delay, proceed to enroll all such persons as are liable to military duty."

"II. Enrolling officers will conduct the enrollment in the manner prescribed by existing orders and regulations, and such other directions as the Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General of the United States may give."

"III. Enrollment lists will be made upon the printed forms (Nos. 35 and 36,) altering the heading to suit; and in the column headed 'former military service,' the name of the person to whom service is owed will be written."

"IV. A list, with a recapitulation of the number enrolled will be made for each sub-district, and as soon as the enrollment of the district is completed, these lists will be forwarded to the Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General. Copies of the list will be kept in the offices of the District Provost Marshals. Those lists by sub-districts will not be consolidated."

"V. The Provost Marshal will furnish each person to whom the persons owe service to him who have been enrolled, specifying their names, ages and
date of enrollment.+
"VI. It is made the duty of the Acting Assistant Provost Marshal
General to superintend this enrollment, and to give such orders and
directions as may be necessary to make it accurate and complete."
signed James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General. Fry sent a second letter
on March 7 which said "Free colored persons will be enrolled, on
separate rolls."

GEN ORDERS NO 27: SLAVES IMPRESSED FOR MILITARY WKS. TO BE RETURNED TO OWNERS (Mar 1864)

The (Paris) Western Citizen, March 11, 1864, p 2 (General Orders No 27)
Hdq District of Kentucky, Louisville March 4, 1864.

"General Orders, No. 27.+
"All orders from these headquarters issued prior to General Order, No.
25, of February 26th, 1864, in reference to the impressment of negro slaves
in this State for military purposes, are hereby revoked, and all negroes
impressed under these orders and now performing labor for the Government,
will at once be returned to their owners.+
"All officers and other persons in the service of the Government
within the limits of this district, having impressed negroes in their
possession or employ, will deliver them up to their owners upon their
application.+
"By command of Brig.-Gen. Burbridge. A.C.Semple, Assis't Adj't Gen."
KY BLACKS ENTERING ARMY AS SUBSTITUTES FOR WHITES (May 1864)

The (Paris) Western Citizen, May 27, 1864, p 2

"Since the draft took place in Kenton County, about fifty negroes have been accepted as substitutes for white men. Quite a number have also been received as volunteers. They are principally from Pendleton and Gallatin Counties."

"The whole quota of Jessamine county, in the late draft, was recruited from the 'colored population.'"

JEFFERSON COUNTY BLACKS MEET TO DISCUSS COMING LEXINGTON CONVENTION (Nov 19, 1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 28, 1885, p 1

"Our Correspondent Censures the Existence of the Color Line—Organisations.

LAWRENCEVILLE, Nov. 21.—The Jefferson county convention of colored citizens assembled at Beek's Hall, this city, Thursday, Nov. 19, at 12 o'clock. Prof. W. J. Simmons, chairman of the executive committee, called the meeting to order. W. H. Steward, the secretary, read the call. Mr. Steward nominated Mr. Isaac Curtis to preside over the county convention, elected. Mr. Curtis was one of the few men that opposed the call, so I am told. But he accepted and took his seat. He announced that the object of the State convention was to nominate a committee, which would prepare and present to the State Legislature, at its coming session, a statement of the grievances and the wrongs under which the colored race suffer. On motion of E. P. Marrs, a committee of five was appointed to frame resolutions. The chairman appointed by its members, E. P. Marrs, W. J. Simmons, Peter Burton, H. F. Stevens and John Steele. The committee on resolutions reported as follows: "Resolved, That we endorse the call of the State Executive Committee for a convention of colored citizens to meet at St. Louis, Ky., Thursday, Nov. 26. We recommend that the action of the convention be moderate and the resolutions clearly set forth the needs and grievances of our people. That this county sends the number of delegates apportioned by the State Executive Committee." The convention passed a resolution providing that in case any of the appointed delegates shall be absent from the Lexington meeting, any colored citizen of Jefferson county present, should be empowered to act as proxy in the convention. The seventy-six delegates from Jefferson county were appointed and the meeting adjourned. The list of delegates is as follows: E. P. Marrs, H. Pearce, P. Morton, E. E. Smith, H. Fitzbutler, John Steele, Isaac Curtis, C. H. Parriah, W. J. Simmons, W. T. Bush, I. H. Williams, W. H. Venable, Sandy Carter, C. W. Hines, Sr., G. W. Holcombe, W. H. Steward, George Garrett, John Ward, S. W. Wolfe, E. J. Wilson, J. W. Brown, J. M. Maxwell, Richard Johnson, George Funder, G. F. Preston, D. D. Sebree, Edward
JEFFERSON COUNTY BLACKS MEET TO DISCUSS COMING LEXINGTON BLACK CONVENTION (NOV 19, 1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 28, 1885, p 1

NY FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT SUGGESTS POLICY JEFFERSON CO DELEGATION SHOULD FOLLOW AT LEXINGTON COVNETION (Nov 1885)

The New York Freeman, Nov 28, 1885, p 1
It is reported that Dr. Tronnell said in open session before the school board, that he saw some of the night school pupils on Green street. What of it, if he did? There are good people who use Green street as a thoroughfare as well as bad. We answer the doctor by asking him where he was? He is also reported as being the author of the publication that appeared in the Courier Journal of the 19th inst. We answer him again, by asking him did he not fail from the 10th ward, where the colored voters are in the majority. They are able to shelve you at the next election. The Freeman will try.

The State University here has an organization known as the College Society. It is composed of males and females. It is presumed by your correspondent that certain nights are set apart for worship and that Thursday, Nov. 19, was one of them. They met at Fifth Street Baptist Church. Miss Lizzie Crittenden presided, Mrs. W. H. Steward, secretary. The Rev. C. H. Parish opened the services by reading a chapter of the scripture. The choir sang two beautiful gospel songs. The Rev. Talbott prayed and then the pastor, Elder Heath, introduced Dr. W. H. Simmons, whose text was Esther, iv., 5. Dr. Simmons' sermon was one of the ablest I have listened to for a long time. His illustrations caused several in the audience to laugh. In closing his pathos brought tears to many eyes. He ended by requesting the choir to sing, "My country, 'tis of Thee," then came the regular business. After the benediction by the pastor, Doxology was sung and the audience filed out of the church.
W. Paul King's case was called in the Circuit Court, Nov. 20, and continued to Dec. 16. This is the case upon which the late jury fight was made.

Indiana cooks & waiters to help Louisville counterparts organize (Nov 1885)

The colored cooks and waiters /sic/ of Indianapolis have organized the 'Temple of Industry,' or the Hotel Brotherhood. They have appointed a committee to visit Louisville and organize similar bodies.
"The Christian denomination has purchased a site at New Castle, Ky., to erect a handsome college for colored boys and girls."
The New York Freeman, Dec 5, 1885, p 1

**RESOLUTIONS OF 1885 BLACK LEX CONVENTION**

The New York Freeman, Dec 5, 1885, p 1

Page 1 of 3:

Resolved, That while we feel grateful for the improved public sentiment, as evidenced in the raising of the school fees from 40 cents to $1.00, and for the courteous and candid argument given to the material and educational development of our race; but as we are still denied many of our rights according to the Constitution, and knowing that the mere protest of petition is useless to both National and State Constitutions; and that in the exercise thereof we respectfully petition the legislature of Kentucky to pass such laws as will remove this grievance.

We specially request that such civil rights rules be abrogated as will give the humblest citizen full enjoyment of every privilege granted by the Constitution and which have been prevented in the denial and abridgment by various statutes and ordinances.

We do not ask for social equality, but we earnestly protest against the civil discrimination practiced in the State against our people under the semblance of law. We petition that the laws be changed so as to allow the organization of Negro militia companies upon the same basis and for the same purposes as the State already organized.

As no educational system is complete without the establishment of normal schools and such other educational facilities as will contribute to the increased development of a people of the State, we request that normal and other schools be established for the people with the same facilities as are accorded to other schools.

We further request the establishment of the plank which discriminates in the raising of funds for the erection of school houses so that all school houses may be erected out of a common fund as the educational system is supported out of a common fund. We are in favor of a system of compulsory education and request the passage of such a law, believing that it will be beneficial to all the citizens of the State.

That we oppose the administration of the laws of this State which debar Negroes from sitting upon juries, the appointment of men on juries who are prejudiced against the Negro; thus making it utterly impossible to obtain a fair and impartial trial. And be it further resolved that we hereby petition the legislature to come to our relief by taking concrete steps to compel judges, commissioners and sheriffs to include the names of competent Negroes in the panel for juries, so that all laws may be equitably administered.

That we protest against the discrimination practiced against our people by the railroad companies and the election of the C.G. O. and the C. O. and W. railroads. The discriminations are not only unjust but cruel and have the effect of retarding our progress. They do no good but blunt the finer feelings and keener sensibilities of our people, and prevent the fullest development of true manhood. We are charged fares for and refused first class accommodations and in many cases our mothers, wives and daughters are forced to ride in smoking cars and sometimes at the platform with no apparent redress. We request the passage of such a law as will prevent such discrimination.

Page 2 of 3:

The convention assembled on the 28th day of October, and the following report was made and adopted: Executive Committee, first district, W. H. Ray, chairman; second district, J. C. Strange, Bowling Green; third district, E. G. Bolling, Elizabethown; fourth district, J. W. J. Simpson, Louisville; fifth district, J. W. Hawkins, New Port; sixth district, Henry Sorrogins, Lexington; seventh district, A. W. Tatum, Berea; ninth district, J. H. Nasset, Mayville; tenth district, J. P. Hummons, Winchester; eleventh district, W. H. Mason, Bolinas, State at Large, W. H. Steward, Louisville; twelfth district, W. H. Ward, Louisville; C. Jackson, Lexington; G. W. Gentry, Stanford.

The following resolution was offered and adopted:

Resolved, That we indorse the proposed national legislation to aid the common school system of the United States.

The committee on resolutions reported the following: We, the representatives of the 271,000 Negroes of Kentucky, in convention assembled at Lexington, this 28th day of November, 1885, feeling that many rights and privileges that should be common to all citizens of Kentucky are systematically and persistently denied us and feeling that we are seriously crippled and hindered from making the progress we so earnestly desire by the partial and unjust administrations of the laws of this commonwealth; therefore be it resolved that we indorse the proposed national legislation to aid the common school system of the United States.

The New York Freeman, Dec 5, 1885, p 1

Page 3 of 3:

Resolved, That while we feel grateful for the improved public sentiment, as evidenced in the raising of the school fees from 40 cents to $1.00, and for the courteous and candid argument given to the material and educational development of our race; but as we are still denied many of our rights according to the Constitution, and knowing that the mere protest of petition is useless to both National and State Constitutions; and that in the exercise thereof we respectfully petition the legislature of Kentucky to pass such laws as will remove this grievance.

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ADDRESS OF THE 1885 BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX TO BLACKS OF KY

The New York Freeman, Dec 5, 1885, p 1

The following address to the colored people of Kentucky was also submitted by the committee and adopted:

To the Colored People of Kentucky:—We, your delegates in convention assembled, have pleasure in congratulating you upon the progress you have made in the pursuit of those things which command you to the world. Your progress is the most gratifying when it is remembered under what circumstances it was achieved. When the colored people came into possession of their freedom they were intellectually, as well as physically, deformed by centuries of unjust and cruel servitude. Their treatment and teaching have been such as would generally convey the idea that the color of the man determined his superiority or inferiority. They had nowhere to lay their heads. They were entirely unappreciated as to the business or its management. Such were the unfavorable conditions under which the colored people a few years ago began their course as citizens. The hand of Providence has led them in ways they knew nothing of, and though opposed by foes without and often betrayed by friends within, to day this people make a showing a parallel to which history fails to give. Through industry and economy you have yearly added to your savings and thus come into possession of homes and other property. In the State of Kentucky your taxable property amounts to $4,000,000. Your progress in education is wonderful.

In the acquisition of which you were once claimed to be incapable, is most marked under the limited facilities of the past far exceeded the expectation of your friends. Then will new methods, live teachers and greater opportunities, you will be enabled to present a record wonderful in its results, but we are not yet in possession of all our rights as citizens. Every day sees us at the caprice of a cruel and senseless prejudice, deprived of rights which are clearly ours. Against this great injustice we earnestly protest.

In the resolutions we herewith send forth, reasonable claims are stated and we submit to the intelligence of the land that they are just, nor do we labor without hope. Justice must triumph sooner or later, and we are persuaded that the day is not far hence when you will be more fully clothed with the rights guaranteed you by the great Constitution, for there is a great and constantly growing sentiment based upon truth and which is disposed to do the right. This sentiment is found among the best and most right thinking citizens and must prevail. But the day for which you so anxiously long the day in which you shall stand clothed in the full garments of citizenship, may by a positive and prudent course on your part. In the name of wisdom and true manhood seek your rights and content yourself with nothing short.

ADDRESS OF THE 1885 BLACK CONVENTION IN LEX TO BLACKS OF KY

The New York Freeman, Dec 5, 1885, p 1

Again, a cause worthy the efforts of any people is the upbuilding and maintenance of a high and noble character. Education is a most important factor in the solution of the problem that is before you. It should not be despised or treated with indifference, but encouraged and acquired to the greatest extent possible. Wealth, too, has its bearing which is by no means insignificant. The saying of wealth that it demands respect is true. Effort to accumulate property are heartily commended. This must be done by rigorous and incessant economy. A people given to temperance have an advantage over those given to prodigality, for temperance conduces to industry and economy.

Thus will it be seen that to some extent the working out of your salvation is committed into your own hands. Let no failure of its accomplishment be justly attributed to a lack of consideration on your part. In full realization of the trying situation that confronts you, we earnestly submit to you the words of David to his son, Solomon: "Be strong and of good courage; dread not nor be dismayed; arise and be doing and the Lord be with thee." A homely telegram of condolence passed unanimously and was forwarded to Mrs. Thomas A. Hendricks. A resolution also passed calling a constitutional convention. The convention adjourned.
ACCOUNT OF 1885 BLACK CONVENTION IN LEXINGTON AS PRESENTED IN NY SUN

The New York Freeman, Dec 12, 1885, p 2

KENTUCKY CONVENTION.

How the grievances of the colored people of that State are regarded.

From the New York Sun.

The colored men of Kentucky have been holding at Lexington a convention said to be the first convention of its kind in the State. The proceedings were orderly and harmonious, and the convention is believed to represent fairly the colored citizens of Kentucky. The resolutions and the address adopted are interesting as a statement of the grievances of which the colored people of Kentucky are aware to a greater or less extent in other Southern States complain. The convention petitioned the State Legislature not for social rights, but for the removal of certain discriminations against the colored people; the resolutions ask for the removal of the discriminations in law against the organization of Negro military companies, and in law against colored jurors, for normal and other schools for colored pupils, the erection of all schoolhouses out of a common fund and a system of compulsory education, and of the passage of stringent laws against moral law and against discrimination by Kentucky railroads.

"We are charged first class fare," says the resolution against discrimination by the railroads, "for railroad first class accommodations, and in many cases our mothers and wives and daughters are forced to ride smoking cars and sometimes on the platform, with no apparent redress. This is certainly a sore injustice and ought to be remedied. If it is thought undesirable to allow the colored people in the same cars with the whites, it is none the less just to charge the same price for good and bad accommodations. An investigation against colored jurors, if it exists, can be remedied by law. The judges and sheriffs probably represent public sentiment in Kentucky on this point. Still, the discrimination is one not likely to be permanent. Their will be a strong prejudice against the drawing of colored jurors, at least in important civil cases, as long as the colored people are more ignorant than the whites. Education and the acquirement of property will doubtless do much to remove this prejudice. In criminal cases certainly the Negro juryman in some other Southern States errs on the side of justice.

As to education, at least for elementary education, the colored people of Kentucky cannot ask for too much of it, and normal schools are necessary in order that the supply of competent colored teachers may be increased. It should be remembered that the white people have as yet to pay most of the cost of education for both races. For their own interest, however, the white people of Kentucky cannot afford to be backward in giving the colored people sufficient educational facilities. It is cheaper to pay for education than for pauperism, crime and social deterioration.

The distrust of colored military companies is a survival of the old South, a lingering fear of insurrection and social disruption. In the new order of things it has no place. As for Lynch law, we must remind our colored friends that there is no great discrimination against that. Indeed, the trend is to do away with it. It is not discriminatory at all. Plenty of white men are lynched every year, and the growth of public opinion against Lynch law must keep pace in the future.
REUNION OF STUDENTS OF EASTERN SCHOOL IN LOUISVILLE (1885)

The New York Freeman, Dec 19, 1885, p 4

Louisville, Dec. 8. — The pupils of the Eastern Night School held a reunion at Jacob Street Tabernacle, Tuesday night, Dec. 8, at 7 o'clock. The scholars marched into the church and occupied front seats. In the sanctuary sat the teachers, male and female. At the head of their column was Prof. W. H. Perry. Mr. Cochran of the School Board and Mr. Nick Finzer were represented, whom Mr. Perry said in his opening address was the father of the night school. Their principal, Mr. Perry, is a graduate of our High School. He taught one or two sessions at the Central School. The School Board was so pleased with him as a disciplinarian, that the first opportunity that presented itself, the Board promoted him to the principalship of the Eastern School, which he has held for three years. He is classed as one of the best tutors in the profession. The program began with an anthem, "Call upon the Lord," by pupils, which was followed with prayer by the Rev. Kidd. The Sunlight Autumn Club sang, after which the principal made a short address. He spoke of what had been accomplished, and what he hoped for; he asked for cooperation from all. Mr. Perry was followed by the pupils in a class song; recitation, "The Good Old Way," Josephine McKelroy; "Music Everywhere," Cornelia Anderson; solo, "The Tempest," Theodore Frazier; the Silver Leaf Club in a song; recitation, William Lewis; essay, "Shadows and Sunshine," S. E. Weiden; declamation, "Don't Feel Too Big," Nolan King; baritone solo, "The Rage in Ireland," Samuel Timmons; duet, "Gobble," S. G. W. Hutchinson and W. L. Gibson; bass solo, Samuel Jordan; duet, Mrs. Hutchinson and Wm. Menfield; trio, Hutchinson, Gibson and Jordan; violin solo, with piano accompaniment, Prof. Murray and Mrs. Hutchinson. The selection was "The Waltz." Both Prof. Murray and Mrs. Hutchinson are musicians of more than ordinary culture and ability, and a rare treat was therefore expected and ob-
NY FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT TALKS OF POLICE BRUTALITY IN LOUISVILLE; URGES THE HIRING OF BLACK POLICEMEN (1885)

The New York Freeman, Dec 19, 1885, p 4

A peculiar mass meeting of mixed citizens was held at Quinn's Chapel, Dec 8, at 3 p.m. There were about 15 persons in the church, and they were principally colored men. I am informed that the meeting was called to deplore the shooting of Officer Harding by Wm. Courtney, but nothing was said of the murder of Courtney, who died from a bullet fired by Officer Ferguson's pistol. Colored men, we had better come to a halt, when we call mass meetings endorsing the murder of colored men, when we knew that seven colored men have been killed by policemen since 1880, and a number of others wounded. If the white people are in earnest about breaking up places of vice, why did they not call indignation meetings before now? Why did they limit their protest to a certain location? These righteous people, both white and colored, should appeal to the city fathers to close all of these places, including all lottery offices, pool rooms, as well as whiskey solons. Gentlemen, you have commenced too late, and you never would have commenced if Mr. Harding had not been killed by a Negro man. The Freeman correspondent favors suppression of vice and murder, but he does not favor punishing the few and letting the majority who are guilty of the same crimes.

BLACK SOCIAL MEETINGS IN LOUISVILLE: 1885; ELITE CLUB; FR TEA PARTY

The New York Freeman, Dec 19, 1885, p 4

Your correspondent spent an evening with the Elite Club. This club is composed of some of our best citizens. The men and gentlemen are well drilled in their terpsichorean exercises, under the supervision of Prof. Gilliard of Pittsfield, Mass., and Prof. Murray, known as one of the greatest violinists of the South. The decorative arrangement of Prof. Gilliard's dancing academy is one of excellent models. On each side of the hall is a row of chairs which would seat 200 or 300 people. The hall is warmed by Baker's celebrated...
LOUISVILLE BLACK SALOONS RAIDED BY WHITE POLICE; POLICE BRUTALITY 1885

The New York Freeman, Dec 26, 1885, p 1

LOUISVILLE BLACK SALOONS RAIDED; POLICE BRUTALITY 1885

The New York Freeman, Dec 26, 1885, p 1
ACCOUNT OF MONTHLY MEETING OF THE TEACHERS' INSTITUTE AT LOUISVILLE CENTRAL HIGH (Dec 1885)

The New York Freeman, Dec 26, 1885, p 1

The Teacher's Institute held their usual monthly meeting at the Central School Building Dec. 19. The opening chorus by the Institute, of thirty or forty voices, was an elegant rendition. Then followed prayer, reading of minutes and an instrumental solo by Miss Sannella Murphy, which was creditably performed. Prof. W. T. Peyton, principal of the Western School, read an excellent paper. Mrs. Mary L. Mead was next introduced as one of the prima donnas of the Institute. A recitation by Mr. W. P. Annis, which was whimsical, comical and real, was followed by an instrumental solo by Miss Rachel J. Davis. A paper by Prof. J. M. Maxwell, principal of the Central School, was lengthy but instructive. Burk played the most difficult solo of the morning. Mr. W. H. Harris and C. S. Morris recited the quarrel scene between Cassius and Brutus. Miss G. G. Moore recited a solemn piece, in a voice just little above a whisper. Miss Mary L. Mead, by request, was called forth again and was greeted with a storm of applause. She sang "Cleansing Fires," accompanied by her daughter, Mrs. O. S. Hutchinson. The program closed with an instrumental solo by Miss Arena T. Brown. Miss Brown is a wonderful artist.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN LOUISVILLE, CHRISTMAS, NEW YEARS 1885-86

The New York Freeman, Jan 9, 1886, p 1

Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Peyton entertained friends Tuesday evening, Dec. 29, at their handsome residence on 19th street, opposite Columbia avenue. We had a quiet New Year's day here. A few kept open house. The Starlight Club, composed of youths ranging from 16 to 19 years of age, gave their second annual party Jan. 1, at Mrs. Mary L. Meade's house, 520 Sixth street. This club needs no encomiums from the press. It leads in giving socials.
"I am informed by one of the committee appointed by the colored men's convention at Lexington, Nov. 26, that they intend to visit Frankfort some time in February and present their grievances to the present session."

"I am informed that Collector Cox said that the reason he did not appoint some colored men was that he could not find any Democrats among them. There are 18,000 colored voters in the 4th and 5th Kentucky Districts. We have in the two districts at least 2,000 independent colored voters. Out of that number you can find men conservative enough to appoint one for every 200, the same as Mr. Buckner did. He had sixteen colored men in his department—one colored man to represent every 200 constituents. What hinders you from doing likewise?"
ATTEMPT TO END LOUISVILLE NIGHT SCHOOLS FOR STUDENTS OVER AGE 20 (1885)

The New York Freeman, Jan 16, 1886, p 1

Regular Correspondence of The Freeman
Louisville, Jan. 9.—At a meeting of the school trustees, December 14, 1885, objection was raised by Mr. Cochran to the admission in the public night schools of pupils over the age of twenty. Mr. Cochran said the people could not stand the taxation for the day and night schools. He further said the Board should inform the Superintendent of his duty and expel all such pupils who now attend. This called forth speeches from Messrs. John Drescher and Frank Pope, who opposed the motion. Mr. Drescher said the night schools were not now in session and before they opened again, which would be January 11, he hoped to secure the passage of an act by the State Legislature which would permit the older pupils, both white and colored, now attending night schools to continue. He said that the night schools were doing a great work, and the money spent upon the older pupils was a profitable investment in giving this community much better citizens. He moved to table Mr. Cochran’s resolution. This was carried as follows: Yeas—Leber, Allen, Atkinson, Ambrey, Buckle, Drescher, Holburn, Pope, Smith and Vandiver.—10; Nays—Cochran, Davis, Godshaw, Loving, Stiles and Trunnell.—6.

Mr. Cochran is a Fourth avenue millionaire and a Main street whiskey man. He is, I am informed, afraid of an increase on the taxation of whiskey and real estate. These two he deals largely in, and rather than have to pay more taxes, he introduces a measure to abolish the night schools. Mr. Drescher has made his first mistake by accepting the Cochran proposition. Mr. Cochran, it seems, bluffed Mr. Drescher, by the aid of the Committee on Finance, who made their yearly report. Mr. Drescher ought to be aware of the fact that each year our population increases, and so must the school fund increase accordingly. This compromise will be a death blow to the poor classes. It was a made-up thing between the six who voted with Mr. Cochran. The young man or woman whose mother is an ageable old woman or a woman with six or more children, can’t attend night school unless they pay in advance, $3 for the first month and $2 for each succeeding month. Mr. Drescher’s resolution was one of the most sensible ever offered since the Board has been in existence.

What are the public schools for, if not to educate the poor? Can Louisville, with a 150,000 population, afford to have it said that she has not but 10,000 citizens who can read a newspaper intelligibly? Had Mr. Drescher stood by his resolution, I believe the Legislature would have granted it and he would have been forever classed as John Drescher, the poor woman and man’s friend and educator. He could also have gotten anything he aspired to from the public.
COMMENT ON WHY BLACKS DON'T HOLD CITY JOBS IN LOUISVILLE BY WHITE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 16, 1886, p 1

LEX BLACK CONVENTION COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO GO TO FRANKFORT (1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 16, 1886, p 1
FOUR BLACKS BEG OFF JURY DUTY IN LOUISVILLE, JAN 1886

The New York Freeman, Jan 16, 1886, p 1

One of the most despicable pieces of tom-foolery which has happened here for some time was displayed last Monday, Jan. 4, by four of our colored citizens claiming to have the interest of race at heart, and by whose action the panel of the petit jury of the Circuit Court for the January term is without a colored representative upon it. There were six colored men drawn for jury service, two for the grand jury and four for the petit jury. Mr. J. C. N. Fowles and Mr. W. N. Lewis were sworn for the grand jury and entered upon their duties, while the other four gentlemen, having business engagements, begged the court to excuse them, which the court reluctantly did. Such action on the part of colored men claiming to have the interest of the race at heart deserves the severest condemnation. We understand that they had no good excuse for not serving.

STUDENTS OVER AGE 20 EXPELLED FROM NIGHT SCHOOLS IN LOU (1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 16, 1886, p 1

Regular Correspondence of The Freeman

LOUISVILLE, Jan. 16.—The Louisville School Board, with the exceptions of a few, turned 1,400 of white and colored working men and women out of the night schools on account of their being over 20 years of age. This clause is in the manual, but it never was enforced until recently. Your correspondent saw so many young white men and women attending the white high school daily, he begged the admission of the working classes, both white and colored, into the night school and it was accepted. So the working men and women flooded the buildings. The third week the attendance was about 1,000—over 100 of them colored. The whites did not seem to appreciate the opportunity and were tardy about accepting it. It also seems to us that the Board is lead against the education of the poor classes by Mr. G. H. Cochran, the 4th avenue millionaire, would abolish every night school in the State if he had the power to do so. Mr. Nick Finzer was the father of the night school. He retired from the Board on account of his immense tobacco business. Mr. John Drescher succeeded him as chairman of the committee on night schools. He is an earnest worker and has brought the school to its present stand and the citizens ought to call a mass-meeting and appeal to Mr. Drescher to offer an amendment repealing the clause in the manual concerning pupils' ages. If the Board has n't the jurisdiction to change the clause, then let Mr. Drescher present his bill to the Legislature. Mr. Drescher need not be uneasy, the popular sentiments are with him. Let our citizens, irrespective of nationalities, unite together in the interest of education.
ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE LOCATIONS OF BLACK SCHOOLS IN LOU (1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 23, 1886, p 1

Chairman Pope is still uneasy over the defeat of his proposition to move the colored schools from their present location. From all reports, it seems that Mr. Pope has laid aside the interest of the education of the colored children to revenge himself against his brother trustees. He is reported to have said to a newspaper reporter that he intends to ask the Board to reconsider his resolution. Mr. Pope is following in the footsteps of Mr. Cochran. We always thought Mr. Pope favored education of the colored people. If he is he should encourage the building of the new schools.

HOTEL BROTHERHOOD UNION CHAPTER STARTED IN LOU (Jan 1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 23, 1886, p 1

The Hotel Brotherhood of the Temple of Industry is a colored organization started in Indianapolis recently by H. J. Poe of that city. The second Temple of the order was formed here yesterday by Mr. Poe, who came to the city for that purpose. It includes the colored employees of the principal hotels.

The following were elected officers by the charter members at their initial meeting: C. P. Jos. King; V. P., Charles Rogers; C. D. M., R. J. Tursus; C. O., H. J. Miller; C. S., J. B. Taylor; R. S., H. T. Baiser; C. T., J. S. W. Satterwhite; C. G. S., M. Morton and C. Briton; C. B. S., D. Grayson and J. H. Stetton; C. S., Benjamin Basset; O. S., Gus Yancey. The originator of the order, Mr. Poe, lectured at the Odd Fellows' Hall, Jan. 18th.
The New York Freeman, Jan 23, 1886, p 1

"The colored citizens of Kentucky will hold a mass-meeting in the hall of the House of Representatives at Frankfort, on the 22d. Their convention has been called to discuss the condition and prospects of the race in the State."

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The New York Freeman, Jan 23, 1886, p 1

"A large mass-meeting was held at the Second Presbyterian Church, corner 24th street and Broadway, Thursday night, Jan. 14, to consider the propriety of building a home for the bootblacks, newsboys and other street urchins. The originators of the movement were the Rev. C. C. Penick, D.D., rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church; Rev. H. Allen Tupper, pastor of the Broadway Baptist Church, assisted by the Rev. A. A. Willets, D.D., pastor of the Warren Memorial Presbyterian Church. The Rev. Chas. R. Hempbell, D.D., the present pastor of the church where the mass-meeting convened, and other divines, eloquently addressed the audience in behalf of the object. Mr. Peter Caldwell, Superintendent of the House of Refuge, was invited to address the throng. He spoke of the necessities of such an institution. After Mr. Caldwell had taken his seat Mr. H. L. Mayer, member of the Linen and other Hebrew clubs, motioned that the chairman be authorized by the meeting to appoint a committee to raise a fund of $100 and start a reading and wash room for the boys. Mr. Caldwell said that had been tried. They had raised it. If you want to catch the boys and do something for them, build them a home. Shelter is what they need. Mr. Caldwell's remarks were among the best of the evening.

Bishop Penick said that if anyone in the audience wanted to be informed about the house he would gladly answer questions asked. At this juncture the Freeman man represented the colored newsboys, bootblacks and other street urchins, by asking if they could share in the benefits of the home. The Bishop's answer was that the Board of seven would arrange that. The meeting adjourned to meet subject to the call of the chair. The Freeman will be on hand at the future conference to believe that those Christians will do justice by all."
The New York Freeman, Jan 30, 1886, p 1

ISSUE OF HOME FOR STREET URCHINS; TO BE SEGREGATED; COMMENT ON BISHOP PINICK (Jan 1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 30, 1886, p 1
LOU BLACK SAID TO HAVE INVENTED PRODUCT TO PREVENT WALL DAMPNESS (1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 30, 1886, p 1

Peter Lewis, an old colored kalsominer of this city thinks he has made a very valuable discovery. It is a preparation to put on walls to prevent them from becoming damp. He has experimented with it for several years, working at intervals at his regular trade to get money to carry on his experiments. We have always proved satisfactorily that his composition will do the work claimed for it. He has testimonials as to the work of the preparation from Messrs. E. E. Powell, George Kittero and J. D. O'Leary.

LOU BURGLAR FOUND TO BE DISGUISED AS BLACK PERSON (Jan 1886)

The New York Freeman, Jan 30, 1886, p 1

Officers Tom Hines and Will Wales made a singular arrest last week. They were on Fifth street, between Green and Jefferson, when they espied a man loitering in the vicinity of the rear of Alexander's Hotel. His actions were very suspicious and the officers endeavored to approach without the prowler observing. He succeeded in avoiding them for some time, but was finally cornered and asked to explain his conduct. His face and hands were black as charcoal and he had every appearance of being a Negro. When he opened his mouth to speak it was discovered by his brogue that he hailed from the Emerald Isle. He could offer no satisfactory explanation, and was marched off to Central Station, where it was found that he had used burnt cork to blacken himself. He had concealed in his pockets a long navy revolver, a huge bowie knife and a great bunch of skeleton keys. He is undoubtedly a very fly burglar, and it is suspected that he intended to operate at Alexander's when captured. He gave his name as Chris Biong. He had no letters or papers on his person by which he could be identified.
NEED FOR BLACK POLICEMEN IN LOUISVILLE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Feb 13, 1886, p 1

ISSUES BEFORE THE LEGIS INVOLVING BLACKS 1886

The New York Freeman, Feb 13, 1886, p 1
By my asking the admission of colored bootblacks and newsboys into the Home has killed its prospects. It seems that our so-called white Christian ministers were afraid to stand a trial before an impartial Christian jury. They knew that their conduct at the last meeting was proof of their hypocrisy.
The lecture of Mr. N. R. Harper, at Jacob Street Tabernacle, Tuesday night, Jan. 9, was an able effort. It was full of wit, humor and pathos. His topic was "Examples for Good within the Race." He spoke one hour and a half. Mr. Harper received much applause and many complimentary comments from the large audience that greeted his appearance upon the rostrum. Before the Rev. Kidd introduced Mr. Harper, the Twelfth Street A. M. E. Zion choir, under the leadership of Prof. W. H. Lawson, accompanied by Prof. James Cunningham, Mrs. G. S. Hutchinson, formerly of the Fisk's Jubilee Singers, and Miss Tillie Waters as organist rendered an excellent program of five beautiful songs, one of which I especially mention—"Jesus lover of my Soul," by Mr. Lawson and wife. At 9 r.m., Elder Kidd introduced Mr. Harper. He said it was an uncommon thing for him to appear as a lecturer, but it is a common occurrence for me to confront you as an organizer or as an humble member of this choir, but nevertheless according to promise I will discuss the examples for good within the race. Said he, "Why is it that the whites committed the blunder of falsely educating the whole nation, the Negro included, that slavery was right and that of necessity and as a matter of course he was doomed to menial service to them. That the colored race was looking now within itself for broad, liberal American views upon all subjects affecting the rights of citizens."

The Negro's views of true American liberty are broader than the white man's because they linger and daily in the shadow of the false and fallacious teaching of slavery. The social status of the two races was more of a disturbing element to the whites than to the colored people. Mr. Harper quoted Mr. Fortune's article in the A. M. E. Review at several intervals, also from his "Black and White." By request of the audience, Mrs. Hutchinson sang "Far Away." Mrs. Hutchinson needs no testimonial from my pen. She is well known to amusement critics as the prima donna of Louisville.

KY LEGIS DISCUSSING NORMAL SCHOOL FOR BLACKS (1886)

The Joint Committee on education has agreed to report to the Legislature $7,000 for Normal School grounds and buildings and $3,500 for teachers' annually. This is incontestable evidence that our trip as petitioners made some impression on the Kentucky General Assembly. We lay in wait to hear the next report from the Joint Committee on propositions, grievances and statutes in regard to an equal civil rights bill. The Kentucky House has passed a bill making the seduction of a female under sixteen years of age, under promise of marriage, a felony punishable with imprisonment in the penitentiary from one to four years.
Readers of THE FREEMAN may remember that the colored people of Kentucky met in convention at Lexington recently and selected a committee to present our grievances, which are many and disgraceful. This committee visited Frankfort January 26, and presented our petition to the General Assembly. The joint committee of both houses received it and I believe pigeon-holed it; at least we haven't heard of it since.

Mr. Denton, a Republican member of the House, offered a resolution, which was adopted, that the different committees investigate our complaints and report such to the House. This was done the day after our return from the Capital. These stubborn Bourbons would rather see their party defeated than to pass any law granting us equal rights in Kentucky. These Democrats are not in sympathy with our Northern allies if they were they would do as Indiana and Ohio legislators have done. Each one of them passed a civil rights bill. Mr. Cleveland knows, and these Kentucky Democrats ought to know, that their President was elected by the skin of his teeth.
BILL TO ALLOW LOU STUDENTS TO STAY IN SCH UNTIL THEY GRADUATE OR TIL AGE 25 (1886)

The New York Freeman Mar 13, 1886, p 1

PETITION OF LOU BLACKS TO ALLOW COLORED GIRLS INTO HOUSE OF REFUGE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Mar 13, 1886, p 1
STATE UNIV HOLDS DEBATING CONTEST IN LOU (1886)

The New York Freeman, Mar 13, 1886, p 1

"The State University had a debating contest and Master William Shackelford carried off the prize."
PEOPLE OF KY SUPPORT THE BLAIR EDUCATIONAL BILL (1886)

The New York Freeman, Mar 13, 1886, p 1

WM J SIMMONS' VIEWS OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION (1885-1886)

The New York Freeman, Mar 20, 1886, p 1
WM J AIMMONS' VIEW OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION (1885-86)

The New York Freeman, Mar 20, 1886, p 1

their powers. Thus he follows the old methods, uses tools long abandoned and wastes time in making what a machine can multiply in ten minutes.

One taking notice, will find that: most of the shoemakers, plasterers, brickmasons and carpenters are men of gray hair—few young men. There are many who take up the trades, professing to be workmen, who are really only butchers, because they have never been trained. Soon these men shall be dead and we want none to fill their places except fully qualified men. We do not desire a black.

White shopmen, tradesmen and mechanics combine in 'Trades Unions' and keep colored men, not only out of the unions, but out of work, because they, as a rule, are not intelligent enough to successfully combine for protection. nor have they the skilled labor among themselves to offer in competition. Again, the number of colored workers needs to be calculated. There being but few colored workmen in the given cases they need do but little. Further, there is but little incentive to increase their ranks, as the contest will be, first, a fight for foothold; second, a fight for bread, with present chances against them and future chances limited.

This drives home the necessity of caring for the colored boy, as he is now not included among the favored few who can get to be even a "helper." I had better say that many men would take colored apprentices, but they would lose caste and money. Two most powerful helps to a man. Some one says "O, it is getting better;" but our answer is, "If you hurry till you are better you will never come at all"—in your day. It is folly to wait for better times, and till prejudices die out. We must take the present generation in order to reach fully the "coming man." Now is the time.

This ninth argument I call my argumentum ad hominem. If the white people of the country with everything in their favor and with a thousand advantages which colored men have not, need, demand, and establish industrial schools, as instance the call of Dr. Lorrimer to Chicago capitalists for $1,000,000 to found an industrial school; the establishment of a carpenters' school and its introduction into the boys' school in Boston; the beginning of a sewing school for girls in Boston as far back as 1885, and after suspension its continued sustenance since 1880; the Kitchen Gardens established by Miss Emily Huntington in New York in 1870; the establishment of 42 agricultural, mechanical, industrial and art schools in 23 States, and the granting of 6,000,000 acres of the public domain by Congressional Act 1862, besides not less than 35 similar institutions owned by religious and scientific societies, and these schools having buildings and grounds to

WM J SIMMONS' VIEW OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION (1885-86)

The New York Freeman, Mar 20, 1886, p 1

the value of $10,000,000 and a productive fund of $25,000,000, then what do we need? If these things be true the colored people need similar schools. They are practically debarred from all the already established, on account of the expenses, the color line, and the high grades of studies. Few can reach so high. We do not want simply mechanics, but trained, enlightened, educated men and women, who can become leaders in their departments. We do not want brute force behind the plow, behind the saw, behind the plane and the grinding wheel, but trained men who can train and set examples for whole communities, and even organize and direct agricultural and scientific societies; men among whom may be found our master workmen, scientific professors, inventors; men learned and skilled beyond question, who will not work in iron, brass, and wood, like the slaves or cutters, but understand the properties and relations of metals and woods, and the comparative and analytical chemistry thereof.

Let me recall the words of John Scott Russell, M. A. F. R. S., London: "An intelligent community of workmen will get through their work quicker, will fit their parts more nicely, will finish off everything more cheaply, will waste less material by trial and error, and give higher value, as well as quality and durability, to all their work, than ignorant, unrefined, ill-educated men."

We must learn to polish and adorn our work; for the cheapest goods are made attractive, and thus find their sale. Herein may be found a large amount of competition.

Since we want the new race of mechanics to know how to use the modern tools and machinery, they must have the chance to learn them, for much of the work has been done with these powerful aids, and unless they know how to manage them, they will not be able to compete with the style of work, the rapidity of its production and the scale of prices. I am aware of the fact that any man does not know, nor do, as much as he did fifty years ago; but there is not now any opportunity for colored men to become specialists, because they have no access to these new labor-saving inventions. Neither have all white men access, nor do they desire it; yet those who do, find little trouble in getting into extensive shops, with all the new tools and arts, while the black boy is shut out and left to learn the rough parts of most trades; hence their labor will not be in demand, for more often a knowledge of the greater includes the lesser, and the colored youth knows neither "greater" nor "lesser."
Though the prejudiced may not teach colored boys, yet the unprejudiced will employ colored men if they can show superior workmanship and put brains into their jobs, showing ability to draught a plan, make a bill of goods, select material, know the latest styles, the best methods and put on the finest finish. In fact, there must be evidence of brains in the hand, in the head and the twinkle of the eye.

NY FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT IN LOU DEMANDS FED JOBS FOR BLACKS (1886) 3866

The New York Freeman, mar 20, 1886, p 4

Request Correspondence of the Freeman

LAWNTTOWN, March 18.—The Louisville Courier-Journal recently said: "President Cleveland has appointed several Negroes to good places, and his actions in this respect has the approval of his party. He should keep up the work." As you heartily commend the appointments the President has made let us hear from you on the appointments that Collector Cox hasn't made. He has ignored all the petitions sent to him by colored men, so far. Under Collector Buckner we had a dozen or more colored appointees, now we have not one. While you are advising the President what to do apply some of your advice at home. Also advise your present Democratic Legislature, now in session at Frankfort, to act upon the petition of 871.451 colored citizens, now pigeon-holed in committee. Again, advise your Democratic City Council to recommend the present General Assembly to strike out the word "white" from our City Charter so that our mayor cannot dodge on giving colored men positions in all of his departments. We wish you would commence to strike out "white" from your charters and social men in Kentucky.
We are looking every day for a strike here. Wednesday night, March 10, the Knights of Labor held meetings in everyone of their halls. At one hall, there were 500 persons in attendance. White and colored were present. I am informed at each of these meetings they took in ten or twenty new members. If that be the case, in one year's time their Louisville organizations will be ten or fifteen thousand strong and every other working man you meet will be a Knight of Labor.

I called upon Alderman Albert A. Stoll last week concerning the two resolutions we asked him to present. The first one, he said had been referred to the Charity Committee, and the second to the Committee on Charter Amendments. Mr. Stoll has spoken favorably of the first one but the latter one seems to have chocked him a little. Now, Mr. Stoll, you know as well as we do that the City Charter does not provide but one white House of Refuge for boys. It says nothing about a House of Refuge for a department for colored boys and if this question was tested the law would close up the separate institutions and compel this city to admit all boys, irrespective of nationality into the present one. As long as the word "white" remains in the City Charter, it will be unconstitutional for the Charity Committee to recommend the building of another House of Correction.
"The society known here as the Brothers of Friendship and sisters of the Mysterious Ten have been organized into a building association."

About five hundred of the best colored people of the city assembled at the Center Street Methodist Church, Thursday night, March 11, to discuss the propriety of establishing a cemetery for colored people. Bishop Miles presided and in his address warmly advocated the enterprise. Mr. H. C. Weedon acted as secretary. Articles of incorporation were adopted and Messrs. W. H. Miles, W. P. Churchill, Wm. H. Gibson, H. C. Weedon, Jessie Meriwether, A. J. Bell and Felix Johnson were elected to represent the incorporation.
CONCERT BY FISK UNIV SINGERS IN LOUISVILLE SEGREGATED? (1886) 3871
The New York Freeman, April 3, 1886, p 1

The Original Nashville Students were bailed to sing at the Masonic Temple theatre for three nights and Wednesday matinee commencing March 22. It was a means of hearing them, but their white manager, H. H. Clemens, stood at the door sending the colored patrons into the gallery. I refused to go up stairs, and while talking to him I noticed that the parquet and dress circle, which had been reserved for the whites, hadn't more than fifteen white people in it. The question I wanted to ask is: Are these singers representatives of Fisk University? Have they any respect for their race or do they respect the dollar in preference, by allowing their white manager to disgrace them by engaging a theatre to give an exhibition and allowing the color-line to be drawn? As this was the case, we be until Fisk University and I appeal to Fisk in behalf of our race to call in these students.

MARCH 1886 MASS MEETING OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE: RESOLUTIONS 3872
New York Freeman, Apr 3, 1886, p 1

Saturday night, March 27, was the night long advertised for eight thousand colored voters to meet in one mass. Four hundred of them met at Beck's Hall for the purpose of organization. The city had been flooded with bills stating the objects of the meeting. Rev. M. F. Robinson was elected chairman of the meeting, J. J. Harper secretary. A set of resolutions was presented by Mr. N. R. Harper for adoption, but Mr. Fitzbutler and W. T. Peyton objected strongly to adoption. A committee consisting of Wm. J. Simmons, Horace Morris, David Talbott, Peter Lewis and W. T. Peyton was appointed to draft a new set of resolutions, signed by four of the committee. Mr. Peyton offered a minority report which was tabled. Mr. N. R. Harper answered Dr. Fitzbutler in a dignified way and offered the following resolution:

Whereas, The demand is upon us to take some steps to further improve our condition as a race in this city and to unite our individual strength and influence for this purpose; and

Whereas, The need of self-support, encouragement and co-operation is greatly felt in opening up to our youth industrial pursuits and laying a broader foundation for the general prosperity of our people, and

Resolved, That we, citizens of Louisville, do hereby pledge to each other and the race throughout the city that henceforth our encouragement, influence and individual and united strength shall be given to any and all legitimate enterprises, business or industrial avocations put forth or pursued by the men or women of our race in this city, and that the protection, interest and strength of this unity shall at all times seek the advancement of those who embrace this sentiment. In faith of which our names are hereunto signed and this pledge submitted to our people throughout the city. After Dr. Simmons reported the resolutions he made a forcible and logical speech in favor of its adoption. Mr. Talbott's reply to Dr. Fitzbutler was unanswerable and to the point. Mr. C. S. Morris was brief but pointed. Several others made speeches, but space will not allow me to mention them.
COMMENT ON TWO CLASSES OF BLACK BUSINESSMEN IN LOU: HOSTILITY TO BLACKS WHO ONLY SERVE WHITES (1886)

The New York Freeman, Apr 17, 1886, p 1

Louisville, April 10.—I had a conversation a few days ago with a prominent colored man of this city who generally knows what he is talking about. Said he, "There are two classes of people among us which, sooner or later, will make up quite an issue for the race to settle with itself as to its industrial and business problem grows in importance with our people. The older and more influential of these two classes at present is all of those people of our race who work for salaries and monthly wages earned directly from the whites. This class also includes barbers who shave white men exclusively and hotel waiters. There are many noble exceptions to be found among this class of our people, but as a rule they are not the class who stimulate or encourage the industrial or business enterprise of the race. It is very little of the earnings of this class of our people that ever finds its way to a colored man in business of any character. It may be from a spirit of selfish indifference, or an unsealed for dependence upon the white man, or what is worse, a desire...

APRIL 1886 SECOND MASS MEETING OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE

The New York Freeman, Apr 17, 1886, p 1

The second meeting of the series of meetings that are to follow the first mass meeting held March 31 at Beck's Hall, will be held Monday night, April 19, at the same hall, to complete the organization. The third meeting will follow the second one, which will be in the West end and should be attended by every colored man who has his race at heart and wants to unite. In union there is strength.
The high school and "A" Grade Alumni of Colored Public Schools have agreed to publish an Alumni Journal, devoted to the literary matters and the interest of the public schools. The management is vested in a Board of Directors, consisting of Messrs. W. H. Perry and C. S. Morris and Misses G. G. Moore, Nancy Hickman and Rachel Davis.

"Your correspondent seconds the appointment of Rev. Allen Allensworth of Kentucky to the chaplaincy of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry and pray his confirmation by the Senate."
The Falls City Base Ball Club, colored, of this city have organized with a strong team for 1886. They have commenced the erection of a park at Sixteenth and Magnolia avenue and expect to complete it by the 25th of this month. The park is situated between two street railroad lines with easy conveyance to and from the park to any part of the city. This club would like to hear from all other organizations in the United States. Address all communications to C. H. Ennis, Louisville, Ky.

The Ciceronian debating society of the State University gave their monthly entertainment Friday, April 9. Their program was excellently arranged as follows: "Nitch by Nitch," Mr. E. P. Morton; "Melpomene," Mr. T. C. Buford; "Painting of Seville," Miss Levina Elliot; "Galileo, Entitled to Public Fame," Mr. J. S. Smith; "Thanatopsis," Miss D. E. Wood; "Parrhasias," Mr. C. F. Sneed. Dr. Simmons ought to feel proud of his boys and girls, as he calls them. He said to the audience that the best speaking he ever heard was done to-day. Each gentleman and lady acquitted themselves so artistically that the judges could not for a long time decide the winners of the prizes. After some deliberations the prizes were finally awarded as follows: first prize, Mr. S. E. Smith; second, Miss Levina Elliot; third, Mr. C. F. Sneed. The others received honorable mention. The judges were Messrs. Horace Mann, W. T. Bully, and C. W. Hines, Sr., correspondent of THE FREEMAN.
"Messrs. C. F. Spalding, president and W. H. Gibson, secretary of the Board of Directors of the Consolidated Lodge, G. U. O. of O. F., visited Frankfort last week and were successful in having the Legislature to pass several amendments to their charter."

"Blind Tom has a phenomenal rival in Miss Barbara Robinson of West Point, Georgia. She is nine years old, uneducated and is said to be the greatest pianist /sic/ ever heard upon a stage."
The New York Freeman, Apr 24, 1886, p 1

...tion of the colored people and then don't give a nickel. We are constantly whining for more charity from the North. So far as we know no Negro has given as high as $7,000 to the colored people's cause in the South, where it is most needed. It reminds me of a stingy Christian who weeps over the cross of Christ and then gives nothing for the mission cause. Who will give $1,000? Who $500? Who $100 for such a school? The place is easily found. The teachers can be easily found who will work almost for food and clothing. How can we move the hearts of those who have the means? The papers have published scores of names of colored persons who are worth $100,000, who will put up the money for grounds and buildings? What power is in the colored press? Let us come down to practical business and put money in the concern. We have expressed ourselves in a pamphlet concerning what manner of school we would have. We need a school where girls and boys can get at least a three years' course and then be sent out into the world in large crowds. Let us raise $10,000 for such a school. Who'll put down the first thousand?"

The Home has now been in full operation seven months, and thousands of soldiers who have enjoyed the comforts and cleanliness of the sleeping arrangements, and the ample and well prepared meals, continually write to me that they will always remember the Soldier's Home at Camp Nelson with pleasure.

A home was here furnished to hundreds of the colored recruits who could not obtain elsewhere, likewise protection against the force employed daily to return them to bondage. The Home was not assailedly erected in vain. In the department of stores, we have done our utmost to supply the wants of the hospitals, regiments, and individual soldiers. There is a school here for colored soldiers, under the superintendence of the Rev. J. F. Fox, which from its commencement three months ago to the present time, has been supplied by us with nearly everything which is required.

Colored Schools.--Our colored friends have at last succeeded in getting a lot upon which to erect their proposed school building. It is situated on Upper street, near the Poor house. They will run up the building as soon as they can collect all of the subscriptions. Let them pay at once, if only for the sake of relieving the neighborhood of Church and Upper/sic/ streets of a great annoyance. Three or four hundred children playing in front of one's door isn't a most desirable pleasure. In the new lot there will be plenty of play ground, and the youngsters will be kept off the street. So, when James Turner calls upon the subscribers they should pay him promptly."
"Sometime since, a young lady, by the name of Louisa C. Williams, was brought to the city by a villain who deserted her. She was left at a house on the Point. A short time since it was discovered that she was in a peculiar situation, and for the purpose, as she thought, of hiding her shame, called in Drs. J. T. Jacques and Chas. R. Miller, who produced an abortion which caused the young girl's death. The facts were made known to the police and about 12 o'clock last night officers James and Amos Turner arrested the two would be respected physicians."

"We are informed that Jacques was once a preacher in Illinois, while the name of Dr. Miller has been familiar with our citizens for some time. The young girl was formerly of Alabama, and is said to have rich and respectably relatives, living there."

"Mention has already been made of the death of Louisa Williams, ... and the arrest of Col. Jacques and Dr. H. G. Miller, with two or three aliases. The coroner yesterday proceeded to the residence of Mrs. Rebecca Dockins, where the death occurred. ... It was stated by a number of persons that this Mrs. Dockins was a professional abortionist, ... she has also been arrested."

"The woman whose death was caused in this horrible manner, was a refugee from one of the southern states, and it is said she has a husband living in some part of Tennessee. "He is about thirty years of age, medium height, and good looks. She had been evidently brought to this city by Col. Jacques. ... The testimony before the coroner's jury showed that the woman had come to her death through the means of an abortion brought by Col. Jacques, Dr. H. G. Miller, and Rebecca Dockins, all of whom have been arrested, ... "
Philip Tomppert, Mayor, to H.A. McCaleb, Lieut Col and Supt FB, Sept 23, 1865.

"In reply I would state that the city has no means set apart for such purposes; nor have I the power to use the means or credit of the city for such objects. If I were to order the burial it would have to be at my own exclusive personal charge, and I am unwilling to incur the whole of the cost."

H.A. McCaleb, Lieut Col and Supt FB to Mayor of Lou, Sept 23, 1865.

"Sir: It becomes my duty to inform you of the death of a freed-woman, whose corpse is now lying at the Refugee and Freedmen's Home, on Broadway, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets, within the limits of the city corporation, and request that you order her burial. I have received imperative orders not to bury any more of this class of people at Government expense who may die within the corporation of the city."

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John M. Palmer, Maj Gen commanding to Mayor Tomppert, from Hdq in Lou, 9-23-1865.

"The person was a citizen, had no connection with the Government, and was only at the Freedmen's Home because he was sick and destitute, and died there only because the proper officers of the city have made no provision for its destitute colored population."

"Under these circumstances I have ordered the burial of the pauper, and that bills for the necessary expenses of his burial, accompanied by vouchers, be laid before the authorities of the city for payment, and will take steps to compel the payment of this and all similar expenses."

The Louisville Daily Democrat, Sept 29, 1865, p 2

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The Louisville Daily Democrat, Dec 29, 1865, p 2 (Daily Lou Demo)

"We lay before our readers this morning two very important documents. One, a circular from Major General Fisk, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, declaring the establishment of that illegal concern, the Freedmen's Bureau, throughout Kentucky; the other, an address (to the Freedmen of Ky, Dec. 26, 1865) from the same source to the Negroes of the State upon the establishment of the Bureau. . . Tribunals not of or belonging to the laws of the State are set up to interfere and regulate labor."
The New York Freeman, May 15, 1886, p 1

[Text regarding the Hod Carriers' Union and Knights of Labor in Louisville]

LOU, JEFF CO BLACK BAPTISTS PETITION LEGIS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS BILL (1886)

The New York Freeman, May 15, 1886, p 1

[Text regarding the Freedmen's Bureau and civil rights legislation]
LOUISVILLE Y M C A SUPPORT FOR PETITION TO LEGIS OF BAP MINISTERS (1886)

The New York Freeman, May 15, 1886, p 1

[Text content]

MISC INFO ON LOU LODGES (1886)

The New York Freeman, May 15, 1886, p 1

[Text content]
LOUISVILLE'S WHITE REPUBLICANS ELECT SOME BLACK DELEGATES TO JUNE CONVENTION 1886

The New York Freeman, June 5, 1886, p 1

"The white Republicans here held their primaries and elected but a few colored delegates to the convention June 1. They would not have elected a single one, if there had not been a kick all along the line by the brother in black."
ACTIVITIES AT THE SCHOOL PICNIC MAY 29, 1886, IN LOUISVILLE

The New York Freeman, June 5, 1886, p 1

The school picnic is once a year, when the public schools both colored and white, give their children a recreation for outdoor sport before the closing of each session. May 29 was the day set apart for the little ones and all of them were there, numbering 13,000. The bachelor, old maid, married and single folks took part in the May day celebration. It was quite amusing to see them all participate in swinging, rolling hoops, playing and dancing. Prof. Gillaud had his dancing class present, who danced round the May pole and other dances, to the music of Prof. Schneider's string band. Principals Maxwell, Perry Peyton and their corps of teachers arranged an excellent program and had it carried out to the letter.

BLACK & WHITE BARBERS MEET TO FIX BARBER SHOP HOURS (1886)

The New York Freeman, June 5, 1886, p 1

"The colored and white barbers of this city are holding joint meetings here, to organize an association to govern the hours of closing and opening their shops."
NY FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT URGES NATIONAL MEETING OF BLACK LAWYERS; PUBLICIZES INFLUENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS

The New York Freeman, June 5, 1886, p 1

Some talk is being indulged in here about a proposed meeting of the colored lawyers of the country to discuss various questions of interest to the race. For the sake of giving my letter, I called in at Lawyer Harper's office to learn about the matter. Finding Kentucky's colored barrister busy preparing a brief in a case in Chancery, I concluded at once that my interview would have to be short. Judge, what about the colored lawyers meeting? asked The Freeman. "Well, I hardly know. The matter is being discussed with considerable interest by some Southern and Western lawyers and with great favor. What are your views about it?" I am heartily in favor of it. If I had more time I might tell you all the reasons why, but it is easy to say that in my opinion the time is at hand when the colored lawyer, and other factors in the progress of the race should assert themselves, and let their influence be felt, especially among their own people, but especially in the courts, and among the controlling forces of government with whom he comes in daily contact. It is a fact well known, that by reason of his occupation, the colored lawyer is brought into immediate daily contact in a manly way, with the learned controlling forces of any community, and if he is a respectable, competent man, it can be said without boasting that he exercises a greater influence for good for his race than perhaps any other colored man. If it be true, as has been demonstrated time and again in the most prejudiced communities in the South, that colored clients fare better before courts in the hands of competent colored men than when represented by white men, why may not the same influence be brought to bear upon some branches at least of what is truly put as the "Negro's Case in Equity" by the united voice of the colored lawyers of this country?" When and where will the meeting be held? Mr. Harper? "Really, I do not know that there will be any meeting at all. You may say for me, however, that I am in favor of it being held in Louisville, early in this coming September. This will be desirable owing to the geographic position of Louisville and the cheap transportation which her exposition will afford at that time, and if this suggestion meets the approval of a goodly number of our lawyers throughout the country, they can forward their names to my office, 507 Court Place, and we will issue a formal call."

PRESENTATION BY DUMAS LITERARY CLUB TO BLACK-WHITE AUDIENCE IN LOUISVILLE 1886

The New York Freeman, June 5, 1886, p 1

Louisville, May 29.—At the Masonic Temple Theatre Monday night, May 29, a large fashionable colored and white audience witnessed the third appearance of the Dumas Literary Club, which is composed of colored talent. By request they performed French's realistic drama, entitled "Above the Clouds." Every character was well interpreted. Mr. William Harris as Philip Thorn showed that he was at home on the stage, and equalled many a star whom I have seen. Mr. Alonzo Duncan as the villain, Alfred Thorp, played his part without a fault. Mr. Horace Conrad's Amos Gaylord, the country widower, was a remarkable old man. Mr. John Childress as Tijus Turtle kept the audience in laughter during the two acts. Mr. James Peyton as Edward Gaylord was fully competent. Nat Taylor

the protege of Alfred Thorp was acted by Mr. Claude Wade, and he performed it to perfection. Mr. William Johnson did Curtis Chapman, usually called "Chips" the rough Justice. There was a strong cast of the lady characters, headed by Miss Many Robinson as Hester Thorn; she is a phenomenon. Miss Muffree as Grace Ingalls was fine as could be. Miss Anna Jackson as Lucretia Gerrish won the compliments of those present as a polished actress. Last, but not least, was Miss Estelle Jones as Susie Gaylord. She enriched the drama with mirth as did Mr. Childress. Manager Peyton announced that the drama would be repeated at an early evening for the benefit of the Orphan's Home. There is some talk of this organization making a tour.
The college is supported by the Baptist General Association of Kentucky and the Baptist Home Mission of New York. Has made rapid progress under James Garnett, the president. Faculty: C.F. Sneed, A.M., dean and professor of Mathematics and science of Government; J.W. Hoffman, PH.D, principal of normal department and prof of science; Mrs. J.B. Garnett, principal of Model School and preceptress; R.S. Wilkinson, B.A., prof of languages and Political Sci in the college dept; Miss A.G. Gilbert, A.M. instructor in English branches and Greek in normal dept; Mrs L.B. Sneed, A.M. instructor in English branches and Latin in normal dept; Miss Anna M. Roberts assistant in the model school; Mrs. M.E. Steward, instructress in instrumental and vocal music and plain sewing; Mrs. J.E. McKamey, matron and instructor in cooking dept. "At twelve o'clock the large bell chimed out for dinner. I visited the dining room where the table was spread with an abundant supply of delicious food and, after the two hundred had eaten, there was food left for fifty more." The college's "...chief aim is to maintain in their midst a centre from which may spread wholesome influence to benefit mankind, to build fashion and develop young men and women intellectually and morally for higher vocations and duties of life and particularly to secure an educated ministry and competent teachers." State Univ. accepts students from any religious denomination. When asked upon what basis students were promoted, President Garnett responded: "We have daily recitations, and frequent examinations, both oral and written which are held to test the progress of each individual scholar. None are allowed to pass from one class to another unless his standing and deportment are satisfactory to the faculty." On Discipline Pres. Garnett said: "...the discipline is strict and firm. Students must expect to abide by the
rules and regulations, or abide by the consequence result that follows disobedience. This is not a reform school, and it is not the place for those who cannot be controlled at home and all are expected to yield a cheerful and prompt obedience to the rules and regulations." The World correspondent then went into the science dept "... over which Prof. J. W. Hoffman presides. Mr. Hoffman is a young man of rare honors. He had the P. H. D. Conferred upon him in the college of Royal Academy in London, England, he has also attended some of the largest colleges in the United States and is a clever, intelligent man who reflects great credit upon the University and Negro race." Says most of the men students are poor, work in the city to earn their school fees. "There is no excuse for not obtaining an education in this part of the southland as everything is within reach of all and a little energy, a little push will qualify one to walk into the world a man in every sense of the word. When the Negro race learns the benefit of an education and obtains the same we will no longer be spat upon as here-to-fore but will be respected as other men." Correspondent Frank R. Willis

"An outrage on a free negro of Lexington was committed by some men in disguise, on Tuesday night last. On Wednesday, a meeting of the citizens was held at the Court House--B. Gratz, Esq., President, W. R. Bradford, Secretary. M. C. Johnson, Esq., offered a series of resolutions, which were adoped, condemning in the strongest terms the outrage, and protesting against its being connected in any manner with the proceedings of Monday. A committee of ten men from each ward was appointed to assist the city police in putting down this mob, should it again show itself."

"proceedings on Monday" the attack on Clay's True American?
"Negro Stampede.--On the night of Saturday, the 5th inst., about eighty negroes escaped from their masters living in Fayette and the adjoining counties. The plan for their escape had no doubt been maturing for several weeks under the counsel and advice of abolitionists from free states; for it is said that many slaves were approached by those men and their agents several weeks ago, who refused to accede to the proposition made to them.+

"The negroes were well armed, many of them with revolving pistols--six shooters--and ammunition sufficient for many additional rounds. They were led by white men and when last seen in the county of Fayette, they were in the public highway, in a body, and were singing and dancing along as gaily and as boldly as if they had the world in a sling.+

"When the circumstances of the stampede were known in Fayette, the most energetic and active measures were set on foot for the recovery of the negroes and the capture of their infamous leaders--the white men. About 40 of the negroes were overtaken in Harrison county, by a party of ten men from Fayette and Harrison, where an engagement took place in which a most excellent and meritorious young gentleman, Charles W. Fowler, from Harrison county, was mortally wounded. The whites were compelled to retreat. In a short time the latter were reinforced; another engagement ensued and they were compelled again to retire, with another of the party, Mr. Jos. Duncan slightly wounded. About 10 o'clock on Monday the pursuers received a large reinforcement. Meanwhile the negroes had scattered through the woods and hills and were endeavoring to conceal themselves in the cliffs of Licking river. The whites however, by the utmost vigilance, succeeded in arresting a very large number of the negroes and one white man named Doyle, who professes to be a Preacher. What number of the negroes are yet at large we are unable to say; but so perfect and well devised are the present arrangements of the pursuers, that it is believed not one will be permitted to escape. Many of those captured, are now in the jails of Harrison, Bracken, Bourbon and Fayette--others are in the custody of their captors.+

"To the citizens of Harrison and Bracken, and to Gen. Desha who led them, the thanks of the people of Kentucky are due for their zealous and untiring efforts in aid of their fellow-citizens of Fayette and Bourbon in recovering their slaves.+

"When Doyle was arrested, it was determined to 'hang him on the nearest tree;' /sic/ but the people were restrained by the earnest appeals of Gen. Desha, Majors Wall and Currie, and other gentlemen who addressed them. Doyle was delivered up to Capt. Beard, (who commanded a company from Fayette,) and is now in the Lexington jail.+

"It was said that Doyle was in the fray in which Fowler was killed, and was very boldly engaged in encouraging the negroes to stand firm and drive back their pursuers. These facts being true, the scoundrel ought to be hanged by the side of the negroes he and his accomplices have seduced into this terrible affair.+

"That there has been for some time past an organized body of negro stealers in our midst, we have not a doubt. They must be watched closely. If we would secure our slaves and protect our firesides, we must look after these scoundrels."
The Frankfort Commonwealth, Dec 11, 1849, p 1 (from Cin. Enquirer)

Wingate, from Frankfort, went to Cincinnati to attempt to return a "servant boy" he thought had fled there a few weeks before. He located the lad and went to retrieve him with 2 officers. The lad left the home he was in willingly, but was followed by a woman who "raised a shout." "... a crowd of colored persons on the instant collected, and in less than ten minutes they had hurried the boy away, in despite of the entreaties of Mr. W. to be heard, or of his efforts to detain him. A good deal of excitement prevailed for a short time, but it finally subsided without any injuries of a violent character being committed." Henry Wingate is the slave owner. The escape of the slave boy: "A daughter of Mr. Wingate visited her sister in the city of Covington, taking with her a small servant boy. The boy remained with his mistress for some days, quietly and apparently contented, when he disappeared."


"Negro enlistment has bankrupted slavery in Kentucky, over 22,000 of the most valuable slaves having already gone into service, while the few thousands left are being rapidly gathered up by 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 seventy to one hundred enlist daily, freeing under the law of March 2d, 1865, an average of five women and children per man. Thus from 300 to 500 black people are daily made free through the instrumentality of the army. How long can Kentucky stand such a draft upon her slave population? To what purpose is it for the Legislature to refuse to act when the result is only a question of time? Kentucky needs what black labor she has left to till her soil, and her slaves can now be of more service to the nation in the cornfields than the army; but if she will not free them at home, then the army must absorb them; and if Kentucky suffers it is her own fault."
FISK EXPLAINS PROPOSED ACTIVITIES OF FB TO KENTUCKIANS IN ORDER

The Frankfort Commonwealth, Jan 2, 1866, p 2

Says the Const Amend abolishing slavery has been passed. The Sec. of State, as of Dec 18, 1865, has extended the Freedmen's Bureau to Ky.

"On the basis of impartial justice this Bureau will promote industry, and aid in permanently establishing peace and securing prosperity in the State.+

"Agencies of the Bureau will be established at points easy of access, and while Superintendents will be cautioned against supervising too much, the fair adjustment of the labor question will receive their earnest attention. they will see that contracts are equitable, and their inviolability enforced upon both parties.+

"No fixed rates of wages will be prescribed by the Bureau, nor will any community or combination of people be permitted to fix rates. Labor must be free to compete with other commodities in an open market.+

"Parties can make any trade or agreement that is satisfactory to themselves; and, so long as advantage is not taken of the ignorance of the freed people to deprive them of a fair and reasonable compensation for their labor, either in stipulated wages or a share of products, there will be no interference.+

"Until the enactment and enforcement of State laws guaranteeing to the freedmen ample protection in person and property, Freedmen's Courts will be established for the adjudication of cases in which they are involved.+

"The Assistant Commissioner earnestly invites the cordial and hearty co-operation of the civil authorities, and of all good citizens of Kentucky,..."

Fisk, Brevet Maj Gen, Asst Commissioner of BRFAL, Order Number 10, Dec 26, 1865

ATTEMPTED RECAPTURE OF RUNAWAY LAD TO CINCINNATI (1849)

The Frankfort Commonwealth, Dec 11, 1849, p 1

"Runaway Arrested But Released.--Something of a muss occurred yesterday forenoon in the ever memorable region known as Bucktown, which has been the scene of many romantic and strange incidents. A man named Wingate, from Frankfort, Kentucky lost a servant boy some few weeks ago, and having suspected that he was in this city, came over to persuade him to return home. After being in the city a few days, he learned the whereabouts of the fugitive and in company with a couple of officers, who went along not to make an arrest, but to prevent any disturbance that might occur among the boy's friends. Mr. Wingate entered the house of a woman living on Sixth street, found his boy, who readily consented to accompany his master home, and they started off. The woman followed them into the street, and soon raised a shout that the boy was arrested by the officers who were forcing him away.+

"That was enough: a crowd of colored persons on the instant collected, and in less that ten minutes they had hurried the boy away, in despite of the entreaties of Mr. W. to be heard, or of his efforts to detain him. A good deal of excitement prevailed for a short time, but it finally subsided without any injuries of a violent character being committed.+

"We are informed that Mr. Wingate is a warm Emancipationist, but that he feels so chagrined and outraged at the course pursued against him that once avowed his determination to send the balance of his slaves to New Orleans for sale."
The Frankfort Commonwealth, Dec 11, 1849, p 1

"The Mr. Wingate mentioned in the foregoing article, is Henry Wingate, Esq. of this city, one of our most respectable and worthy citizens. The facts connected with this outrage, are as follows: A daughter of Mr. Wingate visited her sister in the city of Covington taking with her a small servant boy. The boy remained with his mistress for some days, quietly and apparently contented, when he disappeared. For several days, the gentleman at whose house he was staying, was lulled into the belief that the boy was lurking about the city, and relying upon his attachment to the family, it was believed that he would return home after a few days absence. Failing to return, his master, Mr. Wingate, who meantime had been advised of the facts, visited Covington and Cincinnati, and through a friend, learned the whereabouts of the fugitive. Upon arriving in Cincinnati Mr. Wingate at once reported to the Mayor’s office and employed two police officers, a Mr. Gray and a Mr. Ryler, regularly authorized and paid policemen of the city. He frankly communicated to them his business and the object of his visit, and offered them one hundred dollars for the recovery of his runaway slave. They readily consented to make the effort to arrest him, and assured Mr. W. that there could be no difficulty about the matter, if the boy was in the city. They left Mr. Wingate under a promise to meet him again within an hour. Within the time specified, they returned and assured Mr. Wingate that the boy was not in the city—that they had learned, however, he was at a point some fifteen miles from the city in the custody of the "iron chest gang"—or abolitionists: and that they had made an arrangement with a trusty free negro to decoy him in the Covington jail that night.

ATTEMPTED RECAPTURE OF RUNAWAY LAD TO CINCINNATI (1849)

The Frankfort Commonwealth, Dec 11, 1849, p 1

"Not satisfied with the story of the policemen, Mr. Wingate sought the friend to whom he had been in debt originally for the information of the whereabouts of his negro, and induced his informant to go with him to the spot, and point out to him the house in which the boy was hid. A house on sixth street, not a great distance from Broadway, was pointed out and Mr. Wingate, separating from his friend, entered the house alone. He found in the lower story an old negro wench engaged in ironing. He inquired if his boy was about the premises, and the old hag answered at once, that the boy was upstairs. Mr. Wingate asked to see him—and walked up stairs, where he discovered and at once recognized his boy. The boy, however, affected not to know his master, and refused to return home with him. The negro woman present interfered and said he could not leave her house, unless he desired to do so or "unless his mother came for him!"

The house in which the boy was concealed is situated in a part of the city, known as "Bucktown," which is peopled almost exclusively by the most depraved and abandoned free negro population. Mr. W. knew it would be futile to attempt to take the boy before the proper magisterial officer, unaided; indeed, being a law abiding man, he preferred to take the course prescribed by the laws of the State of Ohio. Accordingly he left the house—the woman promising to keep the boy till his mother, or some other person should call for him, and he returned again to the police office; to seek the aid of the law, in the persons of his employees, officers Gray and Ryler.
Finding his friends of the police, Mr. Wingate communicated to them the facts which he had discovered, and accompanied by a friend from Kentucky and the two policemen, he returned to "Bucktown." He proceeded at once to the house he had visited before, and accompanied by his friend, he entered it, and walked up stairs—the daring policemen remaining below. He encountered the negro woman, and asked for the boy. Her replies were evasive, and there being a bed in the room, Mr. Wingate thought it probable his boy might be concealed under it. As soon as the idea suggested itself to him, he caught hold of the bed, and pulled it away from the wall. The negro woman immediately began a terrible howl—declaring that he should not disturb her house in that way. He persisted, and found his boy safely ensconced beneath the rubbish under the bed—he caught him and dragged him out—seizing him by the hand, he hurried him down stairs, out of the house, and into the street. The negro wench pursued him, crying at the top of her voice, "murder," "fire," and making all manner of noise and clamor.

Mr. Wingate had not gone over one hundred yards, dragging his runaway boy along before the clamor of this negro had collected a mob of about one hundred negro fellows armed with bludgeons and stones. The woman caught the boy by his coat collar with one hand, and throwing the other arm around a lamp post, held him firmly against the efforts of Mr. Wingate. Meanwhile, the friend who had accompanied Mr. Wingate, was seized by two or three stalwart negro fellows and tightly held. Mr. Wingate, after a moment's hesitation, turned, and with his fist, felled the negro wench to the ground. Immediately, he was closely surrounded by the negro mob, and both himself and the boy were hurried to the opposite side of the street.
of the boy, to remove him to Kentucky. Both the hired policemen took occasion to apologize for their manifest desire to avoid responsibility and to pander to the infamous schemes of the abolitionists and negro thieves, by a statement of the fact that the election was rapidly approaching, and any very decided action on their part, in a delicate matter of that kind, would operate to their prejudice. In other words, they feared to do right—to execute the law of the land, lest it should be quoted to their prejudice by the people of the city at the polls.†

At this fear and alarm on the part of the policemen of Cincinnati, we are not surprised when we consider the fact, that the outrage on the person and property of a citizen of a sister state was tolerated in the very heart of the city—in the blaze of day, and in the presence, if not indeed with the approbation of two of the leading and prominent policemen and magistracy of such a city, should hesitate to discharge a duty enjoined by the law, when the discharge of that duty, may bring them in conflict with the prejudices of the people, whose will is the only tenure by which that police and magistracy hold office; nor is it a matter of surprise, that a people who will tolerate such scenes as we have described in their midst, and permit them to go unpunished, will elect for their policemen, men who will make the law bend to the will of the mob, and who will bow their heads in obedience to the commands of a rabble—an abandoned and worthless free-negro rabble at that! ‡

We confess we were slow to believe the many newspaper stories we have seen of late, of wrong committed upon the persons of our citizens and those of the neighboring slave states, in the city of Cincinnati and the state of Ohio. We could not bring ourselves to believe, that a great state and a great city like that, could be driven to submit to the lawlessness of a motly faction of Abolitionists and free negroes. We cannot, however, any longer doubt. Here we have an instance—a case brought to our own door—which occurred in the presence of many citizens, where the law was set at defiance by a ruffian band of negroes, peaceful and quiet citizens in the company of the authorized police; seeking to recover their property, beaten down and trodden under foot, and where authorized police of the chief city of a great commonwealth confessed themselves unable to assert and vindicate the law, lest they should render themselves obnoxious to the censure and condemnation, of a miserable, degraded, and abandoned faction! Is there no remedy for this state of things? We candidly confess it is difficult to point out a remedy. ‡

Our people have, both in their individual capacity and as a sister state, appealed to the sense of justice of the legislature, the magistracy, and the people of Ohio. Those appeals have not availed us anything—still our property is stolen, our rights disregarded, and our citizens can only attempt a vindication of themselves and a recovery of their property at the risk of their lives. The remedy pointed out to us by the magistracy of the offending state, is a resort to force! Heaven forbid the coming of that day, when as a people we shall be compelled to demand justice of a sister state of this great confederacy, by a resort to force!
ATTEMPTED RECAPTURE OF RUNAWAY LAD TO CINCINNATI, (1849) 3905-G

The Frankfort Commonwealth, Dec 11, 1849, p 1

"But the evil of which we complain is becoming insufferable. The remedy is easy to the citizens of Ohio. They have the power to give the remedy, if they had but the will. It is, we believe, the solemn duty of the representatives of the people of Kentucky to bring this subject before the legislature of Ohio. Let it be done in a proper and becoming spirit, and let us cherish the hope, that full and ample justice will yet be done us."

ACCT OF 1886 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION FOR BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE 3906

The New York Freeman, June 19, 1886, p 1

[Image of a newspaper page with text]
UNION LODGE OF LOUISVILLE CELEBRATES 20 YEARS (1886)

The New York Freeman, June 19, 1886, p 1

The Union Lodge of the G. U. O. F., of Kentucky, celebrated their nineteenth anniversary on June 10, with visiting lodges they met at their hall, 13th and Walnut streets, and marched through the principal streets to Woodland Garden, where a banquet was held and prize drilling performed. At night interesting speeches were made by P. C. M., Chas. B. Preston and others. Mr. H. C. Smith, editor of the Cleveland Gazette spent two days in this city last week.

CITIZENS OF CADIZ THREATEN BLACK MINISTER FOR ORGANIZING LABOR PROTECTIVE ASSN (1886)

The New York Freeman, June 19, 1886, p 1

The citizens of Cadiz, Kentucky, the county seat of Trigg, placarded that town last week, warning a colored Baptist minister by the name of W. H. McCloud to leave the place in twenty-four hours; if not he would be ku-kluxed. They accused the Rev. McCloud of organizing a labor protective union among his members. Those white people in Trigg county are said to be bad pay. I am informed that they will hire men or women by the year and promise to pay them quarterly. When the three months expire, if they ask for their wages, they are told by the employer to go to work, he intends to pay them. If this is not satisfactory the employer will drive them from his premises with a shot gun, threatening their lives if they should enter suit. I am told that the so-called law will not interfere.
NY FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT URGES BLACKS TO VOTE FOR BLACK REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN LOUISVILLE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Jun 3 26, 1886, p 1

Regular Correspondents of The Freeman
Louisville, June 10.—The Republicans of this city and the county of Jefferson have at last recognized the fact that the right to vote carries with it the right to be voted for. So they have nominated two competent colored citizens for the offices of Clerk of the County Court and Coroner. Now, fellow-citizens, let us show our appreciation of representation and race recognition by a solid support of the whole ticket. Let each one of us canvass our next door neighbor. Carry the news here and there; talk to every voter you meet; tell him his word and honor to the race is at stake and it is expected of us to electioneer from day to day for the congressional, county and city ticket, until the close of the polls at the August election, and also at the congressional election that will be held in November next.

BLACKS OF THE EAST & WEST END OF LOU ASK FOR 2D GRADE (1886) IN THEIR SCHOOLS

The New York Freeman, July 3, 1886, p 1

The colored citizens of East and West End have requested me to beg the School Board to give the eastern and western schools a second grade next session. They complain of the distance that their children have to go in all kinds of inclement weather to reach the Central Colored School, the only one where this grade is taught. The
BLACK "FALL CITY" BASEBALL TEAM LOSES TO WHITE TEAM (1886)

The New York Freeman, July 3, 1886, p 1

The colored baseball club known here as the Fall City, played the white club called the Major Hughes. The score stood 16 to 5, in favor of the Hughes. There never was a larger crowd at the Fall City Park. In spite of rain people went to see this game. The manager of the Fall City's told me that several leading white organizations would be here before the season closed, and his club will make a tour next month.

NY FREEMAN COMPLAINS OF TREATMENT OF BLACKS & POOR IN LOU STORE (1886)

The New York Freeman, July 3, 1886, p 1

The poor classes of both races who patronize the firm of Sharpe and Middleton, called the New York store, are indignant at the treatment they receive from the floor walkers and salesmen, who are inattentive and impudent. The only redress The Freeman can suggest if these are facts, is to quit purchasing there and buy where there is no discrimination made on account of poverty and color.
The Diurnal steamed out of this port last week with one of the largest river excursions of the season, under the leadership of Mrs. Mary L. Mead, for the benefit of Mizpah Temple. "...Mrs. Mary L. Mead, who is known as Kentucky's favorite songstress...."
Y M C A CONCERT IN LOUISVILLE (1886)

The New York Freeman, July 10, 1886, p 1

The Y. M. C. A., No. 2, gave a concert at Zion Baptist Church, Tuesday evening, June 29. A fashionable audience confronted them. These young men have the citizens' endorsement for their vigorous efforts. Among their pieces were selections from the dens of vice and sin. The following was the program: music, Association; prayer, Rev. Scott; music, Association; recitation, "How he saved St. Michael's;" Miss Lucretia Gibson; declamation, Mr. John C. Martin, who possesses excellent qualifications as an elocutionist; Mrs. Mary L. Mead, who is known as Kentucky's favorite songstress, rendered "Marguerite" and responded to an encore with "All the world's a stage." Mrs. Hutchinson, formerly of Fisk Jubilee Singers, filled the part as organist which is assurance that the music was without criticism. There was a recitation by Mr. William Robinson; a solo, Mr. William Grant, Mr. Humbley Goodall’s declamation on "Slavery" brought tears to the eyes of several. Misses Ellen Bullock and Lucy Hill sang a duet. Little Emma Griffin sang an opera. Her voice and gestures were so easy and fluent that the audience called her to the stage twice. Mr. Morris and Mr. Bailey ended the program with a dialogue.

BLACK FALLS CITY BASEBALL CLUB PLAYS CHICAGO CLUB (July 1886)

The New York Freeman, July 24, 1886, p 1

The Gordon Base Ball Club of Chicago played the Falls City at Falls City Park, Saturday, July 17. The Gordons are a fine looking set and clever ball tossers. The captain does not seem to have his nine under control, however, as far as deportment is concerned. The behavior of the catcher was very ugly; he swore and used vulgar language and disputed the umpire's decisions four or five times during the game. The score was 17 to 11, in favor of the Falls City. The batteries were Scott and Caldwell for the Gordons, and Combs and Thompson for the Falls City. The Falls City played a steady and cool game during the whole nine innings; without a grumble at anyone. Capt. Garret has a pleasing set of athletes, who know how to be clever on and off the ball-field. These same clubs played two more games here on the 18th and 19th; then the home club leaves for Memphis where they play a series of three games.
SiMMoN's Call for National Baptist Meeting (1886) Issues

The New York Freeman, July 24, 1886, p 1

Rev. W. J. Simmons, D.D., has been authorized by every prominent colored Baptist clergyman in the United States to write out a call for a National Baptist Convention, to be held at St. Louis, Mo., August 25, 1886. This meeting ought to have been held years ago. The subjects to be discussed are as follows: (1) To promote personal piety, sociability and a better knowledge of each other. (2) To be able to have an understanding as to the great ends to be reached by the denomination. (3) To encourage our literary men and women, and promote the interests of Baptist literature. (4) To discuss questions pertaining especially to the religious, educational, industrial and social interests of our people. (5) To give an opportunity for the best thinkers and writers to be heard. (6) That, united, we may be more powerful for good and strengthen our pride in the denomination.

Louisville Society Events 1886

The New York Freeman, July 24, 1886, p 1

Queen Esther Court of the Immaculate Society entertained at Mrs. Mary L. Mead's, July 12. The affair was entitled a bubble party; such was never seen in this city before. The Coachman's Union celebrated their second anniversary Thursday, July 15. They paraded through the principal streets and gave a picnic at Woodland Garden. Mr. Wm. E. Brown visited relatives at the State University and left for Chattanooga, Tenn. Rev. J. J. Cole, a Baptist missionary from Africa, is lecturing here. Rev. E. T. Hoffman passed through this city Monday, on route to Kansas. W. H. Mosby of St. Louis is spending a few days in this city.
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACKS ON HORSE DRAWN TRALLEY IN LOU (1886)

The New York Freeman, July 31, 1886, p 1

While on a Walnut street horse-car, several days ago, I noticed an inhuman incident which I frequently see practiced by the conductors of that line. A crippled colored woman, looking to be about ninety years of age, hailed the Portland car to board it. The conductor rang the bell for the driver to stop. He did so, and instead of the conductor helping the old lady on the car, he walked past her. Two white passengers and the Freeman man got off and helped the old lady on. This conductor stood laughing upon the platform, as if he enjoyed his neglect of duty, with the company at his back endorsing his inhuman conduct. At 19th and Walnut streets, the old lady asked a white gentleman, who was sitting in the seat ahead of her, to signal the conductor to let her off. I thought may be this conductor would become ashamed and realize he was born of a woman, and would help her off, as he had seen three of us help her on. But he paid no attention again. Mr. Du Pont, the president and proprietor of the road, also has the controlling interest in the Louisville Commercial. The Freeman man was informed that the old lady sent a card to the above paper for publication, but it was not published. If this be true, of which I have no doubt, every colored constituent should drop this paper forthwith.
BLACK ELECTED CORONER IN HOPKINSVILLE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Aug 14, 1886, p 4

"At Hopkinsville, Ky., the Republicans elected Mr. Watt, a colored man, for coroner."
"FALL CITY" BASEBALL TEAM BEATS MEMPHIS TEAM

The New York Freeman, Aug 14, 1886, p 4

"The Eclipse baseball club of Memphis played the Falls City's two games Saturday and Sunday, and were defeated in both games. The score in the first was 12 to 4, and in the second, 14 to 13."
NY FREEMAN CORRESPONDENT TELLS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE RR DEPOTS (1886)

The New York Freeman, Sept 4, 1886, p 1

Brutality is still carried on to the highest pitch by the employees of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad at their passenger depots in this city. The Freeman's correspondent was an eye witness of two brutal occurrences at the Maple Street Depot last week. A handsome dressed colored lady arrived in an omnibus a few minutes before the 12:35 a.m. train pulled out. She asked me where the ticket office was. I directed her to the ladies' waiting room and told her that the ticket office was at the right of the office. She thanked me and left for the waiting room. In a short time she returned, saying that the agent told her he did not sell tickets to colored people from that window, as it was against the company's rules and "he shut the window in my face," she said. "What can I do and where can I go to get a ticket for Memphis?"

Before your correspondent answered, I asked her if she had been informed of the treatment that colored travelers receive at the hands of the L. & N. Co. She said, "No, this is my first trip south of Cincinnati!" She also asked me if there was another way to get to Memphis without taking a steamer. I directed her to the C. & O. & S. W. R. R. Depot at 14th and Main streets as the only road running South that will give colored passengers first class tickets. She thanked me and called a carriage to carry her to the depot. The second happening was the conduct of a brakeman toward another colored lady who had a first class ticket. The brakeman stopped her at the coach steps in an Irish brogue, by saying that the coach ahead is for darkies. This L. & N. Co. has a room labeled "Colored Waiting Room," and it is used by the road employees for all purposes. They gather there to smoke, to skylark, and to pass smutty jokes. They do these things without fear, on account of rigid orders that are given to enforce against colored people. I was told that they had better obey them or get out of the company's employment. The is but a sketch. Space would not allow me to pen all that I saw and all that went on at the Maple Street Depot while I was there to see a friend off for Mobile. This only remedy I can suggest is, if the colored travelers should have to go five hundred miles out of the way, they had better do it than to stand the brutality they receive by purchasing tickets on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, South.

BLACK "FALLS CITYS" BEATEN IN LOUISVILLE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Sept 4, 1886, p 1

The Falls City's baseball team had a doubleheader with the Major Hughes Sunday, Aug. 20, for the second time this season at Falls City Park. Fully 500 people were in attendance. The game of eight innings was won by the Hughes by a score of eight to one. Batteries—Falls City's, Combs and Thompson; Major Hughes, Stiebel and Able.
"Livingston, Shelbyville and Bardstown will hold their Colored Fairs this month. All three of them being old Associations can be relied upon for excellent exhibitions."

The Louisville Exposition opened its 4th annual display Saturday, August 28. At 6 o'clock from Phoenix Hill one hundred cannons were fired in honor of the grand opening. In the afternoon Market street was the place for the elegant procession to move from. The first of its kind ever witnessed in the United States was held near this city Tuesday, Aug. 24, at Arctic Springs, a short distance up the beautiful Ohio river on the Hoosier shore. It was by the Louisville Colored Boat Club. The regatta consisted of three skiff races. The first race, two miles, three boats, Graham, McGowan and Wm. Bently; second, Championship of Kentucky for three gold medals, George Keljan, Chas. Sanders and H. Bowman; third, swimming and diving races between Wm. Smith and Wm. Ward of Cincinnati for a silver medal. Mr. Ward was the winner. The balance of the evening was enjoyed by dancing, swinging and other numerous athletic sports until 12 o'clock at night, when the beautiful steamer Diurnal blew her steam calliope for all the boys and girls to board and let us sail home before morning.
BLACK DOMESTIC WORKER CRITIZES WORKING CONDITIONS; PAY; COLOR LINE IN LOUISVILLE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Sept 11, 1886, p 4

"The Sunlight Glee Club gave one of their fashionable concerts at Finzer's Hall Monday night. This club is composed of some of the best singing talent that Louisville affords."
All the public schools opened Sept. 6. Mr. E. C. Woods is still principal of the California School. Miss V. M. Barks, whose efficiency cannot be questioned, is yet first assistant at the Central. Mr. J. H. Williams of Philadelphia was appointed a teacher in the colored High School, subject to examination. He failed, and the place was filled by the reliable Mr. C. W. Houser. The Louisville School Board ignores the right of the Kentucky Legislature to make laws to govern the public school system of the State. Both Houses of the Legislature at its last session passed what is known as the Night School Bill. This bill was signed by the Governor and was to become a law as soon as the September term of 1886 opened. It admitted all persons to the night schools under the age of forty years. Wednesday night, Sept. 8, the night schools opened. Hundreds were turned away on account of the orders of a few rich white men who are members of the Board, and run things to suit themselves, irrespective of the Legislature, the Governor and the poor. The majority of the members at one time were in favor of this bill, but it looks as if they have bowed down to these rich bosses and ignored their working constituents, both young and old, white and black, who want an education and are too poor to pay for it. Hundreds of people went to the expense of buying books, and are now disappointed, the school doors being closed in their faces.

A concert will be given by the Grand En- core Concert Troupe of Nashville at Haden- Franz Hall, Market street near Second, Monday, Sept. 20. Admission twenty-five cents. This concert is for the benefit of the new college to be started at New Castle. By this school will be under the auspices of the Christian denomination.
EXAMPLES OF EDUCATION OF BLACKS DURING SLAVERY

Fouse interviewed William McDonald of Lexington in 1935. McDonald was an ex-slave stone mason, quite old, and had been a leader in "church and fraternal affairs." McDonald said "all his education came through the Sunday School during slavery. His teachers came from the College of the Bible of Transylvania University, Lexington. Gunn /begin p 23/ Tabernacle still stands where he was taught. St. Paul A.M.E. Church, founded in 1829, was another center in which white teachers often assisted in Sunday School Work."

"William Allen /interviewed in 1935/, a Lexington Negro ninety-eight years of age, has been a tradesman for more than sixty years. He relates a personal experience which illustrates the point just mentioned. His white half-brother was accustomed to teach him every day. The father of both boys, suspecting that his white son was instructing the black boy, went cautiously into the room one day to find his suspicions verified. The father proceeded to give both boys the most severe whipping they had ever had and threatened the white boy with more severe punishment if he ever caught him doing it again."
Efforts of Blacks in Lex to Supplement State Support of Schools

Post-Civil War Period

... Negroes of Lexington felt the necessity of supplementing the state funds themselves. Churches, various organizations, as well as individuals, felt the same urge. There were five educational projects which the Negroes of Lexington, to a greater or lesser extent, took upon themselves to carry forward. (1) It was the Negroes themselves who started the school in Ladies Hall on Church Street. This school was later put into the hands of the representatives from the American Missionary Society. (2) A second private school was started in the Christian Church on Fourth Street. The church is now known as St. Andrew's Episcopal Church. This school was started as a private enterprise, yet it soon became a community project upon which rested all responsibilities except the payment of the teachers' salary. (3) Main Street Baptist Church was used also as a school building. It was at that time a rude frame building which had been a hemp factory. (4) The First Baptist Church was a pioneer school building, located on Short and Dewees Streets. (5) This was also true of Asbury M.E. Church on Will and High Streets.

Black Private Schools in Lex Area in/Post-Civil War Period

Private school activities: "(1) In Lexington education for Negroes began as private enterprises. The pioneer in this field was one, Jane Washington, who conducted her first school on Second Street near Bruce Street in a small frame cottage. Even though this was before the War, she was permitted to teach Negro children, in violation of the 'unwritten' law, through the influence of Andrew Bush, a prominent member of the Lexington bar. +

"(2) Another private school was later opened in the Christian Church on Fourth Street, the same edifice which is now occupied by the St. Andrew's Episcopal Church. /begin p 42/ Mrs. E. Belle Mitchell-Jackson and a Mrs. Talbert taught together in this school. A committee of three Negro men paid for the use of the church; the children were charged fifty cents a month, and the American Missionary Society paid thirty-five dollars a month to support the work. +

"(3) The educational needs for the Negro children in the southern section of the city were first satisfied by a school located in the basement of Pleasant Green Church. About 1876 this school was closed and the school moved into a four-room frame building on a lot bought by the Board of Education. This building was located on Patterson Street, next to the railroad. The increasing enrollment soon made it necessary to enlarge this school by building a four-room brick structure about 1885, a few feet in the rear of the frame building. These two buildings continued to serve the school needs until about 1908 when the frame structure was torn down and a four-room brick building was added to the brick building that had been there for several years."
According to the 'Record of the City Council' of the year 1873, the office of Superintendent of City Schools was created at that time. In his first annual report, Superintendent J. O. Harrison showed that the Negro schools were making very slow progress. This was due largely to the fact that the city made no appropriation for the Negro schools. This was the first contribution ever made by the city for Negro education.

On November 6, 1873, according to the 'City Council Record' there was an estimate of 1500 Negro children in the city. At this meeting a plan was accepted for the maintenance of three Negro schools requiring a total of eight teachers. The plan provided for three schools for which the Negroes were to furnish the buildings and keep them in repair while the Council was to pay the salaries of the teachers. The principals were to receive forty dollars per month, while their assistants were to receive thirty-five dollars per month. The schools were located in Ladies Hall on Church Street, on Corral Street, and on Fourth Street. Two reports for 1874 showed that Church Street school had an enrollment of 150 pupils. The appropriation for that year was: White schools, $13,546.52; Negro schools, $3,418.51.

The history of this period in the education of the Negroes of Lexington would not be complete without mention of Joseph Orlando Harrison. It was during the dark days immediately following the close of the War, commonly known as the reconstruction period, that Lexington had the good fortune of placing her educational interests in the hands of Joseph Orlando Harrison, a member of the Lexington and Fayette County Bar Association.

His native ability, his training, his best thoughts, his heart were given to organize and set in motion the educational program for his native city.

No records show anything about the methods of teaching or the textbooks used in the Negro schools of that early period. It is very possible, at least in the beginning of this period, that reading was the chief study while writing or penmanship and a little arithmetic completed the curriculum. The blue-back speller and Ray's Elementary Arithmetic were the chief texts used, according to the testimony given by Mrs. E. B. Jackson.
In 1882 the school funds were joined, and integrated schools banned. The effects of the first enactment of these laws consolidating the school funds was an immediate and effective change in the conduct and length of term of the Negro schools of Lexington as well as those in other parts of the state. The term was increased from three months (sometimes less) to nine months, the same as for the white schools of the city. Longer terms also resulted in better salaries and a better type of teachers. Mrs. E. B. Jackson, who is still living and who was a teacher in the Lexington Negro schools at that time, says that salaries ranged from fifteen to twenty dollars a month. Before this law was passed, the best or highest paid Negro teachers received twenty-five dollars a month. After the law passed the teacher's annual income was higher. Better instructors were thus secured.

The third law, making it obligatory to grant those who had finished the eighth grade a diploma proved to be very effective. It became so popular that the commencement of the eighth grade graduates sometimes surpassed in interest and popularity the closing exercises of the high school. The weakness lay in the fact that such students often failed to pursue their education any further, feeling that further study was unnecessary. This was overcome later when the junior high school unit was introduced embracing the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. This new organization lessened the tendency for Negro students to discontinue their training before finishing the eighth grade or to stop school as soon as they had finished that unit.
p 52/ "The second law, making it illegal to have mixed schools, was calculated especially, according to the report of Mrs. E. B. Jackson, to strike a blow at Berea College where the white mountaineers and Negro students were educated together. This was a part of the fundamental principles upon which the founder, Rev. John G. Fee, noted abolitionist, established the school. Although the Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute at Frankfort, founded in 1870 and later the Institute (New Berea) at Lincoln Ridge, did compensate to some extent, it was never accepted by the colored people of the state as an adequate substitute for their loss in being forced to discontinue registering at Berea College." The result was that blacks wishing to enter schools offering higher degrees had to leave the state. "A register of the Negro high school graduates of Lexington during the next period shows that there were 135 graduates who, after finishing the local high school, had to leave Lexington to receive further training at their own expense in other states." Ky gave these students no aid as did N.C. & West Va.

INCREASED AID FROM CITY OF LEX FOR BLACK SCHOOL (1872-91)

p 55/ "It was just before the first departure of the American Missionary Association from Lexington as an educational agency that an event occurred which had a most significant bearing on the educational status of the Negroes of Lexington. It must be remembered that during the first few years of freedom there had been no mention of the Negro schools in the educational budget of Lexington. This was not strange since by legislative enactment the support of education for Negro children of the state was to come from the taxes on the property of Negroes (after the support of their paupers had been provided for). However, as early as 1872 Lexington took a forward step in the interest of the colored schools of the city. The records show that James Turner, a Lexington Negro minister, greatly interested in education for his race, presented to the city council information as to the embarrassment and struggle the Negroes were having in trying to support their schools, pay their teachers, and in liquidating a pressing obligation on the school property they were trying to buy. After due consideration the Council decided:

First, to appropriate from the school fund (white) $750.00 to liquidate the debt against the colored school property on Fourth Street.

Second, to appropriate $600.00 from the capitation tax for the support of the colored schools.

Third, to appropriate one-half of the capitation taxes derived from colored persons for the year 1872; and one-half of the similar taxes from previous years and for the years to come should be used for the same purpose. (This last provision became state law the following year).

Fourth, that one-half of the railroad tax for the year 1872 should
By pursuing this policy the colored schools of the city began to show marked improvement by increasing the length of the school term and by furnishing the colored children a better type of building. The result of this liberal (for the times) attitude was that the Negro schools of Lexington, along with Louisville, were considered as being outstanding and were spoken of as 'handsome municipal buildings' for the education of their colored children."

"With the liquidation of the debt on the Fourth Street School and the continuation of the support of the colored schools which the Council gave, there was started what may be called the program for the erection of Negro schools in Lexington. It was during this period (1874-1882) that Patterson, Constitution and Russell schools were built. While these were all frame structures, yet they were such an improvement over what had been that for many years they were looked upon as model buildings for Negro schools."
BACKGROUND, FOUNDING OF CHANDLER NORMAL SCH, LEX, 1889 (AMA) 3943

w h fouse, 'ed hist of negroes of lex,' m a thesis, u of cincin, 1937

p 58/ The AMA withdrew from Lexington earlier. "However, Rev. James Turner and others, after a few years following their withdrawal, wrote the Association in New York asking the return of their educational workers to Lexington. A survey was made by their representatives who made a favorable report which resulted in bringing back to Lexington for the second time a number of American Missionary teachers. Among them was Ezrail Hatch, the principal. /begin p 59/ His first steps were to secure funds to buy a new site and erect a new building. Professor Hatch was the leading spirit in this movement. The drive resulted in getting a large number of people interested in the enterprise, among whom was Miss Phoebe Chandler of Massachusetts. She donated a new building on a four acre campus just outside the city limits. This was known as Chandler Normal School. Upon removing the school to the new location on Georgetown Street, they realized that the smaller children could scarcely walk the distance without too great inconvenience. They, therefore, continued the school on Corrall Street for the lower grades and taught the upper grades in the new Chandler building. The new Chandler building was completed in the fall of 1889. With its opening in 1890, Chandler began a new lease on life and remained in Lexington for nearly forty years." /p 72/ The faculty was entirely white until 1904 when the first black was hired, to teach in the primary department. /p 109/ Chandler Normal Sch closed 1922.

COURSE OF STUDY LEX SCHOOLS 1882-1891; FOR BLACKS & WHITES 3944

w h fouse, 'ed hist of negroes of lex,' m a thesis, u of cincin, 1937

p 61/ Course of study for 1891: 10th grade--reading composition, writing, geography, arithmetic, thought and language; 9th grade--first reader, language, composition, geography, spelling & writing, arithmetic, moral and physical exercises; 8th grade--second reader, composition, writing, arithmetic, general lessons, geography (Ky and states which bound it; map drawing); 7th grade--third reader, geography, arithmetic, composition, general lessons, mental arithmetic, declamation; 6th grade--fourth reader, subjects of seventh grade; 5th grade--fifth reader, subjects of sixth grade plus new subjects of Physiology, grammar; 4th grade--subjects of fifth grade plus algebra, physiology; 3rd grade--subjects of fourth grade plus history of england; 2d grade--subjects of third grade plus physical geography, rhetoric, latin, mathematics (higher arithmetic and algebra); 1st grade--higher mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, geometry, history rhetoric; latin (grammar and caesar)

Fouse says that the 10th grade was beginners; 1st grade was highest class.
DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES OF COLORED AGRI & MECH FAIR IN LEXINGTON (1891?)

The Lex colored fair was organized by male blacks in Fayette Co. Its work in the area of education was indirect rather than direct. It offered an opportunity to display improvement of the race. The fair won for itself a wide recognition and brought into Lexington annually thousands of visitors from all parts of the country. Its educational claim lay partly in allowing each one to see thousands of his own race at their best, thereby breaking up old patterns of inferiority and substituting feelings of self-confidence, hope, inspiration and belief in the possibilities of Negro cooperation. Another educational result was found in the premiums offered the boys and girls for displays in essay writing, penmanship, art, cooking, sewing, poultry raising, etc. In fact, the Board of Education for many years postponed the opening of the Negro schools for a week since they thought that the 'Colored Fair' gave the Negro boys and girls full value for the time spent at the great demonstration.

"The 'Colored Fair' had a third educational result in offering training in business to most of the operators, whose early years were spent in bondage. Mention also should be made of the fact that the 'Agricultural and Mechanical Realty Company', an offspring of 'The Agricultural and Mechanical Association' or 'Old Lexington Colored Fair', still survives and has holdings which continue to yield the stockholders worthwhile dividends."

ACCOUNT OF ATTACK ON CAMP NELSON 1866

You have doubtless heard this of the calamity which has befallen us at Camp Nelson. And though I have informed our agent guide fully of this matter I thought it might be a matter of interest to you to hear direct from us concerning the trouble we have been, and to some extent are still going through. On the first of Sept. We started our school in the old "refugee Hall", under very favorable aspects the school was directly under the charge of my daughter. We began with about forty, but during the first month her were up to nearly 150 having a daily attendance of about one hundred. The school was large, but our room was commodious, and with what aid I could render, it was a success beyond anything we had seen before in camp Nelson.

We had bargained for the farm of the top of 190 acres with all the cottages about 30 in number, had divided it into small lots of from 3 to 5 acres each and sold most of the lots to the people reserving about five acres with the dwelling house and two large buildings for the school. On the 1st of Jan. 1869 we were to pay five thousand dollars one half the purchase money and take entire On this farm we had caused to be (down) about 50 acres of wheat which was fine. Every thing looked encouraging families were coming in and depositing their money for payments on their lots. By had opened a small store for the accomodation of the people and shops were to be opened built in early
ACCOUNT OF ATTACK ON CAMP NELSON 1866

A Scofield to Revs. Striebe & Whipple, from Nicholasville, Dec 14, 1866, ama, arc, #44390

Spring to give employment to poor families who wished to gain the advantages of the school but were unable to purchase homes. (These fair prospects our enemies saw as well as we. Thus envy and hate were as roused in a high degree. They swore that "Old Scofield would be hung and that "Niggers nest" would be broken up." At first this was loud talk only, but presently they began to act. In the beginning of Oct. raids upon the black people was and in camp were frequently made by night. Bands of armed nathrians broke into and plundered their houses taking what arms and money they could find. Every night they would come a little nearer to our house. By the way of a kind of introduction to us, anonymous letters would be thrown into our windows, telling me that my life was in hourly danger and that our buildings would be burned unless we break up and left. These facts we finally communicated to the agents of the Bureau, who assured us that we should be protected. Time went on, and we kept to our work. On the night of the 20th of Oct - we were aroused from our slumber about midnight by a loud rap on our front door, and my name was called. As the moon was shining bright I went to the door and asked what was wanted. A man standing on the steps said he wanted to see me. I opened the door, and there stood a man with one pistol in hand and another in his belt. just behind him fully armed stood ten more in a line of battle. the foreman demanded that I should come out to them, but I refused. He then after sending accusations of keeping a gang of Nigger-thieves, and putting myself on a level with them imperatively demanded of me a promise to leave

ACCOUNT OF ATTACK ON CAMP NELSON 1866

A Scofield in Nicholasville to Revs. Striebe & Whipple, Dec 14, 1866, ama, arc # 44390

within ten days, but I told him I could make no such promise. he then called for his companions to come up, but I quickly shut the door and turned the bolt. He made a rush for the door, but it was fast. He thrust his pistol in at the window and demanded that I should open the door. I still refused to open or promise. While I was slipping on my clothes they left saying they would return with a larger number in a few days, drive us out and fire the buildings. We then felt that something should be done that protection should be at once given us or our enterprise must be abandoned. We lost no time in communicating our pleas and wishes to the agents of the freedmen bureau. We sent to Nicholasville to Lexington Ky word and letter, finally, to Louisville, asking for help. We were again told we should be protected and directed to arm our men and keep a nightly watch till soldiers could come. This we did at considerable expense of time and money. From 12 to 15 men were put under arms every night, indeed we slept upon our arms. But the men after two weeks became quite weary of this. To work all day and watch all night, was a tax they soon became weary of, and as I could not afford to pay them for this night work, after about two weeks, it was given up. no soldiers came. But we hoped for the best and still went on with our work-new families came in and selected their lots. But the fatal hour at last came. On the night of the 19th of Nov. about
one o'clock a.m. a loud crash came against our unprotected home. Thirty armed men while we were all asleep, had noiselessly surrounded the building and by a signal gave a dash at our windows and doors breaking them open and there in. The few arms in our room were seized and my son and myself ordered to be shot if we attempted to move. Their work was short; several of them guarded us while others went out to keep off any of our men who might come to our aid. Taken by surprise, the blacks were panic stricken and all but one fled in fear from their houses; he noble fellows John Burnsides stood for his family and fought like a tiger. He fatally wounded one seriously another of his assailants. But he was soon overpowered by numbers, pulled out of his house knocked down and left in his grave for 2 dead then fired several shots through the house at the women and children and hastened off with their wounded comrades. This diminished the number who guarded us and probably saved our lives and our buildings. They hurried us over the hill to shoot us, but suddenly concluded to Lynch us with black fire and soon concluded to release us on promise that we would break up the school and base. In the meantime a party of them went in pursuit of my daughter. They lit a candle and sacked the house, and went very near to her, but she kept herself squat close, and kept still—so the Lord delivered her out of their wicked hands. They set fire to the buildings, but they had most the black powder and were in too big a hurry to stay to see them burn. The fire ashamed of its makers and its work, turned pale and went out!

In the morning, we lost no time, but applied immediately to the agents of the Bureau, first at Nicholasville then at Lexington. Again we were assured that soldiers should be sent to protect us. We again mustered our men and turned our rooms into barracks of War— for eight days we did not put off our clothes for sleep— at last on Saturday night the eighth day of our siege the soldiers came greatly to our relief and joy. On Monday morning about 1 a.m. they left us and went in pursuit of some of the robber band who were reported to be in the neighborhood. They arrested two young men citizens within a mile of us, with equal reason they might have taken some other had they gone for them. But having taken these two they made a hasty march to Lexington 18 miles leaving us to get away the best we could. In the morning all was confusion and alarm. Bands of mounted rebels were riding furiously up and down the streets swearing every one of us for their captured comrades. Nothing remained but to fly. But how to get away was a question not easily solved. There was but one way out, and that was theorized with bands of armed men now mad denied with the arrest of their guilty companions. The terrified people absolutely refused to help us off, and almost blamed us for being the cause of our trouble. One team was procured and loaded but all were afraid to drive out for a time it seemed we must either abandon our good to pillage, cropp the river in a ship, and wander off in the country taking the stars for our guides or stay and be murdered in our home that
night! We resolved at all hazards to go to Nicholasville. Our daughter waited first. Taking an old map and cart we procured a Black woman to drive and wrapping herself up she passed safely through as a "sick woman". Toward night our ever faithful brother "Gabriel Burdlett" came to our relief—he found courage to mount the wagon with us and drive us safe to Nicholasville. We went to the Buford House, a large and comfortable Hotel and called for accommodations. In the morning we were told that we must leave I asked for board for my daughter for a few days, but the gentlemen proprietor told me plainly no, and then by way of exp tuition, remarked some of his customers, that if "they chose to associate with niggers they might go." So we paid our bill of six dollars for our nights, tarry with quite ordinary fare and left.

Turned thus again into the street. We found a small office where we thrust in the goods we had saved and made the best of a bad matter. spreading our mats on the floor at night and eating our lunch on the top of our boxes and barrels. Two days after on the day where you good people were giving thanks to God. I ventured back to camp to look after the balance of our goods. But desolation reigned in once good and happy home; our rooms, had been broken open and plundered of every thing of value. About one hundred dollars worth was gone beyond the hope of recovery! Some of our people had fled and others were preparing to leave. John Burnsides who fought so well and effectually, had recovered from his wounds

ACCOUNT OF ATTACK ON CAMP NELSON 1866

so as to fly and had left his family in hope of finding for them some place of greater security. But night drew on, I knew I had been watched that day and learned that the evening before suspicious new had been there enquiring for me. There was no hour where I could be safe, so bundling up as I could, with a piece of bread and meat in hand for supper which a good woman gave me I started for the field. Once out in the lot I felt safe. Hapily the night was dark and dreary. Never did deep dark feel so welcome to me as then. I know and felt that none but God was there! I cannot tell you how much I thought as I lay on the cold wet ground, that long, long sad night. I thought of my dear family far, far away, and how sad they would feel if they knew to what extremities I was driven. I thought too of you in your quiet happy homes, rejoicing in the comforts of a thanksgiving day. There I realized as I had never done before what solemn work it was to be a missionary of the cross, and what those dear missionaries must have been in adversity and virtue, who in early times devoted theirselves unto death for the course they had exposed. But morning came at last and I emerged from the place of my concealment. When I came to our rooms I found the robbers had been in that night and rummaged through the house, "but him they found not! Gathering what I could of the remnants of our goods, I procured a waggon and hauled them to our little room. But even here we appeared not to be safe. The boys would gather about our room set up a ward well and sometimes stone the building - and all this within a
of the office of the Bureau agent, who has never inquired after our welfare. I have made my complaints to him till I am ashamed, he seems to take little notice of them, whether from want of sympathy or want of power. I am unable to say.

One word about the arrests by the soldiers already mentioned. Well, they took those two young men in to Lexington. Oh, mad with rage, went a white company from within and about Camp Nelson, out of hole and corner and bush issued somebody, have to swear, serve, to bluster and scold and serve to bale out the boys. When the crowd got there two others were forced among them, seized and sent to prison at Louisville to await their trial. But influential friends came to their rescue, and all have been bailed out and all are again at large!

What will be done with camp Nelson remains yet to be seen. It has been currently reported that the military intend to make a permanent post there and so ordered protection to our enterprise. We citizens about there evidently fearing this and thinking their conduct might be looked into have had a meeting, which has been reported to us and to Ely at Louisville to the purport that we might return to our work and no disturbance should come from this neighbor, but they deny ever having disturbed us! Why did they have a meetings? They give no promise

Of one thing there we feel pretty settled, that it will be to us to return without military protection. We are waiting for orders, but cannot wait much longer. Mother wrote me about one week ago that such protection would like be given and that he was anxious to see our enterprise carried through. But as we hear nothing, I am only prepare to take a final leave. I went down to Camp on foot last sabbath to much people again. they listened tenderly while I discoursed to them from the words "there remaineth therefore a rest to the people of good." In the morning I hope to take my walk again to my discourse lot people and speak to them of that better country where the weary are at rest and the wicked cease from troubling.

"But I must close, give my kind
Some time since, we gave an account of the murder of three white men, by a party of negroes, whom they were conducting in a boat along the waters of Kentucky. The following paragraph, from the Paris (Ky.) Citizen, gives the following as the result of the trials of the murders:

"The trial of the negroes confined in the jail of Hardinsburgh, for the murder of Messrs. Stones, Gray, and Davis, commenced on the 15th inst; the result of which was, that five of them were found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged on the 20th day of November next; 7 others, strongly suspected of being guilty, were tried and cleared, among whom was a noted fellow designated by the name of Roseberry's Jim. The whole of the negroes that were in the boat when the murder was committed, have been apprehended, except one or two, and have been disposed of as follows: 5 of them condemned to be hung, as stated above, 47 of them sold, and the remainder brought to this country."

"Thirty Dollars Reward."

"Ran away from Washington (Mason county, Kentucky,) sometime in May last, a Negro Man named Louis, (or Lue,) about twenty-four years of age, five feet six or eight inches high, has a halt in one of his legs. The above reward will be given if secured in any jail in this State."

"A. Holmes."

"Lexington, July 15"
LEX JAILOR ADVERTISES THE COMMITMENT OF A (free) BLACK (1809)

Kentucky Gazette and General Advertiser, Jan 3, 1809 (Tues)

"Was committed to my custody, this day a Negro Man, who calles himself Washington, about six feet high, heavy built, about thirty-six or thirty-seven years old, has on a brown fulled-linsey round-a-bout, with metal buttons, not much worn, a pair of overalls of the same but very ragged, good shoes, dark brown woolen socks, an old wool hat, blue cross-barred linsey vest, a 500 linen shirt, his upper for teeth broke out, speaks thick, and is yellow complcted. He says he is a free man, that he has worked five years on the Hanging Fork of Dick's River, near Danvillle, where the certificate of his freedom now is--His master (if he has any) is desired to come forward, prove his property, pay the expense and take him away, within sixty days from this day; otherwise he will be further proceeded against as the law directs."

Nathaniel Prentiss, jailor Fayette Co, Dec 15, 1808.

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RUNAWAY IN LEX JAIL 1809

Kentucky Gazette and General Advertiser, Jan 3, 1809 (Tues)

Jailor Nathaniel Prentiss of Fayette Co advertised a runaway that was in his jail.

"On the 11th September, 1808, James Sale and Jacob Kieser delivered to me, as Jailor of Fayette county, a +

"Negro Man, named George, Five feet ten inches high, twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, strait limbed, a little inclined to yellow, and excessive deaf; had on a few rags under an old blanket. By virtue of a certificate from David M'Ewing, a justice of the peace from Williamson county, Tennessee, purporting the said George to be a runaway from Robert Peoples, of Clarke county, Kentucky; said Sale and Kieser neglecting to call for the runaway, and he being too sick to remove, information of the case was directed and forwarded to Robert Peoples, who I understood was out of this state; on his return he disowned the fellow, saying he was sold by his agent below Natchez, from whom it is probable he is now runaway.+

"The owner is therefore desired to take away said runaway, and pay expenses, within sixty days from this date; otherwise he will be further porceeded against as the law directs."
Kentucky Gazette, Jan 8, 1811 (Tues, Lexington)

Ad by Thomas Pindell of Lex, Jan 8, 1811:
"I wish to Purchase or Hire, for a term of years, Several Negro Boys, Between the age of 14 and 18 years, to work in a Rope Walk."

Ad by Lewis Hawks, Jan 1, 1811:
"I have for Sale A Negro Woman and Child, and a Girl about sixteen years of age--both good house servants."

Kentucky Gazette, Jan 21, 1812, (Lexington, Tues)

"Two Negro Boys, neither of them more than 15 years of age, have been tried by the Fayette County Court for burning Mr. John W. Hunt's Factory, and found guilty. We understand they will be hung /sic/ on the 18th day of February next."

In same paper, date, just below the previous account of burning:

"Several Negro Fellows were apprehended and examined before a magistrate, for setting fire to Mr. Tibbatts' bakehouse and chandler's shop, on the night of the 11th inst. But one has been committed for trial."
Kentucky Gazette, Jan 14, 1812 (Lexington, Tues)

"The citizens of this town were called out three nights in the last week to suppress this powerful and destructive element, FIRE---- About half past 5 o'clock on the morning of Tuesday last they were first alarmed:--at this hour, a small house connected with Mr. Huston's front building on main-street, was discovered to be on fire; by the prompt attendance and exertions of the citizens it was quelled, without further injury than the destruction of the roof of the house in which it originated. At the same hour on the next morning a fire broke out in Mr. J. W. Hunt's Bagging Factory. Seventy or eighty tons of Hemp, & a part of that extensive building, were destroyed. From the combustible nature of the contents of the factory, it was impossible to extinguish the fire before it had destroyed that part of the building in which it commenced. This is the second loss Mr. Hunt has met with--and in both instances by the hand of an incendiary.+

"But the most serious alarm that we have ever seen in this place, occurred on Sunday night, between eleven and twelve o'clock. Mr. Tibbatts's bake-house & chandler's shop took fire, on the inside of the building, and was entirely consumed. Nothing short of the most heroic exertions and courageous activity, preserved the valuable buildings adjoining the fire from destruction. The houses on that square are all connected, but the roofs of two or three only nearest the bake-house were burnt--many individuals sustained considerable loss in the removal of furniture &c, but Mr. Tibbatts is the greatest sufferer."

Kentucky Gazette, Feb 18, 1812 (Lex, Tuesday)

"Paris, Feb 8. Horrid Murder! ! +

"On the 23d of January last, Capt. Daniel, of Clarke county, being from home, his wife was attacked, by one of his negro women, who like an infernal Savage, proceeded to throw her mistress into a small fire, which was in the house. Mrs. Daniel was not so strong as the negro, but by extraordinary exertions she forced herself out of the fire twice and in the most imploring manner begged for her life, but the infernal threw her in again and held her till she expired in excruciating tortures. After perpetrating this Horrid Deed, she ran to a house within 3 or 400 yards and informed the family that her mistress was very unwell and wished them to visit her. They went in haste and when approaching Capt. Daniel's the negro ran before, entered the house and brought out the infant of Mrs. Daniel, its clothes being then burning, and exclaimed that her mistress had fallen into the fire! Upon entering the house Mrs. Daniel was found dead, being burnt in the most shocking manner and all her clothes consumed by the fire; except a few remnants around her middle, her breast, face, and the fore part of her head were entirely consumed, one of her arms nearly burnt in two and the other an entire crisp.+

"The infant was about 8 months old, it was much injured by the fire but it is hoped will recover. The most of the facts were confessed by the murderer! who was tried in Winchester on the 28th of January, and condemned to suffer death on the 28th of this month."
Russellville, Apr 22 "Murder! Horrid Murder!"

A gentleman from Livingston county informs that the two brothers, capt. Lilbourn and Isham Lewis, who were tried and admitted to bail during the last Circuit court of that county, for murdering a negro boy, (the property of the former) and burning him on a kitchen fire on the night of the 25th December last, mutually agreed, the week before last to destroy each other, and met with their rifles /sic/ for that purpose on the plantation of cap. Lilburn Lewis. Lilburn stood on his first wife's grave--Isham a few steps from him--Lilburn received a ball through his heart and fell without discharging his gun, which /sic/ was found cocked and loaded on the ground with him. This shocking affair is said to have been occasioned by the flight of capt. Lewis's wife, who made her escape to save her life, as it was feared that her evidence would be admitted against Isham, as an aider and abettor of the horrid deed with which her husband stood charged. Isham is confined in Salem jail, where it is said he confessed the above particulars, but at present denies them."
there was no overseer in their apartment; each boy placed his raw material beside his wheel, spun his thread the length of the room, returned to his place, and after winding the thread upon his reel, went on with his spinning with the utmost regularity and good order, singing the while with great earnestness, and not altogether without melody, some jargon of his own,—one of them giving the lead and all the rest responding. I could make no more of it than Guildenstern could of Hamlet's pipe, but a friend translated it something after this fashion. The leader would commence singing in a low tone—'Ho! Ho! Ho! master's gone away.' To which all the rest replied with rapidity, 'Ho! Ho—chicken-pie for supper, Ho! Ho!—Ho! Ho!' The effect of such noisy mumbling was irresistibly comic. When they get tired of this, anyone who had a little fancy—and a precious little would answer the purpose, would start something else equally sentimental, to which the rest again responded, at the same time walking backward and forward about their spinning, with great regularity, and in some measure keeping time with their steps." Said he knew little about manufacturing, but enjoyed watching the slaves work.

"The African population of Louisville jollified extensively yesterday in honor of the third anniversary of their freedom. A great procession of the emancipated moved through the streets, with music, regalias, and banners gay. Speaking and other exercises took place at the Center street colored church. Who the illustrious orators were we, didn't inquire. At all events, the darkies seemed to be having a happy time."

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The (Louisville) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881

p 2/ Warner's Safe Kidney & Liver Cure; Miss L. M. Weiss Millinery at 194 Twelfth St; J. T. Ennis, New and Second Hand Furniture, Clothing, etc; H. Weirich, Boots, Shoes & Gaiters, 108 Fifth Ave; Chas. Posley, Regalia and Lodge Supplies, 340 Linn St, Cincinnati; D.P.Faulds, Pianos & Organs, 165 Fourth Ave. /p 3/ Henry W. Eddleman, hatter, 136 market St; Tutt's Pills, order from NY; Card Collectors, Phila; William White Cigars & Tobacco of Louisville; Louis P. Hunster, photographer of Springfield Ohio; Arkansas Industrial University, Pine Bluff, Ark; Kentucky Normal & Theological Institute, Louisville; Eureka College, Eureka, Ill; Jacksonville Business College and English Training School, Jax, Ill; Lincoln Univ, half way between Baltimore & Philal; Howard University, Wash, D.C.; Fairfield Normal Institute, Winnsboro, S.C.; Brainerd Institute, Chester,SC. /p 4/ J.Hale Powers Co of Cincin, Parade Regalia; Welle's Financial Card with Adams Brothers at agents; Keno Tobacco; Horace Beddo, manufacturing jeweler & silversmith of 140 fourth Ave, Lou; Kirtland & Co., merchant Tailors, 151 Fourth Ave, Courier Journal Bldg; 1881 Louisville Fair; /p 5/ American Tract Soc. /p 6/ St. Jacobs Oil sold as The Great German Remedy for Rheumatism by A.Voegler & Co of Baltimore. /p 7/ John C. Schomer, 321 Fourth St, Shirts, hats, umbrellas, etc; "Five Brothers" Tobacco of Louisville; The Cosmopolitan Restaurant on Green St between 3rd & Fourth, Milton Thurston, proprietor; "Kentucky Cash Store," Dress Goods, etc; Mrs Jane Gray's Restaurant & Boarding House, 151 Sixth St, regular meals 15c; Jerry M'Quinney's Ice Cream Saloon and Confectionery, corner of West and Walnut; Albrecht & Ruth, Lock Manufacturers; Bradley, Gilbert & Mallory's Book and Job Printing; Jos. Goldbach, dealer in coal & coke; John Colgan, Druggist, cor. 10 & Walnut; F.Hoefer & Son Confectioner. /p 8/ Metropolitan Theater; "The Place" Restaurant, 439 W. Green St, Eugene DeGruy
The (Louisville) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881

Macauley's Theatre presents The Lingards in Stolen Kisses; Whallen's Buckingham Theatre presents "Venus"; Central Coal & Iron Co; Tony's Paradise, Jefferson St, "Coolest Place and Coolest Beer in Town"; Dr. E. S. Porter, Ninth St, bet. Walnut & Madison, Office Hours from 8 to 10 AM and 4 to 7 and 9 pm; Dr. J. A. Octerlony, 373 Fourth Ave, 8-9 AM and 2 to 8 and 7 to 8 pm; Zion's Banner, "official organ of The Fifth Episcopal District of the A.M.E. Zion Church," H. C. Weeden, editor; N. Sid Platt, Gents' Furnisher, shirts, neckwear, underwear, on fourth Ave, near Main; Byrne & Speed, Screened Coal, 139 Jefferson St; Drugs from Drs. Starkey & Palen in Phila; Cook & Sloss, mfrs of Masonic Jewels, 154 Fourth Ave, Lou.

Wanted ads are free of charge.

BLACK WOMAN REFUSED FIRST CLASS SEAT ON TRAIN BY KY CENT. RR (1881)

"The assault upon Mrs. Ed. Smoot by a conductor upon the Kentucky Central Railroad, the other day, was an infamous outrage. The facts in this case, as we understand them, are that Mrs. Smoot had purchased a first-class ticket and attempted to enter a first-class car, but was refused admission by the brakeman, who ordered her to go into the smoking car. She very properly refused, and demanded admission into the car to which she was entitled by her ticket. The door was locked upon her, and she remained standing upon the platform. The conductor also ordered her into the smoking car, calling her attention to the notice upon the door, 'Passengers are not allowed to ride upon the platform.' She demanded her rights and insisted upon going into a first-class coach, and, persisting, the conductor stopped the train and put her off. It is a high-handed outrage, robbing a passenger of money, for which no accommodation is given. Mrs. Smoot is as fair in complexion as nine out of ten ladies of Anglo-Saxon origin, is well educated, refined, and, withal, is a lady in every sense of the term; but were she as black as Egypt it would still remain an outrage—mean, sneaking, and contemptible. We are much mistaken if her husband does not fight the case to the bitter end in the courts, and we urge the people of the blue grass region to hold up his hands to the limit of their ability, and if they need assistance we know our people here in the Beargrass section will respond liberally."
"WANTED.--Gentlemen correspondents by a young lady eighteen years of age, a bright mulatto, weighs one hundred and ten pounds, is five feet seven inches in height, and wears a No. 1½ shoe. None but gentlemen of good business standing need reply. Address, Lottie Lee, Portsmouth, Ohio."

"HOME NOTES" ARTICLE IN LOU BULLETIN (1881)

Tell who is visiting Louisville, who is visiting out of town; who is ill; losses by theft; developments in Louisville; court news; church news; concerts; benefits;
"Remember the concert for the benefit of the Baptist College, at Fifth-street Church, next Friday evening, by the University Jubilee Singers. Admission--adults, 15 cents; children, 10 cents."

"Mr. Eugene De Grery, the famous French cook, has opened a cozy little restaurant on West Green Street, next door to Warden's saloon. Eugene knows how to cook, and all who patronize him will be fully satisfied."

"Why the colored people who go in the hog hole set apart especially for them at the Novelty Lunch on Green Street, when they can go into Milt Thurston's next door, and get meals in a respectable manner, is a mystery to many."
In the Parlor of Mr. & Mrs. W. H. Steward, East Chesnut St, "beautifully and tastefully decorated, and was the scene of gayety and pleasure, the occasion being a reception tendered Prof. Chas. Dinkins and bride. Mrs. Pauline E. Dinkins, nee Fears, is a resident of Mobile, Ala., and a graduate of the Baptist Normal and Theological Institute, Nashville, Tenn., and the professor is a recent graduate of Newton Theological Institute, New Centre, Mass. They were married at the former institute on the 15th inst., and arrived in the city on the 16th. The reception was of an informal nature, and probably a surprise to the professor and his amiable bride. As early as 8 o'clock, the guests had nearly all assembled. After the usual introduction to the bride and groom, the company enjoyed themselves, and entertained each other as only such a silent party can. Among those present we noticed: Misses Georgie Gaddie, M. S. Spradling, M. F. Cox, C. B. Price, and Misses Walters, Mesdames M. L. Mead, F. G. Fowles, J. M. Maxwell, J. M. Ferguson, Messrs. Jordan, Fowles, Maxwell, Hutchison, Moody, Bu-litt, Gibson, Profs. Simmons and Harvey."

"Coward Culp, the Clubbist, Tries His Little Club on a Woman."+
"Magazine Street, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth, was the scene of considerable excitement last Sunday afternoon. The circumstances are about as follows: A warrant had been issued for the arrest of Isaac Blew, and Officer Culp was sent to make the arrest, but Blew skipped out. His wife afterwards came out on the street when the intelligent (?) officer undertook to arrest her (we suppose he considered man and wife one); she resisted, stating that she had done nothing, whereupon the brave (?) officer struck her on the head three times, cutting her head in two places, and knocking her senseless. She was taken into the house, and after considerable exertions, was brought to consciousness. Would Culp have been so free with his club where a white woman was the party he was trying to arrest?"
"The Orphans' Home Society met Thursday night at the Jacobs-street Tabernacle. The meeting was not very largely attended, but the programme, consisting of music by the Church Choir, Addresses by Rev. Mr. Johnson, Profs. Maxwell and Perry, was up to the standard, and everyone went away well pleased. The congregation being small, the collection was rather slim, receiving only $3. The next meeting will be on next Thursday evening at the Lampton-street Church. It is expected that the people of the East End will turn out in full, as there will be a very interesting programme. Mr. G. W. Talbott will deliver one of his famous addresses, while Miss E. Wise will read, and Miss Maria Henry will entertain the audience with an essay. Come out, and come early."

"The Gliding Bell Club.

"The party met at Miss Eulalie Reels, on First and Green streets, last Friday, and then proceeded to Mrs. Howard's, on Walnut Street, where they found Prof. John Weet's Band of Music, and a room elegantly furnished for the enjoyment of the same. The ladies were elegantly dressed all in the latest Fourth-avenue styles, and did much in making the gathering both brilliant and agreeable. The club, however, was in no ways sparing as far as means were concerned, as fine wines and other delicacies of the season were served lavishly, and the cups of joy were filled to the very brims. +

"This party will long be remembered in the society circles of Louisville as one of the most enjoyable entertainments which has been under the auspices of the Gliding Bell Club." A great number of guests was named.
"Last Saturday there was a competitive examination for a cadetship at West Point held in this city; and for the first time in the history of Kentucky, one of the applicants was a colored youth, Master John Stark, an attache of the BULLETIN. He has gone through the colored public schools as far as he can go, and as he is not allowed to enter the High School, he was examined for a cadetship at West Point. There were twelve applicants, and the one who made the highest general average was to receive the appointment. The examination was a written one; there were ten questions in ten different studies. Stark made the very good average of 76.9, which was not the lowest made by considerable. Master E. S. Wright, aged seventeen, a son of Maj M. H. Wright, was the successful candidate. John Stark says he was treated courteously by the young men who were with him in the examination. Although Stark did not succeed in outstripping his fellow completely, he has made a start. Some of our smart youths must follow his lead, and the day may come when Kentucky will have a colored cadet at West Point. Stranger things than that have happened. John Stark deserves great credit for undertaking the experiment as well as for the good average he made. He exceeded several of his competitors of the more highly favored race. Let us keep moving on. We will accomplish something after awhile."

"Meanness."

"Last Sunday evening, a colored man was, while peaceably walking down Broadway, met by three white soldiers, who had put themselves on the outside of enough whiskey to make them feel fightish, especially towards inoffensive colored men, when found one at a time. This they felt towards the colored man referred to. Soldier number one walked up and handed him one; colored man let fly a right hander, caught No. 1 on the gob, who went gracefully to our mother earth. No. 2 and 3 retreated in disorder, but rallied again, reorganizing their forces, and moved on our colored hero. He, seeing himself outnumbered, and not being willing to capitulate, retreated in tolerable good order. At all events, he brought himself 9ff without any loss whatever. This in only one of the many cases of the kind that come under our notice weekly. Some white men are so mean that they get drunk, in order that they may abuse colored men, and have it to say that they were drunk, and did not know what they were doing; but we find that such men always know a white man from a colored man."
1881 MASS MEETING IN LOUISVILLE TO HONOR DEAD PRES GARFIELD

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (H. Morris, ed; )

Mass Meeting.
A mass meeting of colored citizens was held at Plymouth Church, Wednesday evening. A temporary organization was effected by the election of N. B. Harper as President, and J. H. Moody, Secretary.

The object of the meeting was then stated by the Chairman to be that of setting apart a suitable time to hold memorial services in respect to the death of President James A. Garfield.

A committee to nominate officers, composed of E. C. Wood, D. D. Stenro, and W. T. Payton, was on motion, appointed, and they reported the following officers:


A Committee on Resolutions was nominated — Messrs. J. H. Moody, Horace Morris, W. T. Payton, J. M. Maxwell, and J. A. Brown.

It was decided that the memorial meeting be held on Monday, September 25, at 9 a.m.

The meeting then adjourned.

LODGES IN LOUISVILLE: FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS (1881)

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (H. Morris, ed)
LODGES IN LOUISVILLE: ODD FELLOWS (1881)
The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (H Morfis, ed)

GRAND UNITED ORDER OF ODD-FELLOWS.

UNION LODGE No. 1, Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, fourth and third Monday nights in each month. A. D. Black, P. S., 49 Fourth St.

ST. JOHN LODGE No. 134. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, second and fourth Monday nights in each month. W. H. Ward, P. S., City Hall.


UNITED FELLOW LODGE No. 143. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, first and third Wednesday nights in each month. James Harris, F. S., 303 Thirteenth St.

ADMIRAL LODGE No. 144. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, second and fourth Tuesday nights in each month. J. H. Newman, P. S., 303 Thirteenth St.

LOUISVILLE LODGE No. 1443. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, every Friday night.

W. H. Robinson, P. S., 704 W. Market St.

APRIL ODD FELLOWS LODGE No. 1719. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, second and fourth Monday nights in each month. A. C. Cox, P. S., 303 Thirteenth St.

WEST UNION LODGE No. 1737. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, second and fourth Tuesday nights in each month. S. W. Jordan, P. S., 303 W. Main St.

DECOA LODGE No. 1741. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, first and third Monday nights in each month.

P. O. M. COUNCIL No. 29. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, second Friday night in each month.

PATRIARCHIE No. 13. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, third Friday night in each month.

W. P. Annis, Recorder, 303 Thirteenth St.


HOUSEHOLD OF RUTH, No. 65. Meets in hall, No. 549 W. Green, first and third Wednesday nights in each month.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF ODD-FELLOWS HALL.

The first Tuesday in each month. W. L. Gibson, Secretary, 303 Thirteenth St.

LODGES IN LOUISVILLE: UNITED BROS OF FRIENDSHIP (1881)
The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 *ed by H Morfis

UNITED BROTHERS OF FRIENDSHIP.

FRIENDSHIP LODGE No. 1. Meets in Gray's Hall, first and third Tuesday nights in each month. W. H. Lawless, W. M.; Jesse Montgomery, Sec., 309 Eleventh St.


ST. JAMES LODGE No. 31. Meets in hall, corner Preston and Broadway, first and third Tuesday nights in each month. Wesley Day, W. M.; Charles Hale, Sec.

ST. PETER LODGE No. 22. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Market, first and third Monday nights in each month. S. W. Lindsey, W. M.; Eliza Wilson, Sec., 311 Second Street.


Hazelton Lodge No. 40. Meets in hall, corner of Seventh and Grayson, first and third Thursday nights in each month. T. Thomas, W. M.; John Delman, Sec.

Green Lodge No. 47. Meets in hall, corner of Seventh and Grayson, first and third Friday nights in each month. W. F. Wilson, Sec., 311 Thirteenth St.

SUMMER LODGE No. 23. Meets in hall, corner of Preston and Broadway, first and third Monday nights in each month.

CAME No. 1. Meets in hall, corner Seventh and Grayson, first and third Thursday nights in each month. W. L. Johnson, R. C. Richard Hamilton, Sec.
LODGES OF LOU: GOOD SAMARITANS & DAUGHTERS OF SAMIRIA (1881)

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (ed by H Morris)

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD SAMARITANS AND DAUGHTERS OF SAMARIA.

[Under National Grand Council.]
MT. CALVARY LODGE, No. 74. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Market, second and fourth Thursday nights in each month. Mrs. C. J. B. Lassiter, F. B. U. 142 W. Walnut St.
ZURICH LODGE, No. 41. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Market, second and fourth Wednesday nights in each month. Miss Florence Bragg, W. P. D.; Miss Florence Varble, Sec., 1317 South 11th St.

MOUNT MORIAH LODGE, No. 4. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Market, second and fourth Thursday nights in each month. Mrs. May W. P. D., Mrs. E. J. B., 331 W. Market St.

STAR OF REDEMPTION LODGE, No. 3. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Market, second and fourth Wednesday nights in each month. Mrs. C. J. B. Lassiter, F. B. U. 142 W. Walnut St.

LODGES IN LOUISVILLE: JUVENILE LODGES (1881)

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (ed by H Morris)

JUVENILE LODGE.
ENTERPRISE LODGE, No. 9. Meets at hall, corner Ninth and Market, first and third Monday afternoons in each month. Mrs. M. Herrin, Treasurer; Mrs. E. Tevis, Sec., 1014 Eleventh St.

UNITED SISTERS AND BROTHERS OF FRIENDSHIP. Meets at No. 178 Eleventh St. Mrs. Annie Montgomery, President; Mrs. L. B. Hamilton, Sec., 16 W. Madison St.

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AARON. Meets at Twelfth St. Church, first Saturday afternoon in each month. Mrs. L. B. Hamilton, President; Miss Bettina Frazer, Sec.

YOUNG SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE MORNING. Meets at Centre Street Church, first Thursday in each month. Mrs. A. E., President; Miss Emma Wilson, Sec., 344 Lafayette.

YOUNG INDEPENDENT SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF HONOR. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Broadway, 1st and 3rd Thursdays in each month. Mrs. Susan Stroud, President; Miss Fanny Tarrant, Sec., 112 Twelfth St.

CHILDREN'S BENEFICIAL SOCIETY. Meets at Green Street Church, third Tuesday night each month. Mrs. Nellie Kelly, President; Mrs. Sarah Gray, Sec., 621 E. Green St.
LODGES IN LOUISVILLE: KNIGHTS OF WISE MEN (1881)

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (ed by H. Morris)

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LODGES IN LOUISVILLE: SISTERS MYSTERIOUS TEN (1881)

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (H Morris, ed)
LODGES IN LOU: CHRISTIAN MUTUAL ASSN (1881)

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (H Morris, ed)

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LODGES IN LOU: INDEPENDENT ORDER OF IMMACULATES (1881)

The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881 (H Morris, ed)
GRAND PRINCESSES OF HONOR.

Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Broadway, first and third Wednesdays in each month. Miss Maggie Hodge, W. D. William Derrey, K. of R.


INDEPENDENT SONS OF HONOR.

JAMES OWEN LODGE, No. 4. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Broadway, first and third Monday nights in each month. George Akers, President.

T. J. M. Dunlop, Sec., 323 W. Madison.

LOUISVILLE LODGE, No. 18. Meets in hall, corner Ninth and Broadway, first and third Monday nights in each month. Mrs. Davis, President.
The (Lou) Bulletin, Sept 24, 1881, h morris, ed.

**Knights of Bethlehem**

- **St. Luke Council**, No. 1. Meets third Monday night in each month. H. Wade, E. D. Bell, R.
  - Messiah Commandery, No. 1. Meets first Friday night in each month. G. W. Lewis, E. C. G. B. Taylor, R.
  - Mt. Olive Chapter, No. 1. Convenes third Friday night in each month, at 8 o'clock. W. H. Wilson, W. C. P.; Wm. R. Rankin, B.
  - Aaron Lodge, No. 1. Boys of Bethlehem. Meets very Wednesday night. W. H. Wilson, C. G. Bell, R.
- **St. Andrew's Lodge** No. 1. Meets in Third Street Hall, second and fourth Thursday nights in each month. W. H. Wilson, W. C. G.; David Bell, F. R.
- **St. John's Lodge** No. 2. Meets in Third Street Hall, second and fourth Thursday nights in each month. H. Houston, W. C. G.; W. H. Wilson, F. R.
- **St. Paul Lodge** No. 3. Meets in hall, on Third Street, between Market and Jefferson, first and third Thursday. D. W. G. H. Taylor, P. R.

**Sisterhood Knights of Bethlehem**

- **Rebecca Lodge**, No. 1. Meets on first and third Tuesday nights in each month. Angeline Cooper, W. M. S. H. Wilson, F. R.
- **Virginia Lodge**, No. 3. Meets second and fourth Friday nights in each month. Clara Alexander, W. M. S. H. Wilson, F. R.
- **Beth Lodge**, No. 2. Meets second and fourth Monday nights in each month. Sarah Weaver, W. M. S. H. Wilson, F. R.
- **St. Mary's Court**, No. 1. Meets first Friday night in each month. Mildred Dickerson, P. D.; W. H. Wilson, E.
- **Hagar Lodge**, No. 1. Gfils of Bethlehem. Meets first and third Monday nights in each month. Della Faye, M. I. Miles & Sanders, E.

**Miscellaneous**

- **Daughters of Calvary**, Meets in York, under the presidency of Mrs. A. J. Ayres. M. B. H. Wilson, E, Secretary, York and Grafton.
CELEBRATION OF DAY OF JUBILEE IN LEX, JAN 1, 1866

The Louisville Daily Journal, Jan 4, 1866, p 1, Thursday


To the Editors of the Louisville Journal from Alf.

'Truly 'the day of jubilo' so ardently longed for and so often sung about, has at last come to the waiting sons and daughters of Africa, and to-day the newly made citizens, their dusky wives and children, of this city and county, celebrated their recently acquired freedom with music and mirth, processions, and orations, and all the other incidents of such gay and festive occasions. Early this morning young 'freedmen' were seen hurrying to and fro, with rosettes pinned conspicuously on their coats and gorgeous multi-colored scarfs fluttering from their necks. Many of the staid and sedate colored men of our city, who have long exerted considerable influence among their fellows, acquired by virtue of their superior intelligence or peculiar dignity of manners, were seen moving about with rosettes and badges of distinction also; the entire colored population, male and female, seemed to be arrayed in their best suits, gorgeous in various colors, so that from these indications and from rumors that began to circulate it was evident that something extraordinary was going on among the freedmen. And extraordinary indeed was the sight presented about 11 o'clock on Broadway. First came ten or twelve colored men with scarfs fringed and flowered, with silver lace across their breasts, mounted on high headed horses; then came bands of music, then some negro soldiers, and then followed a line of negro men, four and five abreast, that really seemed interminable so long was the immense throng in passing the Broadway Hotel. At intervals through the line were bands of music, and flag-bearers, carrying aloft the stars and stripes, with several hundred negro boys from ten to fifteen years old, bringing up..."
the rear of this strange procession. Occasionally a shout would be raised, and then cheer after cheer, given with a vim that only the stentorian lungs of that class can give, was repeated. Every variety of character was successfully represented by these natural mimics, and the scene was one never to be forgotten. The gaily dressed Marshals had a difficult time in keeping the organized freedmen in line, but I am glad to say that everything went off well, and, so far as I have learned, not an unpleasant event occurred during the day. Hundreds, yes thousands, of negro men, women, and children, from surrounding counties, came here to participate in this joyous demonstration, and the crowd present was variously estimated to be from fifteen to twenty thousand colored persons. However much one may have differed in the past from the policy, the successful establishment of which has resulted in the proclamation of freedom to all in the Union, it cannot be denied that the negroes behaved themselves exceedingly well to-day, and made many friends. Certainly, it must have been either a very bigoted or very callous nature, not to have been moved and deeply interested in witnessing the thousands of those simple-hearted beings abandoning themselves with all the earnestness of their impulsive natures to the great joy that was filling their hearts at this long deferred deliverance from bondage. Henceforward and forever they were to be free themselves, their wives and children, and the boon so long sighed for was at last theirs. The 'promised land' has been reached for them, and in the future they were to labor only for their own benefit. It was, I repeat, a strange, suggestive spectacle. The whites appeared to look on highly pleased, and enjoyed hugely the scene.

"After parading through the principal streets, the procession went out to the Fair Grounds, where General Fiske addressed them. I very much regret I could not get out to hear him, but having just arrived in town and tired my journey from Shelbyville, I could not get out. Doubtless his speech will be reported, when you will see it. Had it been possible I would have sent you a partial report anyhow."

"In Shelbyville I noticed that all was quiet; the negroes were hiring themselves out to their old masters and others, and all appeared quite satisfied."
The Louisville Daily Journal, Jan 20, 1866, p 3, Sat

"Petition of the Negroes to the Kentucky Legislature.--The colored residents of Louisville are signing a petition to the Kentucky Legislature--+

"1. That all laws prohibiting colored persons from remaining in this State, or from coming into this State, be repealed.+

"2. That they have such protection against violence and personal outrage as is afforded by the State laws to all other persons; that their right of self-defense be recognized by law; and that they have the right to appeal to and be heard in courts as suitors and witnesses upon the same terms and conditions as others are permitted to appear. They pray the repeal of all laws which render colored persons incompetent as witnesses in the courts of justice; all laws which give to inferior courts summary jurisdiction over them, or which prescribe or allow any peculiar or special modes of prosecution, arrest, trial, conviction, or punishment of colored persons, or establish or tolerate any special or exceptional police regulations for their government, or control.+

"3. That the rights, duties, and interests of the colored people may be comprehended within the general laws of marriage, divorce, and legitimacy. 'Heretofore their marriages have been informal, or, at least, no means seen to have been provided by law for preserving evidence of such marriages, or for punishing polygamy or adultery when committed by colored persons, and fathers of the illegitimate children of colored mothers are not required by law to contribute to their support, and colored women are not permitted by law to demand the punishment of those as criminals who may forcibly violate their persons.' +

"4th. That as there exists among the colored people of Kentucky a very general and earnest desire for the education of their children, the representatives of the people of the State extend their sympathies and aid in accomplishing this important work. A system of education to be controlled by the colored people, under such general regulations and superintendence as the General Assembly may provide, to be supported by distributing to such (colored) schools a fair proportion of the public school fund, would be best adapted to the successful attainment of this object."

by 61 residents of Louisville
NEGRO BALLS IN LOU (Jan 1866)

The Louisville Daily Journal, Jan 30, 1866, p 3, tues

"Negro Balls.--One of the most glaring nuisances in the city is the building in Court Place, formerly used by the military as a barracks. For some time past negro balls have been held therein two or three nights a week. These occasions have invariably called together the worst negroes in the town, especially the brazen and filthy courtezans of Africa. Up to last night we had heard of no disturbance of a knock-down nature among these black figurantes, but their orgies have been productive of numberless complaints by the people. While the ball was progressing last night, two jealous of some unbleached Venus championed each other to a test of muscular power. There was no wool-pulling, but one of the irate athletes shivered a large whiskey-bottle upon the head of his rival. Of course this unfair combat excited the whole party and the utmost confusion prevailed, during which the assailant fled and the vanquished was left to take care of his bleeding crown. When this storm commenced brewing, some of the colored pacificators called in Policemen Bart, Justa, James Blunk, and Joel Lamborn, but they could not quell the disturbance or catch the negro that 'struck Billy Patterson.' After agitation had subsided a military guard appeared on the scene to suppress any further outbreak, and the gay niggers went 'on with the dance.' These free and easy balls should be broken up by the authorities as quickly and as effectually as the bottle was smashed upon the nigger's caput. they are a disgrace to the city, and should not be tolerated another night. By prompt action in this case, the good order of one of our most public localities will be conserved, and 'nobody hurt.' Look to it, City Fathers."

BLACKS BUILDING COMMUNITY IN CALIFORNIA AREA OF LOUISVILLE (1866)

The Louisville Daily Journal, sept 25, 1866

"Some of the speculative colored citizens of Louisville have on foot a movement to form a joint stock company for the purchase of undeveloped unimproved land in the Western suburbs. Their object is to buy two or three acres in California, near Sixteenth street, and erect thereon a number of tenement blocks, to be rented to the stockholders and others negroes of the more respectable and industrious classes. The area in the California district is already largely owned by colored people. Should this new project succeed, the darkles of California will be considerably more Egyptian."
BIG FIGHT AMONG BLACKS DURING PICNIC (May 1866)

The Louisville Daily Journal, May 22, 1866, p 3

SOME DETAILS ABOUT FIGHT DURING BLACK PICNIC (May 21, 1866)

The Louisville Daily Journal, May 23, 1866, p 3
DESCRIPTION OF CAMP NELSON, ACTIVITIES THERE (Jan 1866)

j g fee in berea to rev whipple, jan 16, 1866, ama, arc, # 44295

"You write to me at this place and I infor you expect me to answer from this place. Least I cannot in each inquiry, give a definite answer. I have sent a copy to Capt. Farwell at Camp Nelson requesting him to give an answer to all you ask.

"How many colored people in camp" When I left there (Dec) there were in the Refuge Home about twelve hundred I believe. Capt. Farwell says "How many of suitable age should be in school" At that time there were within the camp not less than five hundred who should have been an school; and feeling that I should spend a part of my time at Berea and other places I asked that a good male principal be appointed for that field; for I saw that Bro Scofield was immersed in that business of soliciting claims and that my repeated entreaties would not wait to induce him to give that work to another; and this is still my advice to you. Bro Scofield will do good in the world. Perhaps he never will be long at any one thing- perhaps he is a Bazalul filled with the spirit of God "in all manner of workmanship" An may be in suggesting many thing to do for in way of building But he is not the man to be superintendent of schools too old- will not hold on if he could be induced to travel as an evangelist he would do good "What accommodations a number of buildings-size of buildings."

In the Refuge Home there are I believe 97 cottages- each 32 feet long by 16 wide- one partition making two rooms in each. There are four wards 25 by 75 feet one large dining room 30 by 100 feet with two large, one superior, rest rooms high with 18 rooms in it - some five other buildings with offices etc pertaining to the Hospital.

These are separated from the rest of the buildings of the camp. Then there are ten General Hospital buildings 25 by 100. These are plastered and white washed-neat buildings. The buildings with Refuge Home are not plastered but good frames. The cottages are "box houses", the other buildings are. These buildings are still kept by order of General Fisk. No proposal was ever made to the land holder asked but the refugees one school house 2 stories high 7 rooms-

could not be put out and General Fisk holds the buildings and will probably continue to do so until March or April. Then he will probably turn them over to some association for a school. Capt. Farwell gave me to understand that this would be true and said Gen. Fisk is fixing for the of a foreign minister.

Farwell had just returned from a visit to Fisk and said to me for any arrangement you make for schools at Camp Nelson or at Lexington Gen. Fisk will likely endorse. He wants the people of Ky themselves to take the responsibilities of the schools.

Farwell said he would rather we would not then make any more
toward schools he wanted no attractions then. Then said he would keep me posted as to movements there. I had expected him here before this. Gen. Fisk did not encourage the location of a school at Camp Nelson as at Berea. The latter he has not seen and how significant it is. You were not ready to encourage any definite action at Camp Nelson. You advised that I do not move my family yet that was last. My son was soon sick with Bell's a needed a lift and my sons my presence and so I retired to Berea. We are now getting up another charter to go before the but public, soon, for aid. The treaties of this District school House are not ready for us to put colored children in with the whites yet—say in May after this term is out—first of March. We have now above sixty white pupils in the school and about 20 colored ready to go in soon as we shall have a new building ready for all—This first of March. Rev. Rogers is in the school part of his time. He hears two or three classes each day begins our scientific lecture each week lecture—30 minutes—lectures on different subjects in the Bible. The school either at Camp Nelson or at Lexington will be essentially a colored school—perhaps wholly so. Here it will be mixed probably the colored are coming fastest and many more will come if we give them a "fair show". This may result in the running away of the "white folks." We think we will make the school so excellent that the white folks will stay for its sake of the advantages and after a time out-grow former prejudices.

How many persons rendering since to Bro. Scofield as missionary. He did not preach to many only as he went over to aid the Chaplain of the 119 Reg. If he could command his time from his claim originally so as to visit during the week or go out to Nicholasville places around, the colored people would hear him gladly. His is a teacher in the of the Association. I was told by a colored man that no schools were now being taught. Bro. Scofield's daughters were not put in by arrangement but by his. His daughter was helping the chaplain of the That regiment, as I supposed, ought to pay the expenses of their own teacher. The number of pupils in Bro. Scofield's school at Soldiers Home when I was there in December was from 40 to 100 irregular—came late. I regard Mrs. Scofield as a good woman—quiet, retiring.

"The number of employees from other societies" not any at least when I was there.

I infer you expected me to answer from this point. If you shall desire me to go and personally prospect and report I will.
I have written the above for your own ego. Capt. Farwell will give you a report for your printer condensed. I have three letters from Rev. W. B. Matchett at Washington D.C. asking me to take part in editing "National Era: (to be assumed)"

In his first letter I supposed he desired only an occasional article to this I consented. He sent another to Camp Nelson offering me $500 "or more" as associate editor. That letter was delayed. In the third he writes the paper would be issued about this time of (receipt of the last) and that he should put forth my name around the associates.

I have written him that my duties here will allow only as I at first intended, an occasional article. I know a well conducted journal at the capitol of the nation under circulation is a grand medium for usefulness. But I have here as much as I can do - many places inviting. I do not receive any thing for contributions to papers - not one dollar. I have not written with any such expectation at any time.

I have made efforts to get colored ministers here as you suggested to Rev. Rogers. They do not come as yet. The colored people are not migratory their knowledge is limited they have strong home associations. We could have more pupils of each class by having our schools separate schools for whites and schools for blacks; and perhaps prejudice will not be overcome until the colored people shall have education and culture and acquire property and habits of cleanliness.

But in view of the hostile feeling likely to exist between the two races because of ill treatment of the colored people. Will not our school at Berea have a good significance and effect even if not large? Before we shout for we shall want an endorsement from you.
HOSPITAL FOR BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE (Feb 1866)
The Louisville Daily Journal, Feb 21, 1866, p 3

COMPLAINTS ABOUT HIGH RENTS BLACKS PAY IN LOU (1886)
The New York Freeman, Sept 18, 1886, p 4
The New York Freeman, Sept 18, 1886, p 4

LOUISVILLE, Sept. 13. — The re-opening of Calvary Baptist Church, corner of Fifth and York streets, occurred Sunday afternoon, Sept. 12, at 3 o'clock. The services were as follows: voluntary, Centennial Choir; introductory services, Rev. C. Parish, pastor; hymn, choir; Scripture, Rev. E. P. Marrs; prayer, Rev. Heath; hymn, Rev. C. C. Bates; sermon, Rev. G. E. Scott; prayer, Rev. D. Anderson; hymn, Rev. D. A. Goddye; remarks, Revs. J. W. Lewis, T. M. Faulkner, Bros. P. A. Talbert, B. W. Smith. Mr. Smith is the artisan who repaired the church. His paintings and decorations could not be surpassed and it will advertise him as one of the best all round finishers in the profession. This church is one of the oldest places of worship in the city. During its existence it has been the parent of several congregations. Calvary has an excellent congregation at present and still continues to grow.

The New York Freeman, Sept 25, 1886, p 1

RACIAL PREJUDICE AT LOUISVILLE RACE TRACKS (1886)

The Fall meeting at the Louisville race course is a failure, as far as attendance is concerned. There has been racing six days, and on none of these were there 500 people on the grounds, including hirings and owners. Your correspondent asked an Eastern turfman, at the pool rooms, Thursday night, what caused such a dull racing season here. Said he: "The fault lies in the way the course is managed. The president seems to be unpopular with the racing fraternity of the North, East and West, and without patronage from these sections. Covington has superseded Louisville as a popular track. People who attend the Louisiana races have the advantages of the many Cincinnati amusements at night. I would not be surprised to see Cincinnati folks build a race course and gobble up Louisiana. The Chicago Association have swallowed up.
QUESTION OF COLORED MASON'S BUILDING A HALL (1886)

The New York Freeman, Sept 25, 1886, p 1

...the question now being asked among the colored people is, "Why don't the colored Masons of this city buy a hall?" They were organized in 1856. The other colored societies lately organized are meeting in their own halls and pay rent to themselves, which goes toward paying for their building. The secretary and treasurer of the joint lodge U. B. F. and S. M. T. of the Louisville Building Association, at 9th and Magazine streets, made a report of all the money received and paid out from April to September: Received, $2,645.38; paid out on the building, $2,502.72. They are now endeavoring to take up a note by Oct 1. During the present year this order has purchased property in the following places in Kentucky: Louisville, $8,000; Mt. Sterling, $4,000; Gordanville, $4,000; South Carrollton, $750; Hiskman, $700.

MISC SOCIAL EVENTS, LOU, 1886

The New York Freeman, Sept 25, 1886, p 1

...the popular resort for ladies and gentlemen is Mrs. Louis Hawkins's ice cream garden, on 9th street, between Magazine and Broadway. The Women's Baptist Educational Convention has been in session here four days. They have reported $900 for educational purposes, and have done other great work. The same officers were re-elected.

Rev. B. A. Franklin passed through the city Saturday, returning to his home at Murfreesboro, Tenn., from a visit to Maysville, Ky. Misses Belle Vinegar and Kate Henley of Watkinsville are in the city, the guests of Rev. W. Rhodes. Prof. T. H. Brown, who was at one time connected with the State University here, is a candidate for Prosecuting Attorney on the Workingmen's ticket at Evansville, Ind. The Hon. Robt. Harlan of Cincinnati is in the city.
The New York Freeman, Oct 2, 1886, p 1

Louisville, Sept. 22.—The Freeman correspondent paid the county and town of his birth a visit after an absence of twenty-six years. Life allowed me one more chance to enjoy the pleasant and refreshing ride of thirty-nine miles through the most beautiful portion of Kentucky known as Jefferson and Nelson counties. A train composed of an engine, one baggage car and five coaches was chartered by four gentlemen, Messrs. Chas. Bransford, chairman, Joshua Trieves, F. H. Antis and John Franklin, under whose guidance we left Louisville, Sept. 18, at 5:55 A. M., via the L. & N. R. R., for Bardstown. There are eighteen stations on the Bardstown branch. The train stopped at each one, and took on board ten or fifteen passengers. At 10:45 we arrived at Nazareth. Nazareth is a little over three and a half miles north of Bardstown, and the nearest point from the railroad to the Fairgrounds. From the station platform 500 excursionists had a full view of the largest and handsomest Catholic Female Academy in the Southwest. After a short walk we were at the gate of the commodious inclosure, known as the Nelson Fair, which was holding its 16th annual exhibition. I was told by the ticket-seller that he had sold 5,000 tickets before the Louisville excursion arrived. I searched at the wonders to be seen for $1.25 from Louisville to the Fair. In spite of prejudice, opposition and mean treatment from the whites, the colored man and woman will prosper. You ought to have seen the stock in the Mechanical, Agricultural and the Ladies Miscellaneous Show. I was informed by the program that the first day they gave fifty-two premiums for the ladies works, which was in Floral Hall. The second day twenty-eight premiums were given at the variety display of stock, grain, agricultural, mechanical and other exhibits. The third and last day was everybody's day; for all kinds of entries they gave thirty more premiums up to 6 P. M. Then the ball rang and the Nelson County Colored Fair adjourned until September 1887. The rush began for conveyances to town, so I procured an old-time vehicle, called a carry-all-and-off, for Bardstown. Before arriving in the limits, I told the driver to let me off near Mr. Joseph Bean's barbershop. Mr. Bean had forgotten me until I explained who I was, and you never saw such a hand-shaking and such an ovation as I received at the hands of the folks in my native village. I ate and talked so much...
LOUISVILLE MEETING FOR ORGANIZATION OF A FREEDMEN' NATIONAL PREPARATORY ORGANIZATION; LAND PURCHASE, ETC (1886)

The New York Freeman, Oct 2, 1886, p 1

The meeting that was spoken of in a recent issue of The Freeman was held at Zion Baptist Church, Centre Street, Wednesday evening, Sept. 29, at 8 p.m., for the purpose of organizing an association that is to be known as the Freedman's National Preparatory Organization of the United States. The meeting was well attended; fully 500 people were on hand. They were called to order by Rev. George W. Scott of Toledo, O., now pastor of Zion. Elder Scott read a paper on unity, full of excellent thoughts and points, which kept the audience interested for an hour and half. The meeting adjourned to meet Thursday, Sept. 30, at 8 p.m., for permanent organization. Rev. Scott said to your correspondent after adjournment, that the league intended to invite every State to take part. There are 8,000,000 freedmen in the United States who can raise $1 per head for the purpose of buying territory. Let us petition Congress to sell us 8,000,000 acres of Government land, which, I believe, said he, is only $1 per acre. Just think of it, what we can do financially if we will organize. We have a few industrial schools, but no factories for the pupils to enter after they graduate. In self-defense let the race come together in each State and form companies to better our condition in the future.

EMANCIPATION DAY CELEBRATION IN LOUISVILLE, NEW ALBANY (1886)

The New York Freeman, Oct 2, 1886, p 1

Emancipation day was celebrated by the colored people of New Albany, Ind., together with a large number from Louisville, at the fair grounds near New Albany. The inclement weather of the forenoon had a tendency to curtail the program somewhat, but during the afternoon quite a large number were in attendance. The exercises of the afternoon consisted in addresses by eminent colored orators from this city and abroad, together with vocal selections by the famous colored singers of the High School.
MISC DEVELOPMENTS IN LOUISVILLE, 1886

The New York Freeman, Oct 2, 1886, p 1

The Encore Concert Troupe of Nashville, Tenn., gave a pleasing entertainment, Liederkrantz Hall, Monday evening, Sept. 26, for the benefit of the Christian Union College at New Castle, Ky. This school just opened on the above date. In my next I will give a sketch of the college. I see Hicks & Sawyer's Genuine Negro Minstrels are still on the road, keeping up the color-line against our race and encouraging prejudice. They are billed to appear at Pat Harris' Museum, Sept. 27. Mr. Hicks ought to be familiar with Pat's career. He is known as the meanest Irishman in America to colored people. A few months ago he had a lady brutally dragged from the parquet of his theatre to the street, on account of color. She was told he had an order from the ticket office not to allow colored people in any part of his building.

BLACK LODGE IN LOU CELEBRATES ANNIVERSARY; ACTIVITIES AT LIEDERKRANZ HALL (1886)

The New York Freeman, Oct 9, 1886, p 1

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Oct. 4.—Patriarchs, No. 13, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, celebrated their sixtieth anniversary Monday night, Sept. 30, at Liederkrantz Hall. The program began with the East Tennessee Novelty Concert Troupe, composed of Messrs. James Johnson, sole proprietor and business manager; H. Edwards, L. Williams, Livingston Hall, leader of the orchestra and W. Childs. The overture consisted of twenty-two performers, with Interlocutor R. Jackson. On one end with bones were Mayfield, Wavley and Lush; tambourine Edwards, Williams and Little Munk. Munk is the coming Joseph Emmet. He is only 13 years of age, and sings "The Jockey" to perfection. The amateur troupe as a whole does credit to the States of Tennessee and Kentucky. Their songs, dances and jokes are new and kept the audience of about 700 laughing until the curtain dropped. The second part of the program was the drill. The first platoon of the Patriarchs did all of their drilling without command; all that Captain-General A. D. Black Jr. was to march them into the spacious arena that was formed and he took a seat as a spectator. Those of the commandery who appeared in the platoon were as follows: 1st platoon, J. E. Johnson, C. Hammons, N. Newman, J. Foster, P. Richardson, A. R. Hill, W. H. Griffin, A. Carter, D. Wilsh, H. Moore, R. Wilch; 2nd platoon, William Cooper, J. May, J. W. Hopkins, J. Ford, I. Johnson, Ed. Dacy, George Lee, S. Calpus, R. Taylor, P. Moore, T. Jordon, A. D. Black. They introduced many a new march and manœuvre that were never seen by an audience before. The drilling was ended by the Knights of Friendship, known as the Garrison Camp, No. 1. These are also dangerous competitors as well as the Patriarchs. The Knights had better keep an eye on those two rivals in the future, for they are becoming quite crafty.
According to promise I give the following sketch of the Christian Bible College, which was recently purchased for a seat of training for the ministry. It contains seven acres of well improved ground. The buildings are substantially built and originally cost $18,000, exclusive of the grounds. The boarding house has a capacity for one hundred and the college will accommodate a hundred and fifty. There are three wells and all necessary outbuildings on the premises. New Castle is the county seat of Henry county and owing to its elevation, is a healthy a location as could be found in Kentucky. The Board of Trustees are as follows: J. W. Garvey, Preston Taylor, A. W. Reed, G. W. Yancey, H. M. Ayres, Jno. Matthews, Treasurer, Cassier National Bank, New Castle; J. W. Haymaker, J. C. Graves, G. C. Castleman, W. M. Brown.

The Rev. P. H. A. Braxton of Baltimore, J. A. Taylor and Prof. J. K. Jones of Richmond, informed your correspondent that a Pullman Sleeping Car conductor refused to sell them berths on the Chesapeake and Ohio and Southwestern, between Louisville and Memphis, Tenn. I asked these gentleman what the conductor said in his refusal. They quoted him thus: "I have written rules from the company, not sell berths to any colored persons, unless they are with a white person as nurse." The date of this happening was Tuesday, Sept. 25, on the train that left Memphis at 10:25 a.m. I warn passengers who are traveling to inquire into this matter, and if so let the company some lawful plan to get even with the Pullman Co.
DOMESTIC WORKERS (FEMALE) COMPLAIN ABOUT REDUCED WAGES IN LOU AREA (1886)

The New York Freeman, Oct 16, 1886, p 1

The working women here are about to unite to protect themselves against the rapid decrease of wages. Those that do domestic work claim that landladies or employers have formed an association in Louisville, known as the Woman's Exchange, the purpose of which is to curtail the working woman's wages. Said a domestic, "For a blind the Exchange keeps all kinds of eatables on sale, and if a member loses either her cook, housemaid or nurse, the Exchange will furnish her meals at Louisville rates, and of course the lady can do without a cook until she finds a cheap one. She can also clean up her own house instead of a chambermaid. As far as the laundry woman is concerned she can easily be replaced by the number of steam laundries in this city, who also pay but little wages to women, and take bread out of washerwomen's mouths by doing families washing at low prices. The place made vacant by the nurse who could not stay and clothe herself for the small wages is filled by taking a little orphan asylum girl for nothing by making the plea that they intend to adopt her. This Exchange gets her out and makes a servant out of the child, and she neither gets schooling nor pays and works for naught until she is of age. Nor is the only remedy for the working women to better their conditions is for both white and black to organize into a union similar to the Knights of Labor."

SECOND LOU MEETING OF NATIONAL HOME PREPARATORY SOCIETY (1886)

The New York Freeman, Oct 16, 1886, p 1

The second meeting of the Freedman's National Home Preparatory Society was held at Zion Baptist Church, Tuesday, Oct. 5. The meeting was called to order by the Rev. G. E. Scott, who stated its object logically. Mr. Scott is a reasoner and a strong speaker. He urged the necessity of the movement by showing its undeniably successful results in the future, if the American Negro would organize for such a purpose as he announced. He concluded his remarks by saying that the next thing in order was the election of temporary officers, which was followed by electing Rev. R. Caldwell, chairman and Mr. Geo. E. Adams, secretary. An audience of 300 persons discussed the matter thoroughly and then went into permanent organization with the Rev. George E. Scott as president and Mr. Adams as secretary for one year. All the persons in the church enrolled their names. The meeting adjourned to meet once a week, every Monday night. Your correspondent never saw people so eager to get anything on foot as the Freedmen are. They hope every State will join Kentucky in this organization and next year call a National Convention for the National benefit of the Negro.
A most important annual meeting of the stockholders of the Louisville and Nashville R. R. was held in this city last week. Mr. Norton of New York succeeds Mr. Smith of Louisville as president, and Director J. H. Linderberger gives his place to Mr. August Belmont of New York. The election of this gentleman centres the entire control of the L. and N. system in New York city. It seems that the directors blame President Milton as the cause of the road's unpopularity. The Freeman correspondent is acquainted with President Smith and his orders that have been issuing recently countermanding all orders that prohibited colored ladies from riding in first-class cars. Mr. Smith did not interfere with the brutal order until your correspondent attacked the conduct of their ticket agent and brakemen toward colored passengers. Mr. Smith's surroundings have made this great road enemies. Your correspondent had heard several complaining of the discourteous treatment they received at the hands of Mr. Smith's first assistant, Mr. Stuart Knott.

Senator Joe Blackburn came to this city last week and attempted to answer Senator Sherman's speech recently made at Ladies' Krahn Hall, but he repeated his same old campaign speech that I heard him make before Hayes was President. The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows have resolved to hold a bazaar, to commence Oct. 18 and continue six nights. Mr. W. H. Gibson, Sr., has accepted the agency in this city for the "Dressmaker's Magic Scale," a new method for cutting and is prepared to give instruction in its use. At 640 Preston street, Mr. Burrell Edmunson has opened a neat new grocery and all the races in that end of the city should patronize him. The Democrats of the Fifth Congressional District held a primary election, instead of a convention, in each precinct in this city and county, on Oct. 9, and snowed under Hon. A. S. Willis, the present Congressman, by nominating Hon. Asher G. Caruth, Commonwealth's Attorney of the 9th Judicial District. Votes were purchasable; the white voter sold from $5 to $25 on both sides, and there were no Negroes in it because no one was allowed to vote but the s that voted for Cleveland and Hendricks.
Letter from a Colored Man in Kentucky.

LEXINGTON, KY., June 18, 1867.

Em. Cw. Com.—I write you this letter this morning to say to you that I beg leave to differ with Mr. W. A. Dud-
ley. I see a letter that he has written to you, saying that the whites and
Blacks are almost on the same footing. We are poor and ignorant, and have to
take just what they put on us. I an-
swer, for one, that we have no rights
here at all. Mr. Dudley speaks of what
the Legislature did last winter. I can
say with unshaken confidence, that no
good from that tax has ever reached
our hands here in Lexington; for last
winter I went to the Mayor of the city
and asked him to lot one poor colored
man go to the poor-house and stay until
the winter was over, as it was a hard
one; and this poor man had been para-
lyzed and had no where to lay his head.
They refused to receive him, while at
the same time poor whites were admit-
ted every day or so. And last winter
the whites, or some of them, laughed
at our calamity, and said, “We will
starve and freeze the dammed negroes
out, and if they ask the Mayor and
Council for assistance, we will tell them
to go to work, and they would hold meetings and all agree to
make the negro work for half price or
starve him out. Now I can say nothing wrong about Mr. Dudley, for he
has been one white man out of two thou-
sand. He gave his former slaves a lot,
but there is no house on it. I do not
know of another man in Kentucky who
has done as much as we. We have no
more Dudleys here in Lexington, nor
can Mr. Dudley see the mistreatment
among us as we do. Unless we have a
change here, our liberty is null and
void. We do not think that Mr. Dud-
ley is doing us any injustice by
saying that the negroes had all the
rights a white man had except a few
things; for Mr. Dudley probably thinks
that Kentuckians are Dudleys. But he
is only one out of a hundred. We have
the Goodlows, Adamses, Wil-\ngates, Wil-

ham Davis, Capt. Hubbard, Col. Mil-

dare, and a few other good men, who
are true friends to the colored man.—
Yet there are thousands who are ready
to take our lives in cold blood, or starve
us to death, and who make us pay dou-
gle price for everything we buy and only
pay us half price for our labor, for poor-
yety compels us to accept it. But
thanks be to God, who has said, “Call
me in distress, and I will deliver you,”
and we will do so. Please help us, Messrs. Editors, for we are a
needy people.

[The following, which is being circulated
in Kentucky, came enclosed in the
above letter—Ed. Com.]

MEMORIAL.

"To the Honorable Senate and House of
Representatives of the United States of
America in Congress assembled—
Come Greeting:

"The undersigned citizens (colored)
of the United States of America, re-
spectfully present this our petition to
humblly ask your Honorable Assembly
to grant us the right of suffrage.
Your petitioners beg leave to say
that they are residents in the State of
Kentucky, by whose laws they are de-
ned the right to testify in court, &c.
And they would further say, that many
crimes have been committed upon them
during the last year, for which they
have failed to obtain redress. Colored
men have been continually murdered in
cold blood by white citizens, and we
have not the right to testify against
them, the criminals go unpunished.
They further beg to say that they
are poor and always have been loyal to
the United States, and this unquestion-
ed loyalty subjects them to the malevo-
ence of the friends of the "Lost Cause.
It is objected by the opponents of Re-
publicanism that we Negroes are to ig-
ornant to prudently exercise the great
boon of freedom. Gov. Clark, in his
message to the Legislature of Kentucky
in 1867, said that one-third of the adult
white population were unable to write
their names; ignorance was not consid-
ered a bar to the ballot in their case.
It is believed that men with their political
convictions, not their intellectual ac-
quirements. We are poor, but not paup-
er. In addition to all other tax, we
pay on the following premises, many
of which has been acquired since free-
dom came to us: Fayette county, 291,
800; Bourbon, 817,370; Boyle, 533,450.
Since Jan 16, 3 murders in Western Ky. Washington Gardner, shot in a grocery by Jesse Meshew, a local citizen. Henry Owens shot by David Coy and died March 10, 1867. In April 1867 Robert Smith killed at Union City by Thomas Walton, both were residents of Columbus. Smith worked for Walton a year and claimed he had never been paid. Meshew was arrested, tried and acquitted. Nothing was done in the other two cases. Also, the body of a black man "... whose skull had been broken by parties unknown..." was recently brought into town. "... The corpse was quietly buried by the negroes, and nothing more said about the occurrence."
"For Sale, +
"A Negro Girl, +
"About twelve years old, as likely as any in the state, and as free from faults; inquire at Capt. Marshall's Tavern in Lexington."

"A Sunday School +
"Is open at Col. Patterson's old house on High street, for the use of the people of color. Those who wish to have their servants taught, will please to send a line, as none will be received without.+
"N.B. There is no expenses attending those who send."
AD FOR A RUNAWAY, LEX AREA, (1798)

Kentucky Gazette, Oct 17, 1798 (Wed)

$15 Reward. "Runaway from the subscriber, living near the mouth of Hickman, Garrard county, a likely negro fellow, about twenty-one years of age, five feet eight or nine inches high, a well set fellow; had on when he went away, a hemp linen shirt and trowsers, a wood hat, red cloth jacket, and new shoes." Samuel Renshaw, Oct 8, 1798.

LEX TRUSTEES PASS LAW AGAINST IMPORTATION OF REBELLIOUS SLAVES (1802)

The Kentucky Gazette, June 25, 1802 (Fri), p 2

"At a meeting of the Trustees of Lexington, June 22, 1802.+

"Whereas the Slaves in the Souther states appear strongly bent on an 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 of February 1798, without being subject to the penalty imposed by said law; and that the said section be published for two weeks."
EXTRACTS OF 1798 KY LAW ON SLAVERY

The Kentucky Gazette, June 25, 1802 (Fri), p 2

Sec 26 of 1798 law said you could not bring in slaves as "merchandise," but it did not prevent any citizen from importing "slaves for his own use...."

WHITE KILLS BLACK; ACQUITTED BY WOODFORD CO. CT.; ARRESTED BY FB (1867)

The Kentucky Gazette, March 30, 1867 (Lex; Sat), p 3

Mike Welsh assaulted by a "desperate negro" near Midway last summer, later killed the black in self-defense; a jury freed Welsh of guilt. Welsh was recently arrested by agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and is currently lodged in jail.
TOBIAS GIBSON DECLARES SLAVES UPON ENTERING KY (1840)

Fayette County Records, Deed Book 18, Dec. 17, 1840, p 233 (MF, UK Sp Col)

"I Tobias Gibson do solemnly swear that my Removal to the State of Kentucky was with intention of becoming a Citizen thereof and that I have brought with me no slaves or slaves with intention of selling them so help me God." signed T. Gibson, December 17, 1840.

Fayette County Records, Deed Book 18, Dec. 19, 1840, p 233.

A "Certificate of the slaves of Tobias Gibson ...." was presented to the Clerk's office.

FREE BLACK GAVE SECURITY FOR LOAN OF WHITE (1845)

Fayette County Records, Deed Book 22, March 8, 1845, p 374 (UK SF Col, MF)

"This Indenture made and entered into this third day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight Hundred and forty-five between B.G. Thomas of the city of Lexington and State of Kentucky of the one part and Dennis Seals a free man of color of the city and State Afsd of the other part. Whereas the said B. G. Thomas is indebted to one Charles Reid in the full Sum of Four hundred and twenty dollars and whereas the said Dennis Seals is the endorser and Security of the said B.G. Thomas for the payment of the said Sum of money to the Said Reid, and the said B.G. Thomas being desirous to Secure and Save the Said Dennis Seals against all responsibility as his Security and endorser as aforesaid therefore this Indenture Wtnneseth that the said B.G. Thomas aswell /sic/ for and inconsideration of securing /?/ the said Dennis Seals as his endorser from the payment of the Sum of money aforesaid as the sum of one dollar to him in hand paid by the said Dennis Seals hath bargained, Sold, confirmed and conveyed and by these presents doth bargain Sell Confirm and Convey into the Said Dennis Seals his heirs and assigns /?/ one yellow negro boy a slave about fourteen years of age and named George To have and to hold the said negro boy George, unto the Said Dennis Seals his heirs and assigns forever Provided (?) Nevertheless that of the Said B.G. Thomas his heirs Executors or administrators share and do well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Charles Reid the aforesaid Sum of Four hundred and twenty dollars or by other lawful means have and keep him harmless the said Dennis Seals his heirs executors and administrators from the payment of the Said Sum of money and all costs damages or exchanges as security aforesaid them from thenceforth as well this prevail indenture as the present to save and discharge them for all manner of manner of debts and impediments.
W. McChesney to Z D. M. Rolla Blue executor.

"Whereas I am justly indebted to Nathan Payne Executor of Rolla Blue deceased in the sum of three hundred dollars -- cents evidenced by my note of (?) date herewith and payable one day after date and being desirous of securing the said debt. Now I William McChesney of Lexington Kentucky for and in consideration of the promises, and of one dollar to me in hand paid the receipt whereof I hereby acknowledge hasth bargained sold and delivered and by these presents do bargain sell and deliver to the said Nathan Payne Executor afd the following slaves Viz Rachel 45 years of age; Harrison about 16 years of age; Milton about 13 years of age, and Carella about 30 years of age; all of which I warrant sound in mind and body and slaves for life - to have and to hold the said slaves to the said Payne his Heirs and assizes (?) forever Set upon this condition however if I shall well and truly pay off and satisfy the said indebtedness; then this Indenture to be null and void else to be and remain in full force ...."

EMANCIPATION OF LONDON FERRELL IN RICHMOND 1814 (Age 36)

Fayette County Records, Deed Book I, August 31, 1814, p 427 (Deed Book i; UK Spe Col, Mf)

"Virginia City of Richmond ...

"Registration in the office of the Court of Hastings for the said City; this 31st day of August 1814 No 631. London Ferrill a black man of color about five feet six or seven inches high spare made about thirty six years old and was emancipated by the last will and testament of Saml Overton died (?) to take effect on the first day of January last as appears by a register as appears of the clerk of Hanover County...."

signed ct & clerk

This is followed by a statement by Thomas Wilson, Mayor of Richmond, affirming the above statement.
I owned a Negro woman, Louisa, and gave her the privilege of being free, on condition that she should go to Liberia, which offer she refused, preferring to be sold, and remain a slave; her sale produced three hundred and fifty dollars. It is my will that one half of this amount be given to the American Tract Society, the other half to the American Bible Society.

decision of Luther Stephens

DEED OF EMANCIPATION 1850) LEXINGTON

Fayette County Records, Order Book 12, February Court, 1850 (pp 471-
(UK, SP Col, Mf)
p 471/

"A Deed of emancipation from Jane Slaughter a free woman of color, to her father and slaves, Charles, was this day produced in Open Court and proved by the Writs of John C. Haubro and Benjamin F. Graves the two Subscribing (?) thereto, to be the act and deed of the said Jane Slaughter and ordered to be recorded, and thereupon the said Jane Slaughter together with George Downing and John Williams, a free man of color her sureties (?) entered into and acknowledged Bond to the Commonwealth of Kentucky in four hundred Dollars, penalty, conditioned that the said Charles shall not become a charge upon any County in this Commonwealth, which Bond is appointed by the Court, whereupon it is ordered that the Clerk of /begin p 472/ this Court issue to the said Charles a certificate of his freedom according, said Charles is about fifty two years of age; five feet 11 inches high, of dark complexion and sare make. Said Jane Slaughter acquired said Bond by James A. Grinstead her attorney in fact per power filed which was power by the order of the said Graves and Haubro the Subscribing (?) clerk."
Negroes actually desired the privileges enjoyed by white people and hoped to secure them by political action. As delegates to Radical and Scalawag conventions from 1865 to 1867, they spoke on behalf of Negro-white equality. Colored voters convened in Lexington, Kentucky, in the spring of 1870 and adopted a platform frankly avowing their desire for racial equality and asserting their political power to achieve this end. Declaring that in their district they held the balance of power, they demanded that white Radicals accept them as equals or get out of the Republican party, that Negro candidates be put forward, and that all weak-kneed white Radicals make way for white men who would acknowledge their equality with the Negro and then act it out.18

source of nolen: Carrollton West Alabamian, 4-13-1870; McConnell, Negro Kentuckian, Nov. 28, 89.
The Sanitary Reporter, April 1, 1864 (vol I, No 22)

The Home at Camp Nelson—Report of Mr. Butler.

CAMP NELSON, KY., March 15th, 1864.
Dr. J. S. Newberry, Sec'y West'n Dept., U. S. San. Com.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to submit to you the following brief report of the erection and present condition of the "Soldier's Home" at Camp Nelson:

In pursuance of the purpose of the chief Quartermaster of this post, Capt. T. S. Hall, to make Camp Nelson, as far as possible, replete with all the resources and facilities of a self-sustaining Camp—the conception of a "Soldier's Home"—its utility and advantages, presented itself to the mind of that energetic officer.

Capt. Hall, during his career in the Quartermaster's department, had already erected three soldiers' homes for the use of the army of the Potomac; the fourth he proposed to build at this post, for the use of the "Soldiers' organized friends,"—the U. S. Sanitary Commission.

Knowing the great demand for such an asylum to feed well and comfortably lodge the hundreds that daily passed through the camps; also the desire and anxiety of the Commission to do all within its legitimate sphere for the comfort and welfare of the soldiers, I at once accepted the proposition in behalf of the Commission. A few days afterwards I started for Knoxville.

On my return to camp Nelson, about the 6th of January, I found the "Home" was in progress.

Capt. Hall submitted the plan in detail, when I made several suggestions for alterations, which he readily and cordially endorsed, indicating his desire to render the "Home" convenient, and in every way adapted to its object.

After intimating the variety and extent of the furnishings required for such an institution, I immediately reported the whole business, in person, to your office, accompanying which was a plan of the proposed soldier's Home.

The following four or five weeks were occupied in collecting and preparing the furniture, also by occasional visits to Camp Nelson in pursuance of the same object.

On the 20th of February the buildings were so far advanced that I was enabled to shelter about forty poor refugees from East Tennessee, who after two or three days spent in preparation for entering the world at Cincinnati, went on their way thither rejoicing.

The "Home" is now nearly completed in every particular. The principal structure is in the form

of three sides of a hollow-square, comprising two parallel wards, the 1st 110 by 20 feet, and the 2nd 80 by 20 feet, while the centre building uniting the wards is 85 by 20 feet, and is designed for the dining hall—capacity about three hundred.

The wards are economically fitted up with substantial bunks—easy of ventilation, and constructed with a view to the most effectual cleanliness. The two wards will accommodate about five hundred.

As the buildings are erected on sloping grounds, the front of each ward has two stories, thus affording two suites of rooms of much value, and indeed indispensable to the "Home." Beneath the first ward there is, first, the office with porch; second, sleeping room; third, Sanitary store-room; fourth, store-room for the "Home." Beneath the second ward there is, first, a bathing-room with porch, containing four private bath-tubs, supplied by double pipes, with hot and cold water; second, a capacious baggage-room. About twenty feet in the rear of the dining-hall is a range of buildings running parallel to it, and consisting of first, a large laundry; second, wash-house, capacity, one-hundred men; third, kitchen, with cooking power for five-hundred; fourth, commissary. There is also a large pantry contiguous to the dining-hall, and communicating with the kitchen.

Every roof is overlaid with patent roofing, and every floor is double planked, with an insertion of water-proof paper. Ample arrangements have been made for the supply of any amount of hot and cold water in every portion of the buildings.

In the centre of the yard, between the two wards, it is designed to place a fountain, and also a hydrant. The ground surrounding these and in front of the buildings will be sodded, and walks with trees will be laid out. A substantial cedar post and plank fence, commencing fifty-feet in front of the porches, encloses the entire buildings of the "Home," which, in harmony with the purpose of the architect, constitute the most unique, and, I trust, servicable and philanthropic institution of Camp Nelson.

The necessity for a "Soldier's Home" here has been severely felt for many months past; and now that one is erected, with ample and superior accommodations, much comfort and benefit may be presumed to be in store for all who come under its care.

It is due to Capt. Hall, that I should remark the lively interest invariably shown by him in every detail of this enterprise, as well as in the perseverance of the several works of the Commission at all times. Always accessible and courteous, and, whenever practicable, disposed to aid in all our work for the soldier.
To Capt. Whitfield, commanding camp of distribution, I have been indebted for his kindness and cordiality in council, and his skill in selecting a number of conspicuous instances for the several departments of labor. We have now a full corps of employees, (20,) intelligently and efficiently co-operating for the successful management of the Soldier's Home.

I may also remark, that whenever the work of this Commission at this Post, or in this district, has presented an opportunity to the medical and military departments of the army to manifest their interest in its success, it has been readily appreciated and employed. I will forward a draft of the "Home" in a few days.

Hereewith please find a statement of meals and lodgings furnished to date, March 13, 1864:

Meals furnished .................................................. 5,397.
Lodgings .......................................................... 1,808.

There would have been a much larger return to make from this "Home" had it been completed earlier; however, from this date it may be regarded in full operation.

Very truly yours, etc.,
THOMAS BUTLER.

Soldiers' Home at Camp Nelson.


Dear Sir—Subjoined please find statement of the operations of the "Home" at this post for the month of April, 1864.

The uncertain destiny of Camp Nelson for the past month seems to have suspended its usual operations, and also to have diverted travel and travelers from the Camp.

Hence Camp Nelson is not now, as it once was, the scene of gigantic business, consequently I have to report a smaller number of inmates of the "Home" for the month of April:

No. of Inmates for the month of April, 1864: 2484

No. of Lodgings for the month of April, 1864: 7455

On the 18th of April Chaplain Henderson, of the 112th Ills. Regiment, advised me that 14 barrels potatoes, 2 barrels of onions, 2 kegs pickles, and one box sundries were at Paris, Ky., for his regiment, and he advised me to procure them for distribution as Sanitary stores.

I at once telegraphed for the stores to be sent on to me immediately at Camp Nelson. When they arrived, I found the charges amounted to $37 65. Considering that the box of sundries contained cheese, butter, potatoes, onions, and other vegetables utterly worthless, and that the two kegs of pickles had lost the liquid which was designed to have preserved them, the charges nearly amounted to the market price of vegetables received.

This evening Chaplain Pell, of the 12th Ky. Cavalry, who on the 28th of last December left Knoxville with me for Louisville, came to camp and informed me that for four months he has been laboring in behalf of his special object, viz: to raise Sanitary stores for his regiment, and his success has obtained sixteen boxes and five barrels, which he expected by Government transportation the same evening. Finding that his regiment had gone on two days previously for Loudon, Tenn., he very wisely turned the shipment over to the depot here, taking my receipt for it.

The sterling philanthropy of Chaplain Pell is highly commendable. For four months he has labored assiduously to collect these stores for his regiment, and doubtless looked forward with much pleasure to the time when he should dispense them to the needy men under his command. Ascertainings that transportation could not be procured for his stores, he expressed himself equally recompensed by the assurance that the soldier in his need and assistance, and whether from Michigan or Maine, or any other loyal State, might be comforted by them. This is the doctrine of justice and true benevolence.

I had thought the good people who labor incessantly and contribute so generously and abundantly for the soldier, had learned long ago the great impropriety and wastefulness positively incurred in shipping stores to regiments.
While at Murfreesboro last summer I received over a hundred boxes for individuals and companies in the Army of the Cumberland, three-fourths of which were worthless ere the owner could be found. So in this shipment from Illinois for her 112th Regiment, the box regarded by the Chaplain as most valuable was not worth a half dollar, while some of the barrels were damaged by long delay and careless handling. These consequences, so far as my experience extends, almost invariably attached to private shipments to State troops.

In conclusion, I will mention that the "Home" at Camp Nelson is the Post Church. We have regular services every Lord's day, and a prayer meeting every Wednesday evening. Several protracted meetings have already been held. Chaplains who remain in camp with their commands are tendered the use of our large dining-hall, which is frequently filled with soldiers, employees, and visitors, both white and otherwise. Dr. Wood, Hospital Chaplain, U. S. A., and Rev. A. L. Payson, Hospital Visitor U. S. Sanitary Commission, are our regular preachers, while a stranger generally appears every week to aid them.

The "Home" is now thoroughly whitewashed, and the sodding, &c., will be completed this week.

Very respectfully yours,

THOS. BUTLER.

Letter from Rev. A. L. Payson.

CAMP NELSON, KY., May 24th, 1864.

Dr. J. S. Newberry, Secretary Western Dep. U. & San. Com.: Dear Sir:—I herewith transmit the report of my visit at Point Isabella Hospital, Camp Burnside:

By the kindness of Capt. T. S. Hall, I was furnished with an ambulance, and taking such stores as were thought to be needed, I started for Camp Burnside on the morning of the 16th. On reaching Hall's Gap, I found the Post, which had heretofore been somewhat extensive, broken up, and the stores on hand removed to Crab Orchard. On the following day I reached Somerset, where I expected to find a hospital, but was informed that in March last it was given up, and the patients were removed to Point Isabella, which place I reached at 7 P. M. I was most cordially received by Dr. C. W. Leonard, of the 16th Michigan Cavalry, now acting as Post Surgeon.

As the supply of stores which have been sent to this post, and which was very liberal, was now entirely exhausted, the men were very grateful for the articles I took them.

From Dr. Leonard I learned that in January last the hospital was established and put under the immediate care of Dr. Harris, of the 7th Rhode Island. He remained in charge till the 19th of March, when Dr. Leonard was ordered to break up the hospital of which he had charge at Somerset and take charge of that at the Point.

From the establishment of the hospital there have been three hundred patients; of these, thirty-four have died. The prevailing diseases have been typhoid and pneumonia.

The site for the hospital was doubtless thought to be as desirable as at that time could be selected. It is on an eminence some three hundred feet above the river. The ground being very uneven, although raised some three feet from the ground, they are all floored, and at present dry. Two hospital tents embrace a ward, and in each is a large stone fire-place. It is to be feared that when the heavy rains set in, the water will stand under the tents, unless great care is taken to have proper drainage. The location, with the best of care, is not desirable.

I am happy to say that Dr. Leonard is unremitting in his care of his patients. He visits them regularly twice a day, and all special cases three or four times a day. His labors are very arduous, having now neither clerk nor assistant.

The police of the hospital is good. Every man is required to wash twice a week. There is great fear that the hospital will suffer for the want of wholesome water. They are obliged to haul all they use from a spring half a mile distant, and keep in barrels. As there can be no ice, it is all important that they should be furnished with dried currants, raspberry vinegar, and lemons, for cooling drinks. In the general, I can say that all is done for the comfort and restoration of the patients that can be, under the circumstances. There has been a great deficiency of medical supplies, which, it is hoped, will be
The Sanitary Reporter, June 1, 1864 (vol ii, no 2)

speedily met. As the great majority of the cases are of a low form, the hospital should be provided with a good supply of stimulants.

There is connected with the hospital a Post burial ground. It contains about half an acre uninclosed, and has twenty-nine graves. The names and numbers I will endeavor to send you.

At present the hospital has a capacity of ninety-two beds, all of which are occupied. Efforts are being made to erect suitable buildings on an adjoining hill, near a fine cool spring. Should this effort be successful, it will be of great advantage to the health of the men.

Of the patients, fifteen are from Indiana, nine from Illinois, fifteen from the 10th Michigan Cavalry, and fifty-four from Kentucky.

I also visited the 49th Kentucky, the only regiment now at the Post. It has only seven in the hospital. At the sick call, they have some twenty-five or thirty cases, mostly diarrhea and intermittent. Although the health of this regiment has been uncommonly good heretofore, there can be no doubt, if they continue in their present camping ground through the hot season, that sickness will increase, as there is much of malarial influence.

Respectfully yours,

A. L. PAYSON.

The Sanitary Reporter, July 15, 1864 (vol ii, no 5) Letter from Dr. R. S. Mitchell, A. A. Surg., U. S. A. Dated Camp Nelson, May 18, 1864

But of the Sanitary Commission and "Soldiers' Home" at Camp Nelson, I have a word to say through the columns of the Commission's Reporter.

This "Home" has been fitted up with great care, and is now complete in its arrangements for the soldiers' comfort; its sleeping apartments large and well ventilated, its dining room sufficiently large for all ordinary purposes, its supply of water abundant, and the arrangements for using it as an external application, are as complete as can well be; its Sanitary store-room, Laggage-room, wash-house, dining hall, pantry, are complete in their arrangements; and the well-filled store-room, and the abundant substantial on the dining room table, are evidences to the hungry soldier that home friends remember them. Its walks, grass-plot, flower-beds, and beautiful fountain, are additions to all the other comforts which make it look and feel like home to the sick and weary soldier.

The Commission has been well sustained at this camp, and through the untiring energy of its agent, Mr. Butler, every effort has been made to fully meet the expectations of the donors, by impartially distributing all stores entrusted to his care to hospitals, camps, regiments, and all other cases worthy of such beneficent attentions.

Respectfully,

R. S. MITCHELL,
A. A. Surg., U. S. A.
The Sanitary Reporter, July 15, 1864 (vol ii, no 5)

Report of Mr. Butler.

U. S. San. Com., Soldiers' Home,
Camp Nelson, Ky., June 30, 1864.

Dr. J. S. Newberry—
Dear Sir: I herewith send you a statement of the operations of the "Home" here, for June, 1864:

Number of Lodgings...............................................15,753
" " Meals..............................................................56,949

You will perceive that we have been very busy during the entire month; every department of labor has been full to overflowing.

The "Home" is in perfect running order.

Our store-room is almost empty; large shipments to Cumberland Gap and Burnside Point hospitals, a month ago, having left us only a small stock for other places of need.

We have looked anxiously for our promised supplies, but so far have heard nothing of them.

I understand that the railroad track is repaired, and trains are running as usual.

Mrs. Christopher and Mrs. Butler have been actively and beneficially employed in the hospitals and camps. Mr. Payson, Hospital Visitor, has been confined to his bed with severe indisposition for the past week, but is now improving, and in a few days will probably be able to resume his labors.

There is still a large amount of sickness in the camp; cases of small-pox, which, for some weeks decreased, are now accumulating.

The enlistment of negroes is progressing, and disease is rapidly increasing, particularly of the most malignant kinds.

The stores enumerated in my requisition, sent some weeks ago, are greatly needed; the aid of the Commission was never more required than now, and unless the stores arrive soon, we shall fail to do the amount of good work within our power.

Very resp'y yours,

THOMAS BUTLER.

The Sanitary Reporter, Sept 1, 1864 (vol ii, no 8)


Camp Nelson, August 1, 1864.

Dr. J. S. Newberry, Secretary Western Department U. S. Sanitary Commission:

Dear Sir: I have been so varied and disconnected the past month, that it is somewhat difficult for me to send you a regular report of my immediate labors. Since the colored troops came, until their organization, we have had our hands full. Our labors have been unremitting and arduous. Since their organization they have been put in camp. Means were at once instituted to give them regular instruction, which has been continued, though necessarily with more or less interruption. It is truly astonishing to witness the rapid progress they have made. In some instances, they have learned the alphabet in fifty-five minutes, and in forty-eight hours have been able to read short sentences. Could they have remained in the camp, under the influence instituted, there was every indication that they would have made great improvement.

For their encouragement, special hours were selected for writing letters for them. The efforts expended in their behalf have resulted in great good, and fully establish the fact of the aptness of the colored man to learn to read and write. In carefully visiting the two infantry regiments organized, I found in the 114th (now ordered to Burnside Point), there were one hundred and eighty-five able to read in the Testament—in the 116th, now in camp here, one hundred and thirty-two; being deeply interested in the welfare of these men. I have devoted a portion of each day (in connexion with Rev. J. G. Fee, a most devoted man), to the interests of the colored troops, in laying the foundation for their future advancement in knowledge.

My labors among the refugees have increased the past month. These circumstances have been such as to demand the attention of some one to meet their varied and multiplied wants.

The condition of the camp at the present time is as follows: At the Camp of Distribution there were one hundred and ninety men. An order has been issued calling for all able for field duty.

One hundred and sixty have left.

In the Convalescent Camp Hospital there are one hundred and twenty-three—fifty-four of these on low diet. The prevailing disease is said to be diarrhoea. Of the different States repres
sent out in our hospitals, Michigan is said to have

In the General Hospital I give you the num­
ber on the different diets in all its branches:

Number on low diet in General Hospital...152
" " half " " " "... 41
" " full diet in General Hospital...157
" " low " " Messian Ward... ... ... ... ... 50
" " half " " " "... ... ... ... ... 7
" " full " " " "... ... ... ... 23
" in Small-pox Branch... ... ... ... ... 13

Total............................................604
Number of Nurses and Attendants............60

There are about two hundred and thirty colored
troops included in the above, about equal pro­
portions of them on the different diets.

In the Prison Hospital there are twenty pa­
tients—about one half on low diet. In the Em­
ployees Hospital seventeen patients—eight on
low diet—five on half diet—diarrhea prevails.

The above are entirely dependent for Sanitary

Supplies on the Home, except perhaps the Gen­
eral Hospital, which is in part supplied by the
Cincinnati Branch. You will see the necessity
that a suitable and full supply of stores be kept
at this point. For sometime past our calls have
been very urgent, and for articles absolutely
necessary for the comfort of the sick. I regret
to say that we have not been able to answer these
calls. Our supplies at present are entirely in­
adequate to meet the demands that will be made.

We shall have large bodies of colored troops and
immediately upon the appointment of medical of­
cers a Regimental Hospital will be established.

They will require more or less Sanitary supplies.
The 114th Regiment U. S. Colored Troops that
have been ordered to Burnside Point, will need
looking after, having left without physician or
medicines. The 49th Kentucky will leave, and
of course all Medical and Sanitary Stores apper­
taining to the Regiment will be removed.

Of the last stores received nearly all have been
given out to the different hospitals here. Should
further calls be made by the hospitals or regi­
ments here, we shall not be prepared to meet
them.

H. L. J. B.
The Sanitary Reporter, Jan 15, 1865 (vol ii, no 17)

THOS BUTLER LETTER ON ACTIVITIES AT C N (1865)

The Sanitary Reporter, Feb 1, 1865 (vol ii, no 18)

Letter from Mr. Butler.

CAMP NELSON, KY., Jan. 23d, 1865.

Rev. J. S. Newberry, Sec'y West'n Dept., U. S. San'ty Comm.

Dear Sir: Our labors at the "Home" have somewhat decreased during the past week; still, there is no lack of employment alike beneficial to ourselves, and to the hungry and weary men who continually come among us.

We have had a very agreeable surprise from Chaplain Pell, of the 12th Kentucky Cavalry, who arrived a few days ago with eighteen boxes, and nine and a half barrels of miscellaneous stores from the good citizens of Mayville and the surrounding counties, for the sick and wounded in hospital at this Post.

Chaplain Pell left camp this morning under the authority of Gen. Fry, to labor through the State in behalf of the Kentucky Branch of the U. S. Sanitary Commission. Chaplain Pell is eminently fitted for the work he has entered upon, as his devotion to the interests of humanity generally, and the soldier especially, with his extended and very popular acquaintance with the people of Kentucky, will guarantee great success.

The work of the Commission is highly prosperous, and we trust it will continue so.}

Very resp'y, yours,

THOMAS BUTLER.
The Sanitary Reporter, Feb 15, 1865 (vol ii, no 18(19, really; they made a printing error)

Letter from Mr. Butler.

CAMP NELSON, KY., Jan. 31st, 1865.

Dr. J. S. Notenberry, Sec'y West' n Depart, U. S. San. Com.:

Dear Sir—I respectfully submit the following, as the result of our labors at the "Home" for the month of January, 1865:

Meals, 22,134

Lodgings, 9,433

In my report for the month of February, 1865, closing our work for 12 months, I will give a general report as per tabular form.

In the ever varying forms and degrees of prosperity incident to this district, we naturally participate. Quiet alternates with the military excitement of the camp. To-day we are crowded—to-morrow all is moderated to the even tenor of peaceful business. Though the majority of our inmates, whether furloughed, discharged, or in transitu, are Kentuckians; still soldiers from nearly every loyal State come to us for a meal or a bed continually.

The Sanitary Reporter, Feb 15, 1865 (vol ii, no 18(19, really; they made a printing error)

THOMAS BUTLER,

THOS BUTLER REPORT ON CONDITIONS AT C N (1865)

The Sanitary Reporter, Mar 15, 1865 (vol ii, no 21)

Letter from Mr. Butler.

CAMP NELSON, KY., March 1st, 1865.

Dr. J. S. Newberry, Sec'y War's Dept' U. & San. Com.

Dear Sir: The report herewith forwarded embraces a full statement, in tabular form, of the work of the U. S. Sanitary Commission at the Soldiers' Home, for twelve months ending February, 1865.

As will be perceived by the report for the past month, our work has materially decreased.

Men, ................................................. 4079.

Lodgings, ........................................... 1063.

There has been for several weeks past a very small amount of travel in our vicinity. Troops that usually flock into our camp and district seem to be engaged in visiting other localities in the prosecution of the war. We have, however, learned by experience that although the camp and district are extraordinarily quiet and free from military excitement, a few days may bring up the tide and present our locality in a far more warlike aspect. Even though the war appears on the verge of termination, we have reason to anticipate the necessity of continuing the work so extensively done during the last twelve months. With this idea in view, we are constantly renovating and making additions for the completeness of the entire arrangements of the Soldiers' Home at Camp Nelson, Ky.

I would here remark that the lodgings and meals furnished to refugees during the last twelve months have not been reported to you otherwise than in the table of the entire work for the year, and this table does not include the many hundreds who are residents of the refuge camp, also under our care.

In the department of stores, we have filled with our usual economy all the demands of the hospitals, and aided in alleviating distress and disease in the camp generally.

The funds raised by Chaplain Pell, 12th Kentucky cavalry, were expended two or three weeks since, and, at my instance, the following stores were purchased, and have since arrived as a valuable accession to our stock: 1 bbl. of eggs; 10 bbls. crackers; 1 keg of butter; 10 bbls. dried fruit; 10 gals. whisky; 60 lbs. green tea; 168 cans of fruit.

Since Chaplain Pell's special effort for the benefit of the Sanitary work at this Post, he has been engaged in canvassing the State in behalf of the Kentucky Branch of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, and has secured $15,000 as an appropriation from the Legislature of the State in aid of the work almost exclusively sustained by the Northern States. Chaplain Pell will, I doubt not, bring his mission to a very successful conclusion.

By this mail we send a requisition for a few hoes and rakes, also for seeds, for a garden of twenty-five acres. We have every prospect of successful gardening, as efficient men have been retained to superintend the operations. The necessity for a garden is fully appreciated by all, and there will be no lack of laborers and guards.

We have in camp, at the colored refugee barracks, about six hundred women and children whom the small pox is vigorously assailing, and despite the energy and skill of the surgeons proves unusually fatal.

Very respectfully,

THOMAS BUTLER.
The Ohio Falls Express, July 11, 1891 (Sat; vol xii, no 42)

p 1/ The City Brewery of Frank Fehr which produced FFXL Lager Beer; Wm. Watson, Undertaker and Embalmer; M. R. Scully Boots Shoes & Slippers; Novelty Restaurant "For Ladies and Gents, 102 East Green Street; Oscar Wittbenstein, Furnishing Goods, Jewelry, 736 W. Market Street; George Thomas, Engraver; A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Co with offices in NY & Chicago; A. J. Tower "Fish Brand Slickers" of Boston Mass; Smith's Bile Beans; Eckstein Norton University—a fairly large ad, with location, departments, terms, help for students, etc. /p 3/ August Flower for stomach aches; Tutt's Liver Pills; Piso's Cure for Consumption; Donald Kennedy's Medical Discovery for curing sores, ulcers, etc; Gold Medal Breakfast Cocoa of W. Baker & Co, Dorchester, Mass; Penna Salt Mfg Co, Philadelphia; Whitman's New Patent Rebound Plunger Perpetual of Whitman Agri Co, St. Louis; Hay Fever & Asthma cure, Buffalo, NY. /p 4/ Mexican Mustang Liniment for Man and Beast, Buffalo NY; /p 5/ Dr. H. Fitzbutler, office hours 10 AM, 4 PM, and 7 to 8 pm, First and Green Streets; I. E. Black, Attorney at Law, "Titles Carefully Examined." Office 509 Court Place, Louisville; Dr. W. R. Arthur, office 1004 Preston St, hours 8 to 10 am, 1 to 3 pm, 7 to 9 pm. residence 415 Jacob st, telephone F. Schneider's Drug Store; Vinegar Bitters "a triumph of the chemical art" cure; J. H. Taylor, No 610 Ninth Street, 23 yrs experience in caskets, embalming, 610 Ninth St, phone 1243, Ring 2; Mrs. V. A. Fox, undertaker, phone 665, ring 2; Towers's "Fish Brand" Waterproof Coat; a very large 4/5 page ad for an excursion trip to Indianapolis, round trip $2.50, Sat night July 11, train leaves 11:15 PM from Seventh & River Depot, returns Sunday night 11 PM, Prof Cunningham's Fine Brass Band will accompany the excursion, given by the Saratoga Charitab club, George Buckner, General Manager, 810 West St., Louisville; TBPO pills that cure piles: Harnesses from Acme Mfg Co.

The Ohio Falls Express, July 11, 1891 (Sat; vol xii, no 42)

/p 8/ United Brothers of Friendship excursion to Chicago, Sat July 18, leaves 7:35 pm,$6.00, Penna Lines; Howard W. Marshall's "Society Supplies and Badges, Louisville, Ky, 1502 Second Street; Whites Cream Vermifuge for worms, St. Louis, mo.
LIST OF TEACHERS APPOINTED BY SCH BD (1891)

The Ohio Falls Express, July 11, 1891 (Sat; vol xii, no 42)

p 1/ "Maiden Lane School--W. T. Peyton, Principal; Mary C. Henry, Maggie E. Johnson and H. P. Renieux.+


"Portland School--M. P. Peyton, Principal; Hallie B. Ward."

CONTROVERSY OVER THE APPOINTMENT OF SALOME WORTHINGTON AS TEACHER AT MAIN STREET SCHOOL (1891)

The Ohio Falls Express, July 11, 1891, (Sat, vol xii, no 42)

p 1/ "Frankfort, Ky.--It is the town talk that Alona Smith and Salome Worthington, of Louisville, and two other girls were detected in company with four white men under the bushes on the grounds of the State Normal School. Prof. Monroe had them dismissed from school and they will not graduate. The girls are no longer in Frankfort and they were not at the commencement Thursday.+

"--A later report is that the girls and the four white men were only sitting down in the bushes.+

"the above letter was published in the Ohio Falls Express June 7, 1890."

This letter was forwarded to the Ohio Falls Exp by its agent, Mr. James W. Woolfolk.
P 1/

"Frankfort, Ky., June 19, 1890. +

"Editor Ohio Falls Express: +

"At a meeting held, yesterday, by the Trustees of the State Normal School for colored persons, the Faculty was unanimously sustained in the recent expulsion of Miss Cordelia Willis, of this city and Misses Alona Smith, Salome Worthington and Sarah Jackson, of Louisville. The examination had was most thorough and stubbornly contested on both sides. The matter created more than usual interest here, from the fact that it had been currently reported that the entire faculty would tender their resignations had the young ladies been reinstated against their protest." This letter was forwarded to the Ohio Falls Express by Mr. James W. Woolfolk "our Agent," (correspondent)

P 1/

"We republish the above two letters about the Normal School at Frankfort; so the honorable School Board may know just what did happen, and when; and we do not believe the School Board would have appointed Salome Worthington had they all been informed on this subject. As she is appointed and the public is displeased, any one can see from reading the American Baptist of July 10. And if Salome Worthington is not removed, the houses and men where she has met men will all be public from East street to Twelfth street in the cities of Louisville, and in Cincinnati and Frankfort. One of our ex-Judges said he was informed on the subject, but he recommended Salome Worthington, a teacher, as he thought she had been pursued enought. +

"Mrs. Susie Townsend's son, No. 928 Third street, was engaged to be married to Salome Worthington, but when he read the reports from Frankfort he declared the engagement off. This above was reported to us by both black and white."
State Grand Master W. A. Gaines, of U. B. F. and S. M. T., was in the city on official business, and expressed himself much pleased with the order in the city. He lectured at the First Baptist Church to a large audience July 6.

"The 4th of July was great; in fact, it was more successfully celebrated here than it has been for twenty years. It was a merchants' carnival, with 300 wagons and 2,000 men, women and children in line of march. Charity Lodge, No. 3, gave her usual picnic for the band. The Union Benevolent Society celebrated with great success. Douglass Camp gave an exhibition drill on Main and St. Clair streets for the benefit of their many friends. Delegates to the National Grand Lodge, U. B. F., will leave for Chicago, Ill., July 18, via Louisville, Ky."

"Winchester, Ky.--Eureka Lodge No. 60, U. B. F., voted that they would turnout in full at the U. B. F. State Grand Lodge in Lexington the day of the parade, August 14."

"The Knights of Labor are getting along very well here since their organization."

"The First Baptist church had a rally Sunday, amount raised, $140."

"Several of our young ladies went to Mt. Sterling on the 4th of July to a picnic, but when they got there the picnic had flown, they were very much disappointed."

"Chas. Patten, an aged member of Eureka Lodge and also one of the charter members, is somewhat feeble, and the order in honor to him in his old age has exempted him from any dues."

"H. C. Baker, H. P. Miller, Chas. Willis, were elected delegates to the State Grand Lodge, U. B. F., when convened in Lexington August 14."

"The Farmer and Laborers Union had a grand picnic this week, about 4,000 persons were present."

"Mr. Troy, of Richmond, Va., is here with an Art Exhibition."
To the Public--The Delaney Circle and Post and the Rousseau Circle and Post of Louisville cordially invite all to attend their annual picnic, given at Maple Grove Park on the 17th of July, 1891. The park is at Preston and Railroad Crossing. Street cars run within two squares of the part. The cars will run all night.

The famous Fantasma Club gave their Fifth annual picnic at Sugar Grove Wednesday, July 8th. The boat started out from Portland wharf at 10 o'clock with 250 invited guest /sic/ aboard and spent a delightful day in the above named grove. The guest was made up of the elite of Louisville, New Albany and Jeffersonville. They will give another one soon. George Kemp, Pres. Jas. Brown, Sec.
The Methodist Ministers meeting was held at Quinn chapel on Monday morning last: Revs. J. N. Abby, D. L. Irvin, J. R. Fields, D. F. Porter, A. A. W. Hill, R. T. Anderson, H. H. Williamson, G. A. Sissle, T. L. Ferguson and E. L. Gilliam were present. Matters relative to the organization, changes in the constitution consumed the hour and no reports were presented. At the next meeting the New Constitution of Kentucky will be presented in a paper by Dr. Abby, and discussed by the meeting. An invitation is extended all preachers, local or ordained, to attend these meetings. The Secretary was instructed to send reports of the proceedings to the Champion and Ohio Falls Express for publication. Meetings will be held every Monday morning at Quinn Chapel, at 10 a. m. E. H. Curry, Chairman. E. L. Gilliam, Secretary.

On the 13th inst., Star of Carthage Temple, No. 9, S. M. T. and Garrison Camp No. 1 will give a novel entertainment at the Fair Building 227 Jefferson street bet. 2d and 3d, entitled the 'Gold Biscuit.' Everybody who attends will receive free of charge a cup of tea and a biscuit, and in one of the biscuits will be found $5 in gold. To the person outside of the members of Garrison Camp or Carthage Temple, selling the largest number of tickets, over 50, will be presented with a round-trip ticket to Chicago to attend the meeting of the National Grand Lodge on Saturday, July 18th. Tickets may be obtained by those wishing to contest, at 1022 First street, 141 East Jefferson street, 1009 Seventh street and 1122 west Madison street. This entertainment was to have been held at the U. B. F. Hall but realizing the fact the crowd could not be accommodated in this hall is why the change was made. All tickets reading for the U. B. F. Hall July 13 will be honored at the Fair Building. Admission 25 cents.
p 2/ A poem, short fiction, a comment on Wm McKinley of Ohio, helpful hints, a corny joke or two, the tariff. /p 3/ Cooking hints, care of children, a hanging by lynch law in San Francisco (story on), odd pieces of information, market reports, notices of summer resorts. / p 4/ the editorial page. Lists the Republican ticket, Hon. George Denny's speaking appointments, appointments of Hon Henry Houston, lodge news is found in the Society Directory. /p 6/ Bits and pieces of information; act of a train wreck; article on California; cyclone story. /p 7/ Murder story; ky state news; science and industry; an attempt to save a drowning lad; some timely sayings; another cyclone story; clothes & dressing; social life on the pioneer pacific coast.

4TH ANNUAL SESSION OF LOU NATIONAL MED COL ANNOUNCED (18951

The Ohio Falls Express, July 11, 1891 (Sat, vol xii, no 42)

p 4/ "The new catalogues announcing the fourth annual session of the Louisville National Medical College are out and show that there is an educational relation between this school and the State University under control of the Colored Baptists of Kentucky."
NEW CONST HAS PROSCRIPTIONS AGAINST BLACKS (1891)

The Ohio Falls Express, July 11, 1891, (Sat, vol xii, no 42)

p 4/
"The question of the adoption of the new constitution is not commanding much interest now, since there seems to be no fighting opposition, yet it contains some proscribing provisions which may be followed by separate railroad cars for colored people in less than five years."

OHIO FALLS EXPRESS COMMENT ON SELECTION OF TEACHERS (1891)(LOU)

The Ohio Falls Express, July 11, 1891, (Sat, vol xii, no 42)

p 4/
"The School Board selected Teachers for the schools last Monday night. There was an unusual number of changes, leaving out some whose services have long been retained. The proposition to leave out all married women was not sustained, which sustains a moral idea by granting a young married woman at least the same opportunities in life as if she had remained in celibacy. Many have expressed themselves as failing to understand how it was that no one could be nominated to succeed S. T. Scott of the Ninth Ward school without a suspension of the 'Priority rule,' and W. T. Peyton could be removed without such a consideration or usages, especially when the school he managed was one of the largest schools in the city, and larger than the school taught by the above named Ninth Ward Principal. The general success of the school during the year has been remarkable, and Louisville is fast becoming an educational center remarkable for fineness of culture."
i g penn, the afro am press and its editor, 1891

p 113/ In listing a "... complete list of Afro-American journals that were published when the year 1880 was ushered in..." Penn does not list a single paper in Ky. /p 114/ In 1890, Penn lists Kentucky with five newspapers, for a gain of 5 over 1880.

BACKGROUND INFO ON OUR WOMEN AND CHILDREN MAGAZINE (Est 1888)(Lou)

i g penn, the afro am press and its editors, 1891

p 120/ Penn says one of the first important magazines was the A.M.E. Church Review of 1884 which was followed the Louisville magazine, Our Women and Children, edited by Dr. Wm J. Simmons. "This magazine was established in 1888. Its purpose was the uplifting of the race, particularly our Afro-American women and children. Being devoted to this kind of work, it has done more than all the Afro-American papers together in bringing to the front the latent talent of our lady writers. Its columns have been open, from time to time, to all our women, for articles on the particular questions which affect home, the mother and children. By the efforts of its editor it has thus given to the world a bright array of female writers, upon different questions hitherto unknown to the literary world. +

"Its editor, Rev. William J. Simmons, D. D., is recognized by the nation as an educator, both with respect to the /begin p 122 (121 is a picture)/ school-room and the newspaper. He occupies a prominent place in the affairs of his church and his people. At present he is the honored Secretary of the Southern District of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, President of the National Press Convention, and President of the State University, Louisville, Ky. He has edited, in his time, several newspapers,--a prominent one being The American Baptist. +

"Dr Simmons' capacity for thought is an unusual one. His literary efforts are such, we feel that the world of journalism is becoming so great a power through him, that men yet unborn will regard him as of superior mind."

EVAL OF WM J SIMMONS AS A JOURNALIST (1888) LOUISVILLE

i g penn, the afro am press and its editors, 1891

p 122/

"Dr. Simmons' capacity for thought is an unusual one. His literary efforts are such, we feel that the world of journalism is becoming so great a power through him, that men yet unborn will regard him as of superior mind. +

"We clip two tributes to Dr. Simmons as a writer, and leave the reader to think about the man: 'As an editorial writer he has obtained a national reputation for a pungent and aggressive style. He is an unremitting champion of right as against wrong of any kind, and has a bluff straightforward way of expressing himself on all occasions, that is as refreshing as it is startling at times.'--Ind. Freeman. +

"A writer in the North pays the following: 'Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, D. D., President of the State University of Louisville, Ky., and the chief Baptist scholar on this continent, is one of the race's big coming men. He has seen much of the world and men, and is a versatile, luminous thinker and writer. His chief work 'Men of Mark,' brought him into immediate and famous notice, and is a book of priceless value to all who desire to know and learn of the magnates, 'chief scribes' and orators of the Negro race. He is President of the Colored Press Association and has always been looked upon as a Nestor in its different councils.'"

BRIEF BIOG OF REV C. C. STUMM, ED. PHILA DEPT OF BROOKLYN NATIONAL MONITOR 1880s

i g penn, the afro am press and its editors, 1891

p 248/ C. C. Stumm was born "at Airdrie, near Paradise, on Green River, Muhlenburg County, Ky., April 11, 1848. His early life was spent in Ohio County, on a farm, where the only education one could get was what he learned on rainy days and winter evenings, and in what was called a subscription school. +

"After the training as such facilities afforded he entered school at Greenville, where he spent three terms. He then went to a white school. This aroused such bitter opposition, he soon had to withdraw from the school, and received private instruction. After this he entered Berea College, Madison County, Ky., in the spring of 1871, where he continued but one year, when he went to the Baptist Theological Institute, Nashville, Tenn.; but ill-health compelled him to leave school for a few years. In the meantime, however, he continued to study under private instruction." Stumm later resumed study at the Bap. Theo Sem in Nashville which had changed its name to Roger Williams University. He did not finish and resumed private instruction in Latin, Greek and Hebrew."

"Mr. Stumm assumed charge of his first school in the spring of 1869, at the age of 20, in Christian County, Ky. He continued to teach, at intervals, for fifteen years, in private and public schools in Tennessee and Kentucky." He was supt of Trousdale County Tenn Schools at one time. /p.25/ "A school was successfully taught by Mr. Stumm at Chaplaintown, Ky., in the fall and winter of 1870. He and his wife conducted a successful school at Elizabethtown, Hardin County, Ky., in the fall and winter of 1877 and 1878. In January, 1881, he was selected as president of the
BRIEF BIOG OF REV C C STUMM, ED PHILA DEPT OF BROOKLYN NATIONAL MONITOR IN 1880s

ig penn, the afro am press and its editors, 1891

/p 251 cont'd/ Bowling Green academy, with Prof. C. R. McDowell, Miss M. V. Cook, Miss A. M. Stepp, and Mrs. C. C. Stumm, as assistants. Prof. C. R. McDowell has since entered the ministry, and is the successful pastor of a Baptist church at Hartford, Ky. Miss M. V. Cook is now Prof. Mary V. Cook, at the State University at Louisville, Ky. Mrs. C. C. Stumm has since taught, and has been the matron, at the Hearne academy, Hearne, Texas, and is at present connected with The National Monitor of Brooklyn, N. Y., having the management of its business at Philadelphia. This closes Mr. Stumm's career as a teacher, with the exception of his instructing a few young men privately, who are preparing for the ministry,..." Stumm also worked as a minister, being called to the Union Baptist church at Phila in Oct 1885. This is one of the largest churches in Phila. /begin p 252/ Stumm is considered to be an outstanding preacher.

"Mr. Stumm's success in the ministry has not interfered at all with his progress in the glorious work of journalism, as will be seen in the following account we give of it: His career as an editor was begun in 1873, while he was a student at Nashville, Tenn. Pursuant to an adjournment, the Baptist Convention met with the First Baptist church of that city, and an editor of one of the papers asked the pastor, Rev. N. G. Merry, to have some one appointed as reporter, and the choice fell on Mr. Stumm, who accepted the position with some diffidence, but succeeded in reporting the proceedings of the meeting, though not in the most satisfactory way to all. +

"Subsequently, he became a writer for The Standard, a /begin p 254 (p 253 is a picture)/ paper published by Elder N. G. Merry; for The Baptist

BRIEF BIOG OF REV C.C.STUMM, ED PHILA DEPT OF BROOKLYN NATIONAL MONITOR IN 1880s

ig penn, the afro am press and its editors, 1891


"The children's column of The American Baptist was edited by him for a while, in which he was known as 'Uncle Charles,' A column for the colored people was conducted by him in The Bowling-Green Democrat, until some of the Bourbons got behind the editor and caused him to discontinue it. The Bowling-Green Watchman was originated by Messrs. Stumm and C. R. McDowell, and successfully published by them for a few years." In 1887 Stumm became associated with The Baptist Monitor in New England. In 1890 C.C.Stumm began The Christian Banner, an 8-page paper. State Univ in Lou. gave him an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree May 13, 1890.
From p 3, an article containing news on "The Army and the Negroes."

"The 'Contraband' in Kentucky. --The slaveholders about Louisville, Ky., have for some time declared that they would not permit any slaves to pass through that city under protection of the Federal forces. On Saturday last a collision with the troops, from this cause, seemed for a time unavoidable. A number of negroes, said to be slaves of Kentuckians, appearing in the lines of a passing force, marching forward, certain citizens, without any appeal to the military authorities, attempted to seize and drag them away. The attempt, of course, was ineffeetual, but it might, nevertheless, have produced bloody consequences. Other regiments being expected in the city, several citizens subsequently waited on Gen. Granger, asking that something might be done to prevent a collision, to which the General responded that such mobbish proceedings as those of Saturday must not be attempted again, but he would 'protect the people of Kentucky in their rights.' The Democrat adds: +

"Several days since Gen. Granger gave orders to his subordinate officers forbidding them from permitting any negro slave belonging to Kentucky to leave the State with them. They are positively prohibited from going on boats of any government transport, and Gen. Granger assured his officers that he should hold them accountable for a faithful adherence to this order, and that he should punish, with exemplary rigor, any disobedience to this order. Let those who are wronged rely on Gen. Granger. These orders of Gen. Granger have the full sanction of Major-General Wright.""

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BLACKS EXPELLED FROM CAMP IN BOWLING BREEN AREA (Mar 1863)

National Anti-Slavery Standard, March 28, 1863

From p 3, an article containing news on "The Army and the Negroes."

"No Negroes in Camp over Night. --Gen. H. M. Judah, in command at Bowling Green, Ky., has issued an important order in regard to the treatment of negroes, of which the following is an extract: +

"Headquarters United States Forces, +
"Bowling Green, Ky., March 6, 1863. +
"Special Orders No. 74.+  

"II. In obedience to orders from headquarters, District of Western Kentucky, dated 4th inst., commanding officers of regiments, battalions, and batteries of this command, are hereby ordered to eject from their camps, before sunset today, all negroes, male and female. +

"III. It is further ordered that hereafter no negroes will be permitted to reside in or near the camp or any of the forces of this command, in any capacity whatsoever, without a special permission from these headquarters authorizing their employment. +

"IV. Commanders of regiments, battalions, and batteries will be held to a strict accountability for the faithful execution of this order, and will make, or cause to be made, a daily inspection to secure it from violation or surreptitious evasion. By order of  Brig.-Gen. H. M. Judah.+"

"R. C. Kise, Assistant Adjutant-General."
National Anti-Slavery Standard, July 11, 1863


"All the 'contrabands' have been turned out of jail here. Their history reveals deep measures of wickedness on the part of a portion of the people. Last Fall, when Buell's army was here, hundreds of ex-slaves came with it, and were picked up by the police and thrown into jail. According to Kentucky law they could not be sold until they had been in prison eight months, but the jail being full they were sent to jails in different parts of the State. To meet the emergency the Legislature last Winter /sic/ changed the term of imprisonment from eight months to 30 days before sales could take place, thus profiting the State at the expense of other States.+

"While in prison more than a hundred of the poor creatures died. The water they had to drink was so filthy that it became /sic/ their poison. Many of the survivors were sold out, and went abroad to tell their story of sufferings, and it had its effect. The military authorities took the matter up. They cleaned the jail of the poor ex-slaves, and liberated many that had been sold. The friends of liberty have exerted themselves on their behalf. They proceed as follows: After finding the 'contraband,' and taking down his story, four soldiers are sent, with fixed bayonets, to bring him to camp. The claimant can follow if he chooses and have a fair trial. If from another State the 'contraband' is released. +

"We set them to work on our fortifications. Most of them are willing to do anything for us we ask. They work faithfully ten hours a day, and do more digging than a much greater number of our white boys. They also want to fight, and are quite willing to enlist for three years. They say: 'Life is nothing to us unless we can have our freedom, and to go North for our own safety while needed here, we can't think of it.' They talk with great enthusiasm about fighting their way to their families in the South.+

"I have 20 now that I drill once a day. They are very apt, and in shooting at a target even beat some of the white soldiers. Three months ago, many of our soldiers here said they would not fight with a negro, but on our getting word the other day that the rebels were about to attack us, a team was dispatched for guns for our 20 'contrabands,' who took their places by the side of our white boys, who felt glad that they could avail themselves on their aid."
Lucretia Newman Coleman, a general newspaper correspondent and writer, born in Dresden, Ontario, became a well-known writer. The Indianapolis Freeman said: "Her last poem, "Lucille of Montana," ran through several numbers of the magazine Our Women and Children, and is full of ardor, eloquence and noble thought." Georgia Mable De Baptiste, was also a contributor to Our Women and Children. Born in Chicago in 1867, she was a regular contributor to Our Women and Children, an excellent magazine published at Louisville, Ky. She is fully alive to the needs and necessities of the race, and will yet make a brighter life for herself in this field. She is regarded as one of the most gifted writers on the staff of Our Women and Children. Miss De Baptist described some of her ambitions: "I am fond of literary work, and I hope to become a writer of real power of mind and character,—with true dignity of soul, and kindly bearing toward all among whom I may be thrown; not for mere social attainments, but that such may be the outward expression of inward grace and courtesy." Miss Kate D. Chapman, a newspaper correspondent and poetical writer, of Yankton, Dakota, born 1870 in Illinois, is now a regular contributor to Our Women and Children magazine, as well as other papers. Mrs. N. F. Mossell, is upon the staff of correspondents of The Indianapolis Freeman, The Richmond Rankin Institute, and Our Women and Children. She may live in Phila. Miss Ida B. Wells (Iola) is a newspaper correspondent and editor. Born in Holly Springs, Arkansas, educated at Rust University, a teacher in Memphis. She is a correspondent for a number of newspapers, "... and editor of the 'Home' department of Our Women and Children, of which Dr. William J. Simmons is publisher. She is popular with all the journalists of Afro-American connection, as will be seen by her election as assistant secretary of the National Afro-American Press Convention, at Louisville, two years ago, and her unanimous election as secretary of the recent Press Convention, which met at Washington, D. C., March 4, 1889." Miss Lucy W. Smith says of Ida B. Wells: "She is an inspiration to the young writers, and her success has lent an impetus to their ambition. When the National Press Convention, of which she was assistant secretary, met in Louisville, she read a splendidly written paper on 'Women in Journalism; or, How I would Edit.'"
Miss Tilghman is one of Washington D.C.'s most talented vocalists. "In 1881 she was engaged to lead the Saengerfest, at Louisville, Ky.;..."

"The American Baptist Publication Society has made a step in advance by recognizing the Afro-American Baptists as editorial writers upon The Teacher. Rev. W. J. Simmons, D. D.,..." and others "are among those thus complimented."
London Ferrill is now commencing the sixty-fifth year of his age, and was born on the forks of Hanover, just opposite the birth place of Hon. Henry Clay. He was owned by Mrs. Ann Winston, his mother belonging to that lady's brother, Richard Ferrill, who came from England, and shortly after his arrival, died and left all his estate to his sister, Mrs. Ann Winston. His mistress named him London Ferrill, after her brother, and after her death, her large estate was divided among her children, when he was sold for six hundred dollars to Col. Samuel Overton, a bachelor, thus separated from his mother at eight or nine years of age; but the kindness of his owner buoyed him up, and childlike, he felt but little the want of a kind mother.

At the age of eleven, quite a romantic little incident occurred, while Ferrill Price and our hero were bathing in the river, by which they were both thrown into the water, clenched together, and but for the timely assistance of a washer-woman, they would both have met watery graves. They had sunk twice when the woman spying them rushed into the water, supporting herself by the limb of a tree, caught one of them by the hair of the head, and thus drew them ashore, when reclining their heads down the sloping bank, the water had an opportunity to escape, and thus, in a few minutes, they were restored to consciousness. After recovering, he was severely punished and strict orders given him to keep away from the river. A few days after this occurrence, the two met and had some conversation in regard to their fate, had they been drowned and both were of opinion that they would have gone to the "lake of fire and brimstone," and they covenanted together, that henceforward they would serve their God alone. The escape from death had an important influence on their conduct in after life.

After this he was bound to Edmund Daily to learn the house-joinery business, and during apprenticeship, he felt that his sins were pardoned—that God loved him and would keep him from temptation. He then wished to ascertain how far the other party to the covenant had persevered in his religious career, but, alas for human nature, he had forgotten his promise and yet remained a sinner out of the fold of God, and when Ferrill talked to him on the subject, tears coursed down his cheeks, and but a few words elapsed before he and his wife were buried with Christ in Baptism. He sent for him to witness the ceremony and, at the same time, Ferrill related his religious experience to Rev. Absalom Waller, and was himself baptised, which important event occurred when he was twenty years of age. After his baptism he felt himself called to preach the Gospel, but was disobedient to the Heavenly Order. Shortly after this he attended a prayer meeting where the new converts, Elders and emmEBers were assembled. After singing and praying for some time, he was called on to sing. With many misgivings and a palpitating heart, he rose, requested an Elder if he should make a mistake to correct him, and proceed to sing, "Alas, and did my Savior bleed, and did my sovereign die."

After singing, he was called on to pray, and the first thing he knew after kneeling down, he was standing up, relating his religious experience, and felt the love of God abed abroad in his heart as much as when he was converted. He heard no sound, but in his soul he felt
that the command bound him to go and preach the Gospel to every creature and he said, "Thy will be done." The whole house was one swa of commotion, and all seemed rejoicing in the Lord, shaking hands and evincing by their every look the presence of the Spirit of Grace shed abroad in their hearts. He attended two more meetings of a similar character and at the last one, he hid himself away in the corner, as he had some suspicion that they wished to exalt him to some position which perhaps he could not fill with honor to himself, and what was and is far more important with honor to his God. When all the others had finished singing and praying, and enquiry was made if he was in the house, when he was brought out from his place of concealment and told to sing, pray, exhort, or preach, or whatever the Spirit of the Lord prompted him to do, and this Scripture came into his mind:
"I can do all things, the Lord helping me." He spoke from these words about twenty-five minutes, then the meeting

the life everlasting, and those that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation," Jesus Christ says, that he will cast out none that will come to him by faith.

When the overseer came up his words seemed to have a great effect upon him, for instead of letting his hat retain its place during his stay, he very politely took it off; then Ferrill addressed him: "Mr. Barnett, if you don't repent you will go to hell as sure as there is a God in Heaven." He acted quite civil during the discourse, and after the services were closed, he invited Ferrill to go home with him, which invitation Ferrill refused at first, but he insisted so strongly that he was constrained to go, and so went with him to his house and was introduced to his family; he then brings out his whisky, which our old temperance man refused to drink, but took a little sweet cider, which was quite innocent. He was invited to the table with Mr. Barnett's family, but by Ferrill's request a small table was set seperately for him, which was accordingly done; when the repast was announced as being ready, Mr. B. would not eat until Ferrill had asked a blessing on the food set before them. Dinner being over, our young Divine wished to get away as soon as possible, as he entertained fears of bodily injury from Mr. B., believing all his professions hypocrisy.

He requested his horse to be caught and he started for home, glad to get away, and with a determination never to return, which resolution he kept. Before he left, Mr. Barnett told him whenever he visited that neighborhood again to call on him and he would see to the circulation of his appointments, and he even sent a servant a quarter of a mile from the house to open the gate for "Parson Ferrill." John
BIOGRAPHY OF LONDON FERRILL

The Kentucky Gazette, March 6, 1878

Kembough and Lewis Cross told Col. Overton, that he was as great a preacher as Andrew Broaddus, with which the Colonel was very much pleased, and said he was to glad that he had raised him to be a preacher, and if he lived, intended to educate him, but the following March he died, and Ferrill's calculation for a good education was at once blasted. and then there grew a strong desire in him to leave Virginia. When his master died he was thirty-eight miles from L. Ferrill's place of residence, but when the Colonel saw his days and hours were numbered, he sent a horse for his faithful servant whom he loved almost as well as one of his own children, and his last breath was drawn whilst his head was resting on our young Divine's arm. Never did master and servant love each other better than these two. Ferrill's desire to leave his native State increased; his mind was greatly troubled, thinking that some open-lighted population in some section were without a shepherd and needed his services in the cause of Christianity, he came to the determination to seek them, and his kind wife remarked to him that she would go with him anywhere.

He thought of New York and Philadelphia as good places to settle, but he was persuaded to come out to Kentucky. He bought him a Yankee wagon and two horses, and he and his wife started on their journey on the old Wilderness road, which was very thinly settled. They had to sleep forty miles from any habitation whilst journeying to Kentucky, the bears and the wolves howling around their tent each night all night, keeping then in fear of an attack from those ferocious animals and being devoured by them, but through the protection of a King Providence they escaped unhurt, and at length arrived in this State and went to Colonel Overton's where they were cordially received. During the trip they received marked attention from Mr. Allen, at Brookville, Mr. Rogers, at Rogersville, and Mr. Letcherick. Ferrill and his wife visited Lexington occasionally, Mr. Overton's (their place of sojourn) being four miles in the country; at length they concluded to move into town, and rented a house and he preached occasionally in Mr. Thomas Hart's weaving room, which he kindly permitted the colored people to use.

One night some white people listened to him from the opposite side of the street, and the next morning sent Mr. Nathan Burrowes to say, that his views of the Scriptures were very correct, and that his voice was good for preaching, but that he did not speak grammatically. They wished to know when it would suit him to call and see Parson McChord. He designated the time and called accordingly, and had a pleasant and instructive conversation.

He was invited frequently to preach at private houses, first at one house and then another, and he always made a point to fulfill these requests whenever he thought any good could be done, and his own indispensable engagements did not prevent.

On one occasion, he was preaching at Mr. John Pope's, where a number of students were assembled, among others Mr. William Warfield, who, when Ferrill picked up the book, laughed scornfully, but not being disconcerted, he proceeded to read, and took the text, "Now if any man has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." In preaching from these words Mr. Warfield became convicted—tried to wear off this feeling of guilty condemnation by getting into a row at the theatre, after which his father
sent him away for fear of an arrest. Whilst away, his convictions returned with new energy, and he obtained a hope in Christ. He then wrote to his father for Jeremiah Vardeman to baptise him, which was done accordingly, and he returned to Lexington and became a great preacher. There were several other white men, whom by the Grace of God, Ferrell was the humble instrument of bringing from sin, who afterwards became great divines.

About this time, he consented to become the preacher of the colored people and was engaged by the Trustees of Lexington, of which body Alexander Parker was Chairman and John Bradford, Elisha Warfield, Thomas Wallace, George Trotter and John Brand were Trustees. Alexander Parker was so much pleased with him that he gave him a dinner, with the privilege of inviting all he liked to have with him. The old woman Phillips, who cooked the dinner, is still living, but Ned Roach and his wife, who waited on the table, are dead.

The next Sabbath they called the colored people together and presented him for their minister, and when the vote was taken it was unanimous. Soon after this he was installed their preacher for life, but he modified this so that the contract should last while dissatisfaction kept out of their midst. His reason for making this arrangement was, that he knew, that out of twenty-two colored men studying for the ministry some would be disaffected and try to injure others, so he wished to leave a loop-hole for escape, if their malicious designs should have the desired effect. They had already urged the ridiculous charge that he was a foreigner; but they were told, that such was not the case, and that they did not know what a foreigner was. But this charge did not know what a foreigner was. But this charge did not disturb him much, as he knew, that some of them would not go to preach without a tickler of whisky in their pockets, but in working their schemes, in one month's time he had only seven hearers, his wife making the seventh. The white friends having assisted them, they purchased Mr. Tanyard's old weaving-room for a place to hold meetings in.

His enemies still endeavored to destroy his church, a pious resolve—and had put up another house for meetings not three hundred yards from his church.

Solomon Walker, his oldest deacon, advised him to shut up and not try to keep up the meetings any longer, but Ferrill said no, by the help of the Lord he was going on, and he believed, that he would see so many people there, that the house would not hold them, and this was fully verified, for under his preaching that house was crowded to overflowing, and in the course of one month, he had thirty candidates ready for baptism, from conscientious motives, unless he should be ordained according to the law and gospel. The Trustees then wrote to the members of the Elk Horn Association to have him ordained, the first Baptist Church joining in this request. The members of the Association considered it a new thing for a colored man to wish to be ordained, and they appointed a Committee, consisting of Edmund Waller, John Edwards, Jeremiah Vardeman, James Fishback and Jacob Creath, who reported to the Association that they saw no good reason why a colored man should not be ordained where he was
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duly called and possessed gospel qualification, and a resolution to that effect was passed unanimously and London Ferrill was duly ordained a minister, and given authority to perform all religious ceremonies. On the next Sunday he had the pleasure of seeing horses, buggies and carriages loaded with people, pressing around to witness the baptism of his new converts. Dr. Fishback sung and prayed, and then Ferrill went in and buried seventeen with Christ in baptism.

About this time, Harry Quills, whose heart was as black as his face, started a report, that Ferrill's character was not good in Virginia, but upon some of the Elders writing to persons living in the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, they were informed that his character was unspotted. It was afterwards ascertained, that Harry had raised these reports himself, and his guilty conscience, no doubt, lashed him severely for his perfidious conduct. He made another attempt to injure Ferrill, knowing that the law was such, that no free colored man could remain in this State over thirty days, unless a native of the State, and thought he would drive Ferrill away in this manner. He had warrants gotten out and a number of free people were sold and a number of free people went away. He then spoke in the Court Green and said, they "would never sell Brother Ferrill while Christ reigns." The whites got Dr. Fishback to draw up a petition to the Legislature to permit him to stay in the State, as he had not only been here thirty days, but even eight years. Mr. Jeremiah Murphy presented the petition to the people, after the Baptists had all signed it, and obtained ninety-two signatures, after which it was sent to the Legislature through the politeness of Mr. William Blair. The petition was granted, and so he was at liberty to stay or go.

as he pleased. The church went on prosperously, and at length was incorporated by the Legislature, and was called the "Old Apostolic Church."

On the first day of June, 1833, the cholera set in here, and every preacher with the exception of Ferrill, left the place. General Combs and Mr. John Keizer, Jr., stood up like men; they administered medicine and he the Gospel. It fell to his lot to bury all the dead, both white and black. Mr. Leven Young was the grave digger; he would dig a pit large enough to put four coffins in, and thus stow them away in the cold silent grave. On the eleventh day Ferrill's wife died, after the doctors, and white and black friends of his family, had done all they could, and when he saw she was past recovery, he turned himself into the corner and wept like a child. Hearing me, she said, "don't weep, but pray unto the Lord to fulfill his promise and take me home today."

The last words she uttered were these, "husband, the pain is in my right hip, and you rub it yourself," and while in the act of rubbing her the spirit of his dear partner had fled to "a better and brighter world."

Benjamin Grats, Esq., came riding by soon after his wife died, and said he must bury her at once, but he told him he could not until tomorrow. He advised him not to sleep in the house; he told him he would. Mr. Grats said, if you do, you will die; he told him the house was his own and he was God's, and if the Lord chose to take him, he was willing to go. He then asked for some water; Ferrill gave him a glass full, he put some brandy in it and told Ferrill to drink it and it would do him so good. The next day he buried his wife, having the largest funeral since the cholera began--numbering thirteen persons, and he then returned
to his business, visiting the sick and burying the dead. Some nights there were fifteen corpses in the burying ground and ten in the street. We are credibly informed that in one single day there were sixty deaths.

When General Bodley was conveyed to the tomb, there were none present but Mr. Dewees, Ferrill, and the General's children. When the Cholera had subsided in Lexington, he went through the country, visiting the sick and dispensing that which did far more good than medicine could preparing their souls for an entrance into God's presence.

Comparatively few who were attacked with Cholera recovered, and those who did had broken constitutions for their remaining days; the large amount of calomel taken, proving quite deleterious to their systems. During his stay in the country, Ferrill continued to bury the dead, and went, through the great mercy of God, unscathed by the pestilence, although so long in its midst, he, like all men, felt some fear when with those who were dead from and dying with Cholera, but he knew at the same time what his duty was and tried to perform it, believing that God would reward him when He saw fit, for his self-denial, and he feels, that ere many years, that reward will be his, and he will be commanded to sit down on the right hand of his Savior and sing hallelujah, forever and ever.

He talked with a number of ministers about this time, in regard to the call to preach the Gospel, and the majority of them professed to have been called. -- There is one now living whom Ferrill talked to a few years since on that subject, which is the Rev. Wm M. Pratt, who professed to have a call. He was very sick with fever, and thought he was going to die, but our minister told him he would not die, and that the reason he...
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When Ferrill saw him again, he had married a third time, saying he could not withstand the temptation. Ferrill continued to preach, baptizing in the Ohio river at Maysville and Covington, in Elkhorn, Town Fork, and in all the ponds for miles around Lexington. A pool was then constructed in the Church lot, in which he baptised two hundred and twenty persons in one hour and twenty-five minutes, and sixty at another time, in forty-five minutes; and has baptized, in all, upwards of five thousand. The greater part of these are dead, the remainder being scattered throughout the United States—some in California, some in Canada, some in Texas and a few in England. He has under his charge at this time, eight hundred and twenty members, being the largest congregation, white or black in Kentucky. Ferrill adopted two children, Eleazer Jackson and his sister, Elizabeth Jackson, and has them with him at this time. He has made a will and left all his property, which has been saved by rigid economy, to these adopted children, and has appointed Major Thomas Waters, Farmer Dewees and John B. Johnson, his executors. Messrs. Jas. O. Harrison and Francis K. Hunt are the witnesses to the will. London Ferrill has indicted the following prayer and requests its publication:

MAY THE GREAT FATHER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, bless the citizens of Richmond, Virginia, for their kindness toward me in my youthful days, but more particularly, O, Lord, he merciful to the citizens of Lexington, Kentucky, and may it please Thee to bless, preserve and keep them from sin. Guide them in all their walks—make them peaceably, happy and truly righteous, and when they come to lie down on the bed of death, may thy good Spirit hover around ready to wait their reansomed souls to Thy good presence—Lord. grant this for Christ's sake; and O, God, bless the Church of which I am pastor, and govern it with Thy unerring wisdom, and keep it as long as time shall last—and O, my Maker! choose, when I am gone, some pastor for them, who may be enabled to labor with more zeal than your most humble petitioner has ever done, and grant that it may continue to prosper and do good among the colored race. And, Merciful Father! bless the white people, who have always treated me as though I was a white man and bless, I pray Thee, all those who through envy or malice, have mistreated me, and save them—is my prayer. Bless the Church of Christ everywhere—bless Christians in every land—bless 0, Lord! my two adopted children, and keep them in Thy way—bring all sinners, in all countries, to feel their need of a Savior, and pardon all their sins; and when they come to die, take them unto Thysel, and the glory shall be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, forever and ever, AMEN.

We subjoin the funeral notice, which was neatly printed on note paper with black border. The funeral was the largest, save Mr. Clay's that ever passed through the streets of Lexington. The biographical sketch was published a short time before Bro Ferrill's death, which occurred October 12th, 1854. We also republish the notices of that occurrence which appeared in the Observer and Statesman, by which it will be seen that he was held in high esteem by all classes and both parties.

FUNERAL.

Yourself and family are requested to attend the funeral of Rev. London Ferrill, (late pastor of the first colored Baptist church) from
DEATH OF A GOOD MAN

On yesterday morning, 12th Rev. London Ferrill, a colored man, died in this city suddenly from a disease of the heart. The deceased, at the time of his death, was pastor of the first Baptist Church of colored persons, in this city, and had labored in that capacity, with great zeal and much apparent profit to the cause of religion, for many years. He was a meek, earnest, consistent and devout follower of Christ and preacher of His word, and had been so for about forty years, being at the time of his death in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

London Ferrill was born in Virginia, a slave; but after his conversion obtained his freedom. He removed from Virginia to Lexington, over thirty years since; and by his labors in the Ministers has built up one of the largest congregations, we presume, in the United States. His communicants numbered, a short time since, eighteen hundred and twenty; all, or most of whom, joined his church under his preaching. The consistency of his conduct, and his intelligent comprehensions of the scripture, attracted the attention of the Baptist church in this city a few years after he came to Kentucky; and he was regularly ordained to preach the gospel. During his ministry from first to last, he baptised upwards of five thousand persons.
BLACKS JAILED IN KY (Mar 1864)

National Anti-Slavery Standard, March 19, 1864

p 1/ From The Evening Post.

John Clark, 19, from Henry Co., Indiana "...went into Kentucky a few months ago as servant to an army officer; got separated from the regiment by an accident; and was thrown into jail at Shepardstown, not because he had committed a crime, or was charged with any, but because he was black. In two weeks, unless some of his neighbors in Indiana go to the trouble and expense of collecting and sending on proofs that he is a freeman, he will be sold into slavery to pay the jail fees. + "All this is done under the law of Kentucky. Is it right that one State should make laws which thus attack the dearest rights of the people of another? ... Yet while slavery lasts, Kentucky will probably keep upon her statute book this injurious and absurd law." Another case of kidnapping; from the Frankfort Commonwealth:

"Notice.--There was committed to the Carroll County jail, as a runaway slave, a negro man calling himself Ed. Williams. He is about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, light complexion, 19 years of age, had on when taken up a striped cassimer box coat, black felt hat, and gray mixed pants, and in his possession an oil cloth and blanket, marked with the letters U. S. He was taken from the steamer Prima Donna, at the wharf at Carrolton, Carrol County, Ky. Says he belongs to Park Townsend, of Huntsville, Ala." Says the owner should come forward and claim him.

NEGRO ENLISTMENTS IN KY (Mar 1864)

National Anti-Slavery Standard, March 19, 1864


"The Louisville correspondent of the N. Y. Times, under date March 7, says: 'Enrolling negroes in this State / under the law recently passed by Congress / has begun. Four hundred dollars / $100 bounty / $300 purchase money / is for each slave considered full compensation to the loyal owner. A lot of negroes lately brought in Henderson an average of $232.50. The feeling seems spreading that Kentucky had better fill her own quota with negroes than suffer them any longer to cross the Ohio river and Tennessee border and fill the quotas of other States. Intelligent Kentuckians assert that if, to-morrow, Congress should offer to this people a fair compensation for their slaves, it would be accepted almost unanimously; that, at the present rate at which slaves are running off, in two years from now the institution will be removed from the State, and that as a political power it will be dead after this year.' + "Frankfort, Ky., March 12, 1864. + "It is understood that Gov. Bramlette has addressed an earnest remonstrance to the President respecting the enrolment and enlistment of slaves in Kentucky, and has notified the President that he will execute the laws of Kentucky against all who attempt to take slaves from their owners without their consent. He claims that Kentucky has furnished more than fifty thousand of her sons to defend the government, and is willing to furnish still more--all that are allotted to her--that she has proved her loyalty and must be treated as a loyal State, and that her Constitution and laws must be respected."
Negro Enlistments in Kentucky from The Covington (KY) American.

"Negroes are coming to this city from the interior in swarms, for the purpose of enlisting in the United States army. About two hundred have arrived in the past three days. These enlistments will materially reduce the quotas of Bracken, Pendleton, Harrison, Grant, Boone, Gallatin, Carroll and Trimble Counties. +

"Owing to the great numbers of enlistments in some of the Counties of the Blue Grass region, the probability is that several of these Counties will be free from any further draft, the quotas being all filled. This result will make negro enlistments very popular with the non-slaveholding whites, who otherwise would be subject to the draft.+

"The entire quota of Jessamine County, in the late draft, was filled by negro enlistments."

HOSTILITY TO BLACK SOLDIERS IN KY (June 1864)


"Headquarters Provost Marshal, 6th Congressional District, Ky., Covington, Ky., June 3d, 1864. +

"Information has been received at these Headquarters to the effect that certain parties throughout this District are daily engaged by persuasion, threats of violence, and misrepresentations as to the positions that are assigned to negro troops in the field, to prevent negroes from serving in the Federal army. This is clearly interfering with the enrollment and draft that are now in progress, and with the orders of Gen. Burbridge, commander of the district of Kentucky, and subjects the loyal owners of slaves to great inconvenience in complying with the requisitions of the law. These practices are, at the same time, convulsing the labor of the country, which is sufficient of itself to require the immediate arrest of the parties thus offending, and I hereby direct that all Deputy Provost Marshals, acting under my authority, arrest and forthwith send to these headquarters all persons so offending." signed by Henry A. Mitchell, Major 17th Reg. V.R.C., Acting Provost Marshal, 6th Con. Dist.
HOSTILITY TO BLACK ENLISTMENTS (July 1864)


"The Feeling in Kentucky.+
"We have among the latest news from Kentucky the following sample of slave-mongering loyalty: +
"Seventeen black men presented themselves for enlistment in the army of the United States, according to the invitation of its authorities, at Lebanon, on Tuesday last--the day of the first great battle of Spotsylvania in Virginia.+
"Certain persons there took them into a room, for the alleged purpose of paying them bounties. Having got them in their power, they stripped the black fellows and administered to each of them one hundred lashes; and then turned them loose.+.

"This we suppose to be an average specimen of a certain sort of Kentucky feeling. It is the freedom for which they are fighting--freedom to whip black men. Now those men who administered those lashes may very likely claim to be loyal men, and for aught we know are connected with the United States army. But if so, they are fighting on the wrong side. All that sort of loyalty belongs to Jeff Davis. If we cannot conquer the rebellion without the help of such scoundrels as these, we shall gain but little in overcoming it with them--at least, if we only carry our conquest to the end of their desires.--Chicago Tribune."

BLACK RECRUITING IN KENTUCKY (July 1864)


"Recruiting in Kentucky. +
"A correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette says: 'Gen. Thomas will remain at Paducah for some days and will complete the work of organizing colored troops in Kentucky. He declares his intention to "put that job through," and regrets that the immunity he granted Kentucky, through Gov. Bramlette last Winter was thrown away. He says he does not care how much the feelings of Kentucky may be hurt by the organization of colored troops, nor how much the people there may protest their loyalty to the government, as long as they add, "only do not take our niggers"; for he not only intends to take them, but he has given orders to have each regiment, as soon as organized, armed and equipped, marched through the principal towns in their immediate vicinity. This will be wormwood and gall to the Senator McHenry stripe of Union men, who swore last Winter to "vote for no man who would avow that nothing should stand between them and their loyalty to the government, for that was a virtual invitation to Lincoln to send his nigger recruiting agents into the State."'"
"According to Gen. Palmer's estimate, over 165,000 Kentucky slaves have been directly and indirectly, for self-defence, freed by government enactment. Of the 65,000 remaining, I reckon, at least 15,000 to 20,000 have escaped from the State, perhaps most via Louisville. Not 50,000 stay-at-home and all servicable slaves are left, and they, says the Auditor, are not worth $50 a piece. Many think that if the Anti-Amendment ticket should most unhappily carry, the State (which is possible, but I trust not probable), not a locomotive negro will be found on Kentucky a fortnight afterward. Truly, as Gen. Palmer says, 'invariably, a conservative gathering in a neighborhood is followed by a stampede of negroes. In short, slavery has no actual existence in Kentucky.'

"Old family servants often leave their old homes without a moment's warning, at all hours of day and night. Many say as they go, 'We want our freedom; we must go and tend to our education.' They don't feel free till armed with 'free papers,' they are out of sight, and hearing, and reach of their old masters and mistresses. Our domestic and farming trials during the transition state are inevitably severe, but not without compensations." The article is signed Pontiac.

"Louisville, Wednesday, Sep. 6, 1865+

"Considering that Kentucky's slavery and slave code have so long been practically non est, it is amusing to hear the Judge of the Louisville Criminal Court still charging the Grand Jury that 'there is still in force here a statute punishing by confinement in the penitentiary any person who shall aid or assist slaves to escape from their masters, and you should inquire and see if this statute has been violated, and if so, the parties who are guilty under it;' and to see such advertisements as this: +

"'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. Patsy Estelle. +

"Not a few stampeding negroes are reported coming back to their 'old Kentucky home.'"
"The Pass System In Kentucky.+
"On the 29th, says the Cincinnati Gazette, we observed a colored man and his family, with their trunks, in an express wagon, who seemed to be in trouble. On inquiry we found that he had recently come from Tennessee, with a pass from his former master, to take his family back, who had been sent to this city for safety during the war. He had lost his pass, and on going to the depot of the Kentucky railroad, in Covington, he was refused passage without a pass. He was advised to come back to this side of the river, and get a pass of Provost Marshal Jones. But this officer having no right to issue a pass for Kentucky, turned him away. We advised him to go to the Post Commander in Covington, who would no doubt give him a pass that would be respected by the railroad conductors, now that Gen. Palmer is retained in command in that State. As it was a week ago, the railroad company was operating under the civil law, which prohibits them from carrying slaves, unless they have passes from their owners or free colored persons, unless they show their free papers. Of course, there are thousands of women and children—the families of colored soldiers—who are free still in Kentucky, but have no papers to establish the fact. Under the civil rule, they could not get out of the State, and were liable to be re-enslaved in it. Although martial law has been suspended in Kentucky, the military authorities there interfered, and required the railroad company and other common carriers to respect their passes. There is great need of a little wholesome legislation over there to suit the present state of things."

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"Hemp was a labor-intensive crop, and it was Negroes, first as slaves and later as freedmen, who supplied the labor. The crop was sown by hand broadcasting in April and May. In the late summer the hemp was hand cut, then dried, shocked, and ground retted, re-shocked, and then broken. Breaking, a procedure that separated the usable fibers from the stalk, was a tedious and dirty task. Breaking began after Christmas and was completed in time for spring plowing."
In 1869 an employment agency was established in Lexington to help Negroes find jobs on the estates, since most Negroes had had experience only in agricultural work and were qualified for few city jobs. The one alternative for most rural Negroes was to remain in the country and seek employment in the only occupations they knew—farm work on the estates of their former masters.

Source: T Clark, Hist, p 351
Not all of the Negro hamlets were established by benevolent estate owners (Table I). Three hamlets, Bracktown, Jonestown, and Willa Lane, were created when white entrepreneurs purchased parcels of farm property from destitute farmers and divided the land into lots, selling them exclusively to Negroes. These settlements, which were established three decades or more after the Civil War, may have attracted overflow populations from other hamlets. The circumstances of their creation had little effect on the employment status of their residents, who were soon hired as laborers on nearby estates.

Several hamlets have no known oral-history tradition, and no written record exists to establish either the date of their inception or the manner in which they were created. These hamlets are all within walking distance, one or two miles, of former estates that are still marked by deteriorating mansions, abandoned barns and other outbuildings, and miles of relic stone walls built by slaves. The situation of these hamlets suggests that they were created as labor villages by the estates immediately after the Civil War. When the estate owners were unable to recoup their wartime losses, they left their farms to creditors, and the Negroes had to travel farther to work or simply to subsist on garden produce.

Four hamlets were established through abandonment or through unique circumstances that initially did not involve the large estates. One of these, Keene, located about a day's buggy ride from Lexington, was an antebellum health spa with a medicinal spring and a fashionable hotel. After the Civil War, health seekers discovered that the springwater was essentially the same as Lexington water, and the white population began to sell out. Negroes from nearby hamlets bought the properties and soon occupied the old spa fully. The house lots in Keene were much smaller than those in the hamlets created by estate owners are. Gardens are more modest and farm animals are virtually nonexistent. Residents of Keene were employed on the surrounding estates.
KY SLAVES RUNNING AWAY (June 1864)

National Anti-Slavery Standard, June 18, 1864, (p 3, from The Evening Post)

KENTUCKY SLAVES RUNNING AWAY
From The Evening Post

The slaves in the Counties of Davies, Henderson and Union, in Kentucky, are deserting the plantations by scores and making their way to the Federal lines. The Louisville Journal, with its usual sympathy for the slave-drivers, calls this "a sad state of affairs." It adds melancholy reflection that "the blacks are entirely demoralized and cannot be controlled by their masters." This is very unfortunate, indeed. Men are certainly "demoralized," according to The Journal's way of thinking, when they refuse to be "controlled" by masters who beat them, and sell them, and deny them the commonest privileges of humanity. In fact, the demoralization is so complete that these runaway black men actually plunge plump into the ranks of our army in order to get a fair chance to revenge their wrongs by shooting some few of the rebels who went to war to perpetuate the slavery of their race. Hear The Journal's confession still further:

"Squads of negro soldiers, under command of recruiting officers, are scouring the country for the purpose of inducing the slaves to desert their owners and follow them to camp and enlist in the military service. Every recruiting squad obtains its hundreds, and the largest plantations are now wholly depopulated of blacks. Men of all areas, women and children, make up the motley group, all demanding admittance inside the Federal lines. The banks of the Ohio river, in the vicinity of Owensboro and Henderson, are lined with the homeless blacks. The able-bodied men are eagerly received into the service, but the feeble old men, the women and the children, must necessarily become 'camp followers,' idle, worthless vagabonds, spreading a demoralizing influence throughout the camps, and proving an unnecessary burden and a heavy expense to the government, which the people are taxed to support."

The last clause of this passage shows how wilfully men blind their eyes to the signs of the times. It will not be long before these self-emancipated black people who are too young
or too old to fight, will form freedmen's villages as orderly and as happy as those which already exist in the vicinity of Norfolk, Arlington Heights and Port Royal. The Journal's mawkish sympathy is all wanted.

But hear the same paper once more—and this time the true reason of its disgust is apparent:

"In the lower Counties of the State the farming interests will severely suffer, the sudden stampede of hands depriving the planters of the only means to carry on the pursuits. Large crops have been planted, but they must go to waste, for the simple reason that the hands necessary to cultivate and reap them have been taken by the government. Whether the inaugurated policy carried out in such a reckless manner by the agents of the government will result in good to the people and the State must be determined by future events. It seems plain to us that its working can prove only of the most damaging nature."

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WASHINGTON, June 8

Senator Wilson received a letter to-day from Kentucky, which says:

"I don't care how loud-mouthed may be the protestations of loyalty here, the negro stands first and foremost. It seems to be the policy to keep Kentucky officers and troops in this state, and the result is that it is a hunting ground for fugitives, and the hunters are men employed and paid by the United States as soldiers. Since I have been stationed here, now something more than eleven months, it has been an almost daily occurrence for a squad of men to be employed in hunting slaves and returning them to their masters.

"I have seen a Colonel of a regiment riding at the rear of a slave gang composed of men, women, and children, tied together, and guarded by men in the uniform of U. S. soldiers. Let me give you an instance. Last Saturday, the Commandant of this post gave an order to the Provost-Marshal to seize and deliver outside of the lines, to her master, a slave girl who was employed as cook at the Convalescent Camp. This girl had been away from her master, who is and always has been a noted rebel, for more than six months. She ran away on account of his cruelty.

"The owner of the girl, with the guard, went to the camp, seized the girl, and, amid her cries and frantic appeals for protection, were taking her away. She fell upon her knees and begged the guard to shoot her upon the spot, saying her master would whip her to death if he got her away. This was too much for the endurance of some of the inmates of the camp, and they interfered, and took the girl away from the guard, dressed her in boy's clothes and secreted her.

"In a few minutes an officer came with a mounted patrol, and exhibited an order from the commanding officer to search the camp for the girl, and return her to her owner. Thanks to the soldiers in the hospital, she was not to be found. It makes my blood boil to read the
SLAVE HUNTING IN KENTUCKY (June 1864)

National Anti-Slavery Standard, June 18, 1864 (p 3, The Army and the Negroes; taken from a letter sent to Senator Wilson)

high-sounding speeches and campaign orders published in the papers, and then witness these things daily." +

The Writer then, speaking with loathing of the degradation of United States troops to the brutal business of whipping women, incloses to Senator Wilson this momentous order. +

TREATMENT OF BLACKS BY ARMY AT CAMP NELSON (June 1864)

National Anti-Slavery Standard, June 18, 1864 (p 3, from correspondent of N Y Times, in The Army and the Negroes)

Headquarters, Camp Nelson, KY
Office Post Commandant, May 23, 1864
Lieutenant: Information has reached these headquarters that three of the women which you placed beyond the lines yesterday are back again in camp, and the Colonel commanding directs that you send out your patrol and arrest them, and confine them in the Military Prison until they are all collected by themselves, when you will tie them up and give them a few lashes, and expel them beyond the lines, the distance heretofore ordered. Also, any negro women here without authority will be arrested and sent beyond the lines, and informed that if they return, the lash awaits them. By command of Col A. H. Clark, Commanding Post.
Geo. A. Harraford, Lieut. and Post Adjt.
To Lieut. John McQueen, Provost-Marshall, Camp Nelson, Kentucky.
Adjt. Gen. Thomas will be in Kentucky next week, and two silver eagles will take an unusually high flight, and then the slaves of Kentucky will be gathered in by this great recruiter with a rake that will not leave a County unvisited. The epoch of pro-slavery bluster, Border-State sneaking, and military slave-driving is at an end.

The negroes of Kentucky have got to fight for the Union. Gen. Thomas goes down with plenary powers, and carries in his pocket, to start with, the organization of three regiments, the names of qualified officers who have passed Casey's Board. Sixteen regiments of Kentucky blacks will swell our ranks in a few weeks."
Meanwhile the great revolution is silently but surely gaining progress and power. The colored population of Louisville regard themselves as substantially free, and they can meet without fear, where the fact is openly proclaimed. I was present two nights ago at the African Methodist Church in Centre street, where no less a personage than Maj-General Palmer, commanding the Department of Kentucky, made an oration to colored troops. The middle of the church, one of fair dimensions, was packed with the sable soldiers, while the side pews, aisles, spaces around the , presented a sea of upturned ebony laces belonging to both sexes. It was an exhilarating spectacle, especially after the General got fairly launched on his discourse.

The intense earnestness of attention—the riveted eyes sometimes glistening with tears of gratitude and joy—the quick appreciation of the points made by the speaker, touching their present condition as compared with their past, what freedom had done for them, and now demanded of them, the spontaneous outbursts of laughter at some comical bit or mirth-moving allusion, and the hearty uncontrollable shouts of applause, at some well-turned appeal to liberty, country, home, kindred, and the qualities of a true manhood—there formed a scene not only strikingly picturesque, but making one feel better for having seen.

Gen. Palmer performed his part excellently. Of good person and address, he is an earnest, sensible and impressive speaker, without being a specially fluent one. His address abounded with good suggestions, calculated to sink into the minds of the persons directly spoken to, and render them good advantage in their new situation. He pointed out how they should regard and maintain a proper manhood—what they owed to themselves, to their wives and children, to society, to the State and government. He stated that he was the first general officer who had ever proclaimed to an audience in Kentucky that the black man was free. Such a proclamation made here four years ago would have brought the city about his ears, and put his neck in imminent danger of the Now is was safe and proper to utter what but a little while ago would have been looked upon and treated as crime blacker than treason. No orator could have wished throughout
RECRUITING OF BLACKS IN KY, June 1864

National Anti-Slavery Standard, June 18, 1864 (p 3, taken from N Y Times Correspondent, Pontiac; in The Army and the Negroes)

Louisville, Tuesday, June 7, 1864

Numerous negro recruits and conscripts, from various sections of the State, West Virginia and elsewhere, are arriving here and at other rendezvous. They generally look cheerful, and sing "John Brown," and other stirring airs, as they march along. A majority volunteered, but many have been drafted or impressed. In the First District, it is said, a negro impressment was ordered at the instance of Lucien Anderson, as the only mode to fill its quota.

The great fact stares us in the face that Kentucky slavery is fast disappearing, and one great practical duty pressing upon Kentuckians is to adapt themselves to the change with the least possible temporary damage or inconvenience to their labor interests. We should not grumble and growl over what was long ago predicted as an inevitable consequence of the rebellion, if doggedly persisted in, but should gratefully accept from the government whatever compensation it may please to grant, handle the plow ourselves, and invite enterprising white immigrants to help fill our neglected fields.

It is understood that Gov. Bramlette has in effect "suspended for the present" the raising of 10,000 six months' men by draft or otherwise, because of the "unexpected action of the Administration in calling into the field the negro laboring population of the State." So I reckon Wolford's occupation, as a recruiting officer and orator to raise men under the Governor's call, "to give the finishing blow to the rebellion," is at least "suspended for the present." He may do mischief enough, solely as a "Democratic Union" elector at large, if permitted and so disposed. The Governor, by his persistent indorsement of Wolford, was subjecting himself to severe reflections from brother Kentuckians certainly as devoted to the Union and Constitution as himself. We hope that he will henceforth cooperate with Gen. Burbridge, and not, from any further indiscretion or inconsistency, be held in any way or degree responsible for any more of Mr. Wolford's incendiary harangues against President Lincoln and the established policy and accomplished fact of negro enlistments. Pontiac
AD FOR LIFE INSURANCE ON NEGROES (May 1853)

The Louisville Daily Courier, May 5, 1853 (P 1)

"Insurance On Negroes. +
"The Lives of House Servants, Field Hands, Men employed in Factories, or on board Steamboats, if in good health and free from dissipated habits, will be insured by the undersigned in the above named Company, on favorable terms. +
"Office, No 507 Main street, next door to the Bank of Louisville."
signed C. E. Beynorth, agent.

BLACKS ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE KY BY TRAIN TO OHIO (July 1859)

Louisville Daily Courier, July 6, 1859, P 1

"A Run For Freedom.--Two slaves of S. K. Richardson, escaped on Sunday into the State of Indiana, on route for Canada. They went out the New Albany and Salem road, and at Mitchell got on the train bound for Cincinnati. They were pursued by policemen R. M. Moore, and Mr. Jas Chambers, who headed them by taking the Jeffersonville road to Seymour, and thence on the Ohio and Mississippi train West. When they met the train they changed cars, and found the darkies. They were shown every courtesy by the conductors of the Ohio and Mississippi R. R., and at Seymour by the citizens. Some Cincinnati negroes made a demonstration at a rescue, which was quieted by presenting arms. The fugitives were brought safely to Louisville, on Monday evening, over the Jeffersonville road. The negroes crossed on the Portland and New Albany ferry boat."
The following extract from a pamphlet published in Louisville, Ky., containing sketches of colored men in that state, will introduce Dr. H. Fitzbutler:

"Perhaps the most remarkable man identified with the colored race, who has been added to the citizenship of Louisville, is Dr. Henry Fitzbutler. Born December 22, 1842, he graduated at the Michigan University, in March, 1872, from the department of medicine and surgery, and came to Louisville in July of the same year. Dr. Fitzbutler attracted much attention at once, he being the first regular physician of the colored race to enter upon the practice of medicine in the state of Kentucky.

"At that time the colored people of Louisville were peculiarly under the influences which followed the ante-bellum prejudices. There was an admitted guardianship, comprising perhaps eight or ten men, who dictated public affairs for the colored people in a manner agreeable to the prejudices of the white people, and but few colored people sought business or notable positions without consulting these 'intermediators.'

"Dr. Fitzbutler has not lived a selfish life, but of his means from his medical business has contributed largely to the literary and political necessities of the colored race. When a state convention was called in Louisville, about February, 1873, to consider the educational interests of the colored people of Kentucky, many of the old citizens stood aghast, seeming to fear extermination if found participating; therefore, no one aspired to the chairmanship of such a convention, yet, by request, and to meet the unpopular
emergency, Dr. Fitzbutler accepted and filled the position fearlessly in the Louisville circuit court room.

"The resolutions passed in this convention demanded equal school privileges for colored school children in Kentucky, and became the basis of the agitation in and out of the legislature, which resulted in greatly improving the educational facilities in this state. Subsequently, he was the chief opponent to a resolution advocating separate schools as the will of the colored people, and the best course for all. This convention was in Covington, Ky., about 1874. And he was a notable member of the State Educational Convention, which met in the State House, at Frankfort, in 1883, taking such a part in the work as to attract the attention of all classes of citizens throughout the state. Here, too, he was not ashamed to advocate the cause of his race, being appointed on permanent organization. He succeeded in getting an able colored man appointed as one of the secretaries, and another well-qualified colored man a member of an important committee. And through all incidental work Dr. Fitzbutler has been an active and reliable physician, receiving a revenue which he has never failed to use to the honor of the colored race, being himself the chief support of The Ohio Falls Express, which has been published regularly for nearly ten years, known and felt as one of the most fearless advocates of equal human rights. But his ambition has long been the establishment of a medical school, with doors open to colored medical students as well as white; and many now rejoice to see that design consummated. The legislature of Kentucky, at the session of 1888, granted a charter to Doctors H. Fitzbutler, W. A. Burney and R. Conrad to conduct, in Kentucky, the Louisville National Medical College, and that charter was signed by the governor, April 22, 1888. The school is now in operation, with some of the best talent to be found in the country as students."

Dr. Fitzbutler began journalistic work in the publication of The Planet, of which he was editor, and, at the same time, the chief financial manager,—Alfred Froman being its originator, it having been published in Louisville about three years, the first copy appearing in December, 1842. The Planet was a fearless advocate of equal rights, and was devoted to the educational interests of the colored people as well.

The publication of The Ohio Falls Express has been his chief journalistic effort, and has, at all times, and under all circumstances, exhibited an intrepidity and discretion, indicated in the prospectus:
i g penn, the afro-am press and its editors, 1891

"The Ohio Falls Express will make its début Saturday, September 20, 1879; and although the country may seem flooded with newspapers and other literary periodicals, yet we have no other apology to offer than that there is not sufficient space found within their numberless columns for unprejudiced representation of all races of men; and in the opinion of humble thinkers, the cause of the less favored will faster gain respect by a continuous, honest, earnest and amicable effort on their part.

"The Express does not presume to be a leader nor a dictator, and is not one of those who regard public sentiment and established prejudices as light things that can be changed in a moment, yet realizes the importance of unswerving advocacy in the establishment of justice and true moral worth; but does presume to avoid the Æolian encomiums sounding in the wake of success, regardless of right or wrong.

"The editorial staff will lead off neither as a coup de grace nor coup de main, nor open with one grand fusilade upon whatever is not in accord with their embryonic judgment; but hope, by adhering to fixed data of reasoning, to have some effective artillery at command and bring it to bear in accord with times and events.

The Ohio Falls Express is the first successful newspaper effort under the management of colored men in Kentucky, all other previous efforts having failed. The Express, though Republican in sentiment, has not depended upon political vicissitudes for existence, but advocating the same principles through different administrations of government has relied upon its own resources in a business-like manner. It has been published weekly, without intermission and without change of editor, since September 20, 1879.

The following are editorial clippings from the successful pioneer of colored papers in Kentucky: "The speculation concerning the danger of imbibing the elements contributory to disease from the Johnstown bodies in the Ohio River water, is not a matter to bring much terror to thinking people. The vastness of the body of water renders the contamination insignificant. Then the changes are very brief; the greater portion of man being water, when free from the body of which it was a constituent, is again as good to form part of another animal body, as any other water. Then the other elements composing the tissues of an animal body, when free in water, soon become what they
BRIEF BIOG & ACCT OF PUBLISHING CAREER OF HENRY FITZBUTLER OF LOUISVILLE (Post C W ed of Ohio Falls Exp)

ig penn, the afro-am press and its editors, 1891

were originally in relation to the earth. Thus the chloride of sodium, phosphate of lime, carbon in man, when freed in water that has ample connection with the earth, soon become inoffensive, and exist in matter-form as compatible to re-construct a new body as when originally taken into the bodies of Adam and Eve."

Vital statistics furnish interesting problems, not only to the political economist, but to the philanthropist and the Christian. In Nashville careful and fairly accurate reports for the last thirteen years have been kept. The death-rate among the colored people has ranged from about 50 per thousand in 1875 to 23.50 per thousand during the past year, while the death-rate among the whites for the same period has been only a little more than one-half as great. During the past three years, out of a colored population estimated at twenty-three thousand, 951 births and 1,758 deaths have been reported. Among the white population, which is about twice as great, there have been 1,478 births and 1,600 deaths. It is possible that all of the births among the colored people have not been reported. If they have, it would indicate that while the birth-rates are about equal, the death-rate is twice as great.

The causes are numerous, and may be classified under four general heads,—poverty, ignorance of the laws of health, superstition, and lack of proper medical attention.

BRIEF ACCT OF LIFE; PUBLISHING CAREER OF MARY V COOK LOUISVILLE; POST CIVIL WAR PERIOD

ig penn, the afro-am press and its editors, 1891

PROF. MARY V. COOK, A. B., (Grace Ermina).

Rewards to the just always find a grateful heart. God has so ordered, that nothing but God can prevent their bestowment where due; and even he, the God of justice, would have to reverse his character to do this. There is divine poetry in a life garlanded by the fragrant roses of triumph. Aye, this is the more so, when there lies within an earnest heart of an obscure woman a towering ambition to do something and be something for the purpose of enriching the coronet that bedecks the race; and it enhances the laurels it wins in the domain of mental, moral and social conquest. There is romance, rich and rare, in the life of such an one.

It attracts, too, like the needle to the Pole, and it charms one to know such a case. The phenomenal rise of Prof. Mary Virginia Cook to her present position of usefulness and honor is an example to those who still lie in the shadows of obscurity. Let the reader do his part well, remembering that

"Honor and shame from no condition rise.
Act well your part; there all the honor lies."

Born of a loving mother, Ellen Buckner, Prof. Cook partook of her gentle and mild manners. Her birth-place, Bowling Green, Ky., like most Southern towns, had nothing exciting or of special character that would impress a child of her refined nature. There was much to give pain and wound a tender heart, in such a hard life as was hers. The unsettled state of affairs at the time had much to occasion alarm. The war was in progress, and with beating heart the mother awaited the settlement of those great questions that had been appealed to the sword, the rifle, and the cannon. On the decision depended the question whether little Mary should rise to the splendid heights in the power of the free, or sink to the insignificance of a fettered slave, with crushed powers.

To one familiar with history, it need not be recounted that she had little chances for learning; she had the appetite, but the food was not at hand. Little by little, she advanced in the inferior schools of the place, till, by her winning manners and perfect lessons, she was acknowledged to be the best scholar in the city. She won signal honor in the small private schools, which is as grand a thing among the home folks, as larger prizes among strangers. Three schools were in a spelling contest for a silver cup which was offered by Rev. Allen Allensworth, a gentleman who did much to encourage her; and being last on the floor she was proclaimed victor. Again, in a teachers’ institute, September 30, 1881, a book was offered by a Mr. Clark, a white gentleman, who was stationer in the city, for the best reader; and amid the crowd gathered from near and far the book was awarded to her. The jury was a mixed one, of white and colored citizens. The judges selected the piece to be read, after they assembled. She repeated these triumphs in the State University.

When the Rev. C. C. Stumm, pastor of the State Street Baptist church, of which she is a member, started an academy, he called her to assist him. The pay was small, and she had the largest number to teach; and one day, as she stood at her work, with tears in her eyes, occasioned by some misunderstanding about her share of the monthly receipts, she said: “The sun will yet shine in at my door.” A few hours later the pastor put in her hands a letter from Dr. William J. Simmons, president of the State University, Louisville, Ky., offering to defray her expenses through the American Baptist Woman’s Home Society of Boston. This was October 15, 1881. He had seen her before, while on a trip securing students, and said to her: “Would you like to go to Boston to school?” She replied: “Yes, so much.”

He was impressed with her amiable, meek, Christian spirit, coupled with her reputation for goodness, of which he had heard from various citizens.

She entered the State University November 28, 1881, and became a member of the third normal class. Her decorum was such, that the president testified, on the night of her graduation from the normal course, in a class of thirteen, as he gave her the Albert Mack valedictorian’s medal, that she had never been spoken to once, by way of discipline, during her entire course. He afterwards, in writing of his graduates, said of her: “As a student, she was prompt to obey and always ready to recite. She has a good intellect and well developed moral faculties, and is very refined, sensitive, benevolent and sympathetic in her nature, and well adapted to the work of a Christian missionary.”

On entering the University, she was almost immediately chosen by the president as student-teacher and dining-room matron, and during the year of her graduation she taught five classes a day. The students honored her with the presidency of the Athenaeum and the Young Men and Women’s Christian Association. Though she worked all the time, yet in her graduating year she entered the examination and gained the highest mark, 95 per cent, and obtained the valedictorian honor of her class. This same year, Dr. E. S. Foster offered a gold medal to the best speller in the school. Accordingly a contest was held. The work was written, and a large number of picked students entered, and again Miss Cook triumphed. Immediately after, she took a silver medal, offered by Dr. D. A. Gaddie, for oral spelling. When the judges made the reports, the students were loud with applause, and made her the center of many demonstrations of rejoicing in her honor. But this was not all. During the same week she took a silver medal, offered by Mr. William H. Steward, for neatness and accuracy in penmanship. She was never beaten in a contest.

On her graduation, May 17, 1883, she was elected permanent teacher, and made principal of the normal department and professor of Latin and of mathematics. This position she still holds, embracing the largest department of the University. By special vote of the trustees she was permitted to keep up her studies in the college department, and at the end of four years she completed them. She was examined, and took the degree of A. B., May, 1887, with her class.

Miss Cook is a bright-faced, intelligent little woman,—what the French would call petite, and until recently did not weigh 100 pounds; but intellectually she weighs 1000.
The history of the Convention, by Prof. Mary V. Cook, their corresponding secretary, was a concise and comprehensive paper. She left the well-beaten tracks of most of the lady speakers, and dealt entirely with facts, and without sentiment traced the Convention from its inceptency until the present time. It was an interesting paper, brimful of information, and was well received. Miss Cook is never more in earnest than when saying a word for the women's work.

She has appeared on the public platform often; notably, before the American Baptist National Convention at Mobile, Friday night, August 27, 1887, when her subject was "Woman's work in the denomination." The article received the warmest praise. And again, she read before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, in its special meeting, September 25, 1888, at Nashville, her subject being "Female Education." Before the National Press Convention, which held its session at Louisville, she read a paper,—"Is juvenile literature demanded on the part of colored children?" This was in 1887. She was again appointed to read a paper at their session at Nashville in 1888, but could not attend. She read a very strong paper on "Woman, a potent factor in Public Reform," before the Kentucky State Teachers' Association in 1887. On this subject she is not a loud clamorer for "Rights," but, nevertheless, she quietly and tenaciously demands all that is due her.

Her newspaper work began in 1886, and she was then introduced to journalism and the fellowship of the fraternity. Her contribution, "Nothing but Leaves," in The American Baptist, is indeed one of her ablest efforts. The following strong sentences are worthy of note: "We are pointed to great men who have made themselves famous in this world. Some are praised for their oratory, some for their fine learning, some for their benevolence and various other qualities, which are all good enough; but they, within themselves, are nothing but leaves, which fall to the ground in their autumnal days and return to dust. True fruit is holiness of heart, and clusters, ripened by the grace of God, be they found in persons ever so lovely, hang higher than all the growth of the intellectual powers. Fruit is the evidence of culture. Leaves grow with little care, and they, with all their beauty, are not the essential part of the plant; but the chief aim of a plant, and the object for which it spends its whole life, is to bear fruit. So the highest aim of God's creation is our fruit-bearing."

Having been converted in 1876, she herein shows the character of a developed spirituality. She is a noble-hearted woman, full of blessings and love; a woman with a soul deeply divine.

In 1887 she edited a column of The South Carolina Tribune. At the same time she controlled a column in The American Baptist. She writes under the name of Grace Ermine. She is a strong, graceful, vigorous writer, and tends to the argumentative, pointed, terse style. One understands what she means when she speaks. When writing concerning the outrages in the South, she said: "White faces seem to think it their heaven-born right to practice civil war on negroes, to the extent of blood-shed and death. They look upon the life of their brother in black as a bubble to be blown away at their pleasure. The same spirit that existed in the South twenty-four years ago, is still recognized in its posterity. The negro is still clothed in swarthy skin, and he is still robbed of his rights as a citizen, made dear and fairly won to him by the death of those who fell in the late Rebellion. This outrage cannot endure. God still lives, and that which has been sown shall be reaped."

Speaking of our people once, she wrote: "As a people we are not easily led, and we often slaughter the one who
one of the faculty of the State University. Several papers which she has read before national bodies show carefulness of thought, as well as logical arrangement of her subject-matter.

We have referred to the fact that it was through Dr. Simmons she began, in 1884, what has resulted so successfully, her newspaper work, when she controlled the children’s column in The American Baptist of Louisville, Ky. She was for quite a while on the staff of The Baptist Journal, of which Rev. R. H. Coles of St. Louis was the editor. She recently furnished sketches of some newspaper writers among the Afro-American women for The Journalist, a paper published in New York in the interest of authors, artists, and publishers. These articles were highly complimented by the editor, and were copied, and the cuts reproduced, in The Boston Advocate, The Freeman of Indianapolis, and other papers.
BRIEF ACCT OF LIFE; PUBLISHING CAREER OF LUCY W SMITH; EDITOR
WOMEN'S DEPT OUR WOMEN & CHILD (Post CW) 4079-A

Miss Smith is a writer of good English, and produces sensible reading matter. She tends to the grave, quiet and dignified style. Her best efforts have been for Our Women and Children Magazine, published in Louisville, Ky. The department of "Women and Women's Work" receives the benefit of her cultured hand regularly. She is deeply interested in the elevation of her sex, and is a strong advocate of suffrage for women. Upon this subject she wrote these strong words: "It is said by many that women do not want the ballot. We are not sure that the 15,000,000 women of voting age would say this; and if they did, majorities do not always establish the right of a thing. Our position is, that women should have the ballot, not as a matter of expediency, but as a matter of pure justice." It cannot be denied that the women have done great and lasting work, that needs our encouragement. Miss Smith is a member of the Afro-American Press Convention.

Our assertions as to her editorial ability are backed by some of the prominent writers of the country. The editor of The American Baptist says: "She frequently writes for the press, and wields a trenchant pen. Is ambitious to excel, and will yet make her mark." Mrs. N. F. Mossell says: "Miss Smith writes compactly, is acute, clean and crisp in her acquirements, and has good descriptive powers. Of strong convictions, she is not slow in proving their soundness by a logical course of reasoning. Her style is transparent, lucid, and in many respects few of her race can surpass her."

To show the reader Miss Smith's idea of the women in the field, we clip the following from her "Women as Journalists."

"The educated negro woman occupies vantage ground over the Caucasian woman of America, in that the former has had to contest with her brother every inch of the ground for recognition; the negro man, having had his sister by his side on plantations and in rice swamps, keeps her there, now that he moves in other spheres. As she wins laurels, he accords her the royal crown. This is especially true of journalism. Doors are opened before we knock, and as well-equipped young women emerge from the class-room, the brotherhood of the race, men whose energies have been repressed and distorted by the interposition of circumstances, give them opportunities to prove themselves; and right well are they doing this, by voice and pen."

BRIEF ACCT OF LIFE; PUBLISHING CAREER OF MRS C C STUMM OF OUR WOMEN
AND CHILDREN'S MAG (Post C W) 4080

Mrs. Stumm, daughter of Thomas and Eliza Penman, and wife of Rev. Mr. Stumm of Philadelphia, Pa., was born in Boyle county, Ky., March 25, 1857. Her father died when she was quite young, yet the inflexible zeal of her mother insured a good schooling for her child. She remained in Berea College for two terms, gaining a fair amount of knowledge, which has been added to since by her personal efforts. She has taught in private institutions and public schools, having been employed in Hearn academy, Texas, and Bowling Green academy of Kentucky.

Mrs. Stumm's journalistic work began in 1879, at Elizabethtown, Ky., in a newspaper discussion with a preacher upon a certain question, which resulted in a victory to her. She contributed occasional articles to The Bowling Green Watchman, (Ky.) and while she was in Boston, she worked as agent and contributor for The Hub and Advocate, and other Afro-American journals published in that city. She has since resided in Philadelphia, and has energetically acted as Philadelphia agent for The National Monitor, Brooklyn, N. Y., and for Our Women and Children magazine, at Louisville, Ky.

Mrs. Stumm is a good thinker and a florid writer, and from what her pen has already produced, it is safe to predict she is destined to accomplish much for her race.
Miss Ione E. Wood, Editor of Temperance Department
Our Women and Children.

Among the young writers of to-day, few have gained a wider celebrity and a more deep-rooted recognition in the popular mind than Ione E. Wood. Being only about twenty years old, and hence with but a brief experience in journalism, the rank attained by her exhibits her ability in a wonderful degree.

She was born in New Jersey. At an early age she attended the public schools in Burlington, and afterward the mixed high school in Atlantic City. After the establishment of the State University, Louisville, Ky., by her uncle, Dr. William J. Simmons, she was enrolled as a student of that institution for the purpose of pursuing a liberal education. So diligently did she prosecute her studies that the institution, in seeking an assistant teacher, found in her the material for that position. Filling the appointment with such general satisfaction, she was, later on, appointed permanently as instructor in Greek. During all this time her studies were kept up in the college department, of which she considered herself a member. In 1888 she received her degree of A. B. Since the organization of the B. W. E. C. of Kentucky, she has held important offices therein, and is now a member of the board of that body.

At first, Miss Wood was an occasional contributor to newspapers and magazines. From the start, her publications have gained popularity. As a writer, she is clear, terse and vigorous. Her subject is always well understood and well managed. Her language is free from catchy phrases and by-words, and is smooth, agreeable and earnest. It is free and natural, devoid of all jerkiness and splash. Her sentences drop like the oar of the sturdy sailor. With a turn of mind little imaginative and poetical, there is not much use for tropes and figures; yet she has attained such remarkable clearness of expression as to resemble the crystal lake. From the first, one can see the point at which the writer aims. She pursues it with unerring approach, swerving to neither side, and has learned the happy faculty to leave a point when made. The many excellencies of this writer are clearness, force, simplicity, perspicacity, smoothness and agreeableness.

Miss Wood is now a stock-holder of Our Women and Children, as well as a regular contributor to it. The work assigned her is the promotion of temperance. As its advocate, she lacks much of the ardent and aggressive common to those who are engaged in furthering this cause; but her deep-seated earnestness and a consciousness of the correctness of her position leads her to give frank and emphatic expression to her views.

There is danger in the utterance of unwholesome thought. In an age rankly luxuriant with pomp and pride, a thirst for originality and novelty tends to make us victims of cruel deception. Language is often used to give color and attractiveness to vice and heartless fashion. In view of this, it is no small compliment to say of this young writer she has the Christian ingenuity to intermingle much practical piety with what she writes. Herself a staunch Christian, her writings in no respect belie her good profession of faith.
This lady, a regular and excellent writer, was born near New Orleans, La., May 15, 1867. Upon moving to Louisville she entered the public schools, and afterward attended the State University which was established in 1881. Being a new institution its students encountered many obstacles common to such enterprises in their incipiency. Mrs. Sneed, desiring to enhance its prosperity, was one of the first to travel with a concert troupe for the purpose of raising funds for the furtherance of the work. She labored zealously for the institution; and is one of the few women who have received the title of A. B., having graduated from the college department of this university as valedictorian of the class of 1887. She is a singer of merit, as well as an elocutionist of superior ability.

While her journalistic life has not been as great as others, yet she has written much for our magazines and papers. Her contributions are always looked upon as choice English, while the thought is pure, clear, and easy to catch. She is indeed a writer for the populace, in that she writes so that the meagerly educated may understand the purport of her articles. In most of her writings her decided ability has been made apparent.

In the summer of 1888 she married the highly intellectual Prof. Sneed, by whose side she stands with unswerving fidelity. Her journalistic future is bright and promising, and the idea that she will do much for her race, through the medium of her pen, is the thought of many.
Miss Britton was born in Lexington, Ky., thirty-three years ago, and still resides there. She was educated in its schools, and at present is a teacher in one of the public schools of that city.

Her first literary publication was an address delivered at the close of her school. It was published in The American Citizen, a Lexington weekly, now extinct. One who knows, says: "It was a strong paper, showing the relation of parent, teacher and pupil." Her next publications were in the interest of the Afro-American cause, and were published in The Cincinnati Commercial, in 1877. Mrs. Amelia E. Johnson says: "She has an excellent talent for comparing, explaining, expounding and criticising, and has made no small stir among the city officials and others for their unjust discriminations against worthy citizens." Articles of such nature were published often in The Daily Transcript, a Lexington paper.

She wrote regularly for the women's column in The Lexington Herald. Through the columns of this paper she agitated a reformation in society, total abstinence from alcoholic liquors and tobacco, and the importance of active work and the influence of example upon the part of teachers and preachers. She wrote for The Herald under the nom de plume of "Meb."

She has contributed literary productions and discussions to The Courier, an educational journal published in Louisville, done a great deal to educate the youth here, under the most vexing circumstances; and none can appreciate or rejoice more in better facilities than she."

Miss Britton is a specialist. Recognizing the fact that one cannot satisfactorily take in the whole field, she wisely concludes to pursue and perfect herself in such branches of it as she feels confident are hers by adaptation. Such a course can not fail to give success to the one pursuing it. She is an ardent student of metaphysics, and a firm believer in phrenology, and had her phrenological character written out by Prof. O. S. Fowler. She describes her predominant characteristic as "ambitious to do her level best." He speaks of her as "thoroughly conscientious, and acted by the highest possible sense of right and duty; as frugal and industrious and adapted to business." This description, added to her natural force, resolution and vim, can be fully corroborated by those who are intimately acquainted with Miss Britton.

When connected with The Lexington Herald as editor of its women's column, she was an indefatigable worker, and rendered efficient aid. She was spoken of by that journal as follows: "The journalistic work seems to be the calling of
Miss Britton. No other field would suit her so well. In manner and style, her composition is equal to any of her sex, white or black. As an elocutionist, she stands next in rank to the accomplished Hallie Q. Brown. No literary programme gotten up by the Lexingtonians is complete without the rendition of some choice selection by her,—Miss Britton. She is a hard student, a great reader, and a lover of poetry. Miss Britton is an acknowledged teacher, of high intellectual attainments."

The above speaks well indeed of this energetic young woman, while, with reference to her ability as a writer, The American Catholic Tribune (Cincinnati), has this to say: "It is with pleasure that we call the attention of our readers to a paper read by that talented young woman and rising journalist, Miss Mary E. Britton, at the State Teachers' Institute, held in Danville, Ky., last week. Without comment on the terms it proposes; we give it to the public for careful perusal."

The Christian Soldier (Lexington), says: "Miss Mary E. Britton is one of the brightest stars which shine in Dr. Simmons' great magazine, Our Women and Children; and the magnitude of those stars is national. Lexington never gets left, when it comes to pure, good and sensible women."

Who can say that the perusal of this sketch can fail to benefit and inspire our young girls. Does it not show what can be done by them, if they will? Miss Britton is not an isolated case of hardships surmounted,—an honorable place gained among the world's busy workers; for the colored race possesses many women of brain, nerve, and energy, who, when left to wage a hand-to-hand combat with adversity, fight along bravely and well; and in the end come off victorious.

EVAL OF AFRO-AM JOURNALISTS BY A A BURLEIGH (1891)

I am of the opinion, 1st., That if we judge journalistic pursuits in the light of the vicissitudes common to it as a business, Afro-American journalism will compare favorably with that of any other class in our country.

2d. I am of the opinion that, as a lucrative business, it has been largely a failure; but viewed from the higher standpoint of worth and usefulness, its success and achievements are as unique and unprecedented as has been the progress of our race in other respects, because (a) it has largely furnished a causeway and outlet for our stifled public sentiment, and given public expression to the under-current of thought among our people, the sine qua non of freedom and happiness; (b) it has greatly assisted in the unifying and centralizing of this thought, thus infusing a spirit of ambition and activity in the hearts of our people.

3d. I am of the opinion, that our Press has had neither a fair and adequate support nor recognition from our race. The causes are far-reaching and varied. Among them may be noticed: (a) Lack of confidence and appreciation among the masses; a spirit inoculated by the subtile influence of slavery; (b) unequal competition with established current literature; (c) intellectual and financial inability, as manifested in collecting, selecting, classifying, and arranging matter; (I have reference here, not to appearance on the printed page but to its fitness, force and character,) also, a failure to get into the markets and homes.

4th. The future course of our Press. This, doubtless, would appear to be suggested from what has been said. Let me add, that, as a fact, the colored man's success in every avocation will depend, not so much at being at "par" with the white man, but the circumstances force it, and the future demands, that he should be par-excellent to the average white man; not that he must know more, or be more wealthy, but his standard must be higher. Loyalty to the eternal principles which alone can secure human success and happiness, must be his constant and single aim.
EVAL OF AFRO-AM JOURNALISTS BY PROF J H LAWSON (1891)

The negro Press is part of the American Press. It is a vital part. It has done much in elevating a favorable sentiment in regard to the negro question. This I consider a positive gain. It has done much in vindicating local rights of negroes. It has been the chief source of knowledge as to how the machinery of government is operated. It has demonstrated negro capacity. It is the mouth-piece of negroes in legislative halls, where they can not speak. In fine, whatever claim is set up for the great American Press, a proportional part is due to the negro. As the body is not whole if deprived of any of its members, so the American Press is aborn of its full praise, if the negro's contribution to it goes unnoted and for naught.

To the third question I must say: I think it does. Colored papers are too costly. I can buy The New York Tribune for three cents, but I can not buy a negro paper for less than five cents. I have yet to see the colored paper, with texture and quality equal to The Tribune. It seems to me, now, that an intelligent man, or one simply desiring information, would see what benefit he is getting for his money, in taking a paper. It is the principle in all other matters. I can see no reason why it should not apply here. As a rule, both editorial and news-matter are of higher quality in white papers. The news-matter in colored papers is absolutely worthless. Whatever news there is of public or special interest, is first procured by white papers, which, for the most part, have agents on the spot. For news, the colored paper falls back upon the white paper. Sympathy, on the ground of race pride, is an unjust and unmanly demand. It is dangerous all well, since unworthy papers might feed upon public patronage and usurp the field of meritorious ones.

To the fourth question I answer:
1st. To consolidate in dailies.
2d. To employ good editors, managers and correspondents.
3d. To use the same means employed by the best papers of the country.

THE CAMP NELSON-BELLE MITCHELL AFFAIR (1865)

I have been here a little more than one month, most of which time I have spent at Superintending the farming. I found this a much larger work than I had anticipated. I found it not only very difficult to get the people out to work, but almost impossible to get much done after they reached the field. At length the corn and potatoes became large enough to eat and I then began giving them out to them who worked. I then had no difficulty in getting hands. Every hoe was in use and hands to spare. That taught me that with a proper reward, the colored people will work. It is truth that they have been suff here for a long time by govt. and ought to do a little something to pay back but, they could not see why they should not have some of the potatoes, which their own hands helped raise, and if they could have time they were willing to work for them. My experience with the freed men tells me that they will work only give them an inducement and who would without? Besides the work done I think much good has been accomplished in several ways. More just views of labor and their duty in this respect, have been instilled, and in some cases enforced so that they could see the point. I have noticed with pleasure that the disposition to quarrel which was so prevalent when I first came, has nearly disappeared. Evil speaking is now seldom heared compared with what it was a month ago. The general department of the girls is softening down very much. There seems less of the soldier about them.
only in part it may be. I think I might have done more good had I been a teacher, yet I am very well satisfied. Ever since I came here I have noticed a very decided coolness between Bro. Fee and the civil Superintendent, Mr. Williams. I have been a very close observer of their actions and I wish to give you the result of my observations. The first point between them seemed to be in reference to a Mrs. Collins. She was a teacher sent by the Freedmen’s Aid Com. of Ohio. This Mr. C came and the first night she was here the other teacher at least most of them, as was their custom, were having a sort of frolick which they kept up till late at night. There was a fiddle and as Mrs. C came out of her room, they were waltzing along the hall. She spoke up very sparingly and perhaps too much so and next day said more about it. The young ladies, spured on by some ungodly young men made a great fuss about it and it was fomented till Bro. Fee and Mr. Williams became engaged. Bro. Fee on the side of order and decorum, and Mrs. C and Bro. Williams on the side of the widows. On the side of the latter (though I think not by Bro. Fee) the contest went so high that all sacred and religious things became a laughing stock. And the young ladies joined openly in making light of religion. I myself and so does Bro. Fee blame Mr. C for her manner of rebuking the young ladies. Well she was finally removed by the military Supt. though Bro. Fee entirely and persistently favored it demanded it. So far as I know I favor Bro. Fee’s action in this month. The Assoc. at Cin. have now returned Mrs. C showing their opinion also. About that time Bro. Fee was out.

Danville and hearing of a young colored woman who had prepared herself at Kenia Ohio for a teacher, and learning of her correct Christian deportment and unexceptionable personal habits, and moreover being in great need of help, hired her. I might mention here, though I know it would make no difference with you that her features are good European her complexion but little darker than yours or mine and her hair of "the most straightest sect," So that I think Bro. Fee was fortunate in chancing on one so faultless in all these respects. A few days before she was expected here Bro. Fee told the Superintendent Col. Jacques that he had hired a young colored lady and she would be along soon. He also asked the man who has charge of our mess to prepare a room and seat at the table for her, telling him that she was slightly colored. He remarked that he had no prejudice and would as soon eat with a black person as a white. Bro. Fee supposed the coast was clear. The lady came and sat down at a small table where Bro. Fee sat. It was easy to see that her appearance created a sensation. The lady teacher soon began to absent themselves and Bro. Williams seemed greatly ruffled. Col. Jacques who is also a Methodist minister immediately fell to compromising as is their wont. He was afraid that Bro. Fee had committed a great blunder, suggested that the young lady be sent down to the soldiers home till the storm was overpast. Bro. Fee refused. He said the Societies will not sustain you well then we will stand alone, but Bro. Fee I am supt. of this home, very well I will risk all on this issue. Then he flew right around and said I will have nothing to do with it. I will leave with the mess. They are washing his hands as if late.
did of old and with about as much effect in cleaning his skirts of guilt. Hencforth Mr. Williams is the Champion of the faction and the Col. went to Louisville on business. Now the disaffected in the mess prepare to besiege the camp of the uncircumcised. We daily went to our meals at the ringing of the bell, and they remained away till after we were through, meanwhile circulating a petition for the girls removal from the house and table. I give you copy of a communication addressed to Bro. F. by Bro. Williams. "Rev Mr. Fee your introduction into this house and to the table of a woman of color, without the consent of the occupants of it, and of those who conducted the mess, excites much comment and just repugnance to the acts. There lies before me a written request, signed by all the members of the mess with but two exceptions, that I hereby signify to you the above fact and their united request that you withdraw from the table and the house at the above mentioned person. A speedy compliance with the above will oblige. I am yours

L Williams Jr

You will notice the crime, which is charged upon your agent of "introducing into the mess a woman of ---Color," and also the "just repugnance" manifested at such obnoxious conduct. ought you not immediately to recall this man for you must know that this is not the first time he has excited the just repugnance of sensitive Christian people--know that even often of holy ministers of the gospel. He is a pestilent fellow and I firmly believe he seeks to turn this part

world upside down. He had often been rebuked and sometimes the good people of these parts have found it necessary to whip him, and in divers other ways to express their "just-repugnance" of his actions. But - to return to the communication B. asked for the petition that he might reply to it but was informed that "The petition is addressed to myself." Any communication which you may have to the signers can be presented through me. At least this is the substance. Bro

then sat down and answered the request that he 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 for the use of the teacher 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 "woman of color are necessary to eject her from the house. That persons professing Christianity should act so unchristian is a wonder to me. Indeed, all admit that were Christ himself here he would act "differently." But then I am not Christ - We are now waiting the return of Col Jaquess (I believe that is the way to spell it) to settle the question If he decides against us Bro. Tu will - appeal to the Bureau and we feel sure of the question being rightly settled there. I think these schools very inefficient when they might be as much and perhaps more so than any where I
have ever been. The scholars are near & have no business to keep them from school, and the teachers have no fatiguing walks to take. I am sorry to say that they are up till 10 or 12 o.c. and sometimes later almost every night. How one can accomplish much teaching when they are broken so much of their rest - I cannot see, besides their influence is so bad on the colored people when a teacher should be an example of good deportment - I think Mrs. Damon is not in the habit of being up so late, and in other respects her example is good though I would be glad if she would come out from among the young Ladies. Next week I expect to go to Berea to take charge of the schools there Bro. Tu thinks this advisable. I omitted to say that the assertion in Bro Williams communication to Bro Tu is that the petition was signed by all the members of the men but two is false. I know that there were 5 adults and Bro Tu's son who did not sign it. I think Mrs. Damon did sign it. She will not eat with the colored lady at all events, and I have reason to believe she did sign it. I also think that Bro fec action in all respects, has not been wisest but I do feel that his motives have been good. Her is suffering very great persecution. The spirit manifested by the other party is cruel, vindictive & spiteful. Indeed the whole work here is degenerating below the dignity of Christians and equal the most petty, personal spite I have ever seen. Bro fec I think keeps himself from this spirit

But I must close May God have mercy and appear and deliver his beloved cause from the hands of the enemy. Affectionately W.W. Wheeler

VERY GENERAL MEMOIR OF BLACK TEACHER IN GERRARD CO (Post CW) 4087

anna d mc Bain, 'what it means to be a teacher,' berea quarterly, may 1901.

\[ P. 19 / \textbf{What it Means to be a Teacher.} \]

Essay at the Closing Exhibition of the Winter Term, by Miss Anna D. McBain.

Note:--Miss McBain is a colored girl who has been attending Berea two terms a year for some time, teaching in the summer and fall. She is now a member of the Second Year Normal Class. The conditions of rural country school teaching are well shown in her simple narrative.

I taught my first school in Garrard Co., a very hilly but beautiful section of the country. The school board reported about eighty children of school age. My enrollment for the first day was very small. I was an entire stranger to the people, and they thought it best to become somewhat acquainted with me before sending their children to school. There was a general curiosity as to how soon the new teacher would whip somebody. I allowed the first day to pass without having a switch brought into the school room, but my conscience was much hurt over that. I felt that I had not done the children justice. As I went on teaching the number kept increasing until I had quite a good attendance. I did not want it said that I was partial with the children, so when I punished one I felt strongly inclined to punish all. Experience taught me other and better methods of punishing than with the rod. This was beneficial both to me and the children.
annad mcbain,'what it means to be a teacher,'berea quarterly,may 1901

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Before the close of that term my acquaintance with the children drew me near to them; we became much attached to each other. By the end of that term we were such good friends that the trustees kindly consented that I should teach the school another year. After a vacation of seven months, which I spent at Berea going to school, I returned to my work. This being my second term, I visited the homes of the children and became acquainted with their parents. They all had very humble homes, but every home that I went into showed signs of industry and economy. The buildings were all old fashioned log houses except one. Everyone owned his own home. I was often invited to their homes to spend an evening.

These people were uneducated; not one in the community had attended school except in his own district. But they showed ability for improvement if they only had a chance.

As an example of their native ability: there was a man in this place who had not gone to school a day in his life, but could imitate any thing he ever saw in carpentry work. Besides this he was an inventor and a musician.

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I taught the school at this place four years. I tried to persuade promising young girls and boys to come to Berea to school. Several times I thought I had succeeded in convincing them that they could afford to sacrifice anything for an education, but the parents would finally decide their help was so much needed at home they had better wait until next year. Next year never came. “It is better to take advantage of present opportunities. It is always yesterday and to-day but to-morrow never comes.”

I did succeed in getting quite a number of young people above fourteen to attend school quite regularly.

Since I taught there the people sent a conveyance and a very cordial invitation for me to make them a visit. I gladly accepted and had a pleasant drive of about twenty-five miles through the country. They had so planned my visit that it took about two weeks to get around to all the people. That time was indeed pleasantly spent. I felt that my labor in their behalf was fully appreciated. That was a teacher’s reward.

Teaching means as much practical advantage to the teacher as to the pupils. It cultivates many principles which are strong and helpful to good character. It develops patience, courage, sympathy, and love for humanity. These are great in the building of a noble life. A teacher should possess ability and love for her work. From these varied experiences I conclude teaching school does not always mean apparent success, but we should endeavor to make it a real success.
A most shocking outrage was committed in Kentucky about eight miles from this place, on the 14th instant. A negro driver, by the name of Gordon, who had purchased in Maryland, about 90 negroes, including all sexes and ages, was taking them assisted by an associate named Allen, and the waggoner who conveyed the baggage to the Mississippi. The men were handcuffed and chained together in the usual manner for driving those poor wretches, while the women and children were suffered to proceed without incumbrance. It appears that by means of a file, the negroes unobserved had succeeded in separating the irons which bound their hands, in such a way as to be able to throw them off at any moment. About 6 o'clock in the morning, while proceeding on the state road leading from Greenup to Vanceburg, two of them dropped their shackles and commenced a fight, when the waggoner, Petit, rushed in with his whip to compel them to desist. At this moment every negro was found perfectly at liberty; and one of them seizing a club, gave Petit a violent blow on the head, and laid him dead at his feet; and Allen, who had come to his assistance, met a similar fate, from the contents of a pistol fired by another of the gang. Gordon was then attacked, seized and held by one of the negroes, whilst another fired twice at him with a pistol, the ball of which each time grazed his head, but not proving effectual, he was beaten with clubs and left for dead. They then, commenced pillaging the wagon, and with an axe split open the trunk of Gordon, rifled if of the money, about $2,400, sixteen of the negroes then took to the woods. Gordon in the mean time, not being materially injured, was enabled by the assistance of one of the women to mount his horse and flee; pursued however by one of the gang on another horse with a drawn pistol. Fortunately he escaped with his life, barely arriving at a plantation as the negro came in sight, who then turned about and retreated.+

"The neighborhood was immediately rallied, and a hot pursuit given; which we understand has resulted in the capture of the whole gang, and the recovery of the greater part of the money."+

"Seven of the negro men and one woman, it is said were engaged in the murders, and will be brought to trial at the next court in Greenupsburg."+-/ West. Times. +

"Mr. Gabriel Allen, the deceased, was a citizen of Bourbon county."+
In a public sale of a farm of 170 acres were "... a valuable collection of NEGROES, consisting of Men, Women and Children, Boys and Girls." Sale handled by Charles Robinson and George W. Clark, Executors of an estate.

"NEGROES FOR SALE.--5 Likely and valuable Negroes for sale, consisting of a Man, his Wife and their 3 Children, the 1st a boy about 10, the 2d a girl about 7, and 3d a boy about 3 years of age. The only reason for selling, is too great an increase in the stock.+

"Enquire of Mr. E. M. CRUTCHFIELD, at the Store of Messrs. J. & G. Boswell's."
AD FOR RUNAWAY LAD (1829)

Kentucky Reporter, Oct 14, 1829 (Lex, Wed, p 4)

"REWARD.+
"RAN AWAY from the subscriber on the 30th of last month, a Negro Boy named CHARLES, about 16 years of age, black complexion, slender form, has lost one of his front upper teeth, and has a small scar on the right temple; he has been seen within the last 8 or 10 days in the neighborhood of B. J. Wetfield (his late owner) and also about Mr. Coleman's, near the Walnut Hill ... house. I will pay for his recovery ... $25 if taken in the state or $100 if taken out of the state,..." Maslin Smith, Lexington.

SLAVE FACTORY WORKER RUNAWAY (Sept 1830) Lexington Area

Kentucky Reporter, Sept 1, 1830 (Lex, Wed, p 3)

"$100 REWARD.+
"Ran Away from my factory on Monday, the 22d inst. a bright mulatto man, known in this place by the name of ... TOM, and sometimes calls himself Tom Johnson. He is about 32 years of age, (although he does not look to be quite so old) five feet eight or ten inches high, stout and well made, and has a remarkably bushy head of long hair, and a pair of whiskers; he has a fresh scar on his forehead lately received, in an affray with another negro; he had on when he left here a pair of drab pantaloons, a snuff colored frock coat, a yellow (or white) fur hat, and an umbrella in his hand. He may endeavour to pass as a free man, (and offer for work in a rope walk, as he is a good twine spinner,) but on close examination it will easily be perceived he has a good deal of the negro in him. He may have a watch in his pocket, as he is suspected of stealing one a few days before he went off; he is fond of a dram, and when spoken to by a white person is very polite; he may have a free pass, and intend to make for a free state, as he has been in the habit of associating with free negroes, and has a wife (a free woman) in Paris, Ky., by the name of Milley. I will give the above reward, if taken out of this state, or $50 if taken in the state, and reasonable expenses for bringing him home, or lodging him in jail until I can send for him." John Brand. This ad appeared in the Lou. Advertiser, Maysville Eagle, Scioto Gazette, Columbus State Journal, Cincinnati Gazette.
AD FOR JESSAMINE CO RUNAWAY (RECENTLY WHIPPED) (1830)

Kentucky Reporter, Sept 1, 1830 (Lex, Wed, p 3)

"$40 REWARD. +
"RAN AWAY from the subscriber's farm in Jessamine county, Ky, on Sunday the 29th inst. a negro man named DANIEL. 22 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 10 inches high, well made with big bones, particularly his hands and feet, stoops a little in his shoulders, rather dark complexion, not much to say unless spoken to and then tolerably intelligent; he has a grum look, has a large scar on one of his legs from a little above the ankle bone upward nearly on the shin, occasioned by horses running away with a wagon. He took with him a coat and pantaloons of jeans, dyed red, but now pale and some worn, two pair of pantaloons and two shirts of hemp linen, one shirt and pantaloons somewhat worn, and dirty when he went away, being stained by pulling hemp, with a wool hat some worn, and some other clothing that I cannot describe, not having seen them. He was whipped the day he left for stealing, and has probably some marks of the whip on his back." The reward is $20 if taken within the state. James Ferguson. Placed in Lou. Focus, Maysville Eagle, Liberty Hall Cincinnati.

RUNAWAY 23 YR OLD FEMALE ADVERTISED FOR (1830) (Lexington)

Kentucky Reporter, Sept 1, 1830 (Lex, Wed, p 4)

"$100 REWARD! +
"RANAWAY from the subscriber living in Lexington, about six months ago, a NEGRO WOMAN named PAULINA, about 23 years of age. She is a well made woman, about the ordinary size, probably more delicate than common; her hair on the top of her head is thin, but she wears a handkerchief on it; her complexion is black of a light cast, her face slender, and she has a good deal of white in her eyes. She generally talks slow. She took with her a variety of good clothing. She is probably harbored in Clark, Garrard, or Madison county." Will pay $50 if taken in the state. C. Hunt. May 19, 1830, Lexington; placed in Richmond Chronicle.
MT. STERLING, KY., October 31, 1867:

At a meeting of the colored citizens of Montgomery county, held at Mt. Sterling, on the 30th of October, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Colored State Convention to be held in Lexington, Ky., on the 26th of November next, Clifton Thompson was called to the chair, and Richard Hathaway was appointed Secretary.

Upon motion of Moses Hall, the chair appointed Edward Gatewood, Toliver Tipton, John Banks, Alfred Barnes and Moses Hall a committee on resolutions.

The committee retired, and, while absent, James Taylor addressed the meeting in a few appropriate remarks; after which the committee reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved. That we heartily approve the call of the Executive Committee for a convention of the colored men of Kentucky, to assemble in Lexington, on the 26th day of November next.

Resolved. That we are in favor of the Union of the States under our Constitution of freedom, and are opposed to all men and all parties under whatever name, who are or were in favor of rebellion and slavery.

Resolved. That we will in the future, as in the past, support the Government of the United States, with arms if necessary, to maintain the honor of the nation and the flag of our country.

Resolved. That we heartily indorse the policy of the people through Congress assembled, in their reconstruction measures, by which our race in ten States were given the ballot to maintain their freedom and equality.

Resolved. That as Kentucky sent thirty thousand of her colored sons to the war for the Union, we ask and believe it the duty of Congress to give us the ballot.

Resolved. That we send greeting to the colored men of the South for their glorious victories at the polls for freedom and equal rights, and should Congress be so just as to grant us the ballot, we pledge ourselves to vote the way we should for the Union and freedom, and against rebellion and slavery.

Resolved. That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Kentucky Statesman, Maysville Republican, and Cincinnati Gazette.

Samuel Kees, John Banks and James Taylor were appointed delegates to represent Montgomery county in the State Convention.

After which the meeting adjourned.

CLIFTON THOMPSON, Chairman.

Richard Hathaway, Secretary."
Howard Miller Diary, vol II, 1862-1867, The Filson Club, Louisville, Miss Division.

Entry March 29, 1864: "Douglass, John Frank, Charley, George, Wash, Anderson, Marshall, Joe, all /working on the farm/ missing this morning."

Entry March 20, 1865: "Mary Fields and her children Eliza & Mildred left to-day being free under the law of Congress and by order of Gen. Palmer."

Entry March 28, 1865: "Patsy, William & Coleman freed by Ed's joining the army."

Entry May 22, 1865: "Obey went away to-day."

Entry June 18, 1865: "Sophy & Lou left this evening." Slaves?

Entry July 3, 1864: "Alfred, obey, Caroline & Lidia are all missing this morning."

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE JULY 12, 1884 ISSUE OF THE OHIO FALLS EXPRESS

The Ohio Falls Express, July 12, 1884 (Vol V, No 42, Saturday, Louisville)

The Ohio Falls Express office was at 316 W. Green St, Louisville.

Henry Fitzbutler, editor.

Advertisements: McCraw & Baker, Drapers and Tailors of 507 Fourth Ave, Louisville; Hampton & Dudley, Doors Sash Blinds Flooring and Finish Dealers in Lumber and Shingles, packing boxes on Fulton Street, foot of Shelby, telephone 772, ring 2, Louisville. J. H. Taylor, Undertaker, 616 Ninth Street, Horses, Hacks and First Class Hearse, always ready, Louisville. FFXL, Frank Fehr's Extra Lager. Sarah H. Fitzbutler, Regalia Badge Rosette Emblem and Robe Manufacturer, 1110 West Madison St, Louisville. Lizzie F. Marshall, Supplies (paper), 536 Laurel St, Louisville. Dr. E. C. West's Nerve and Brain Treatment, from C. J. Rosenham & Company, Louisville. Dr. Rufus Conrad, Homoeopathist, West Street, near Walnut, Louisville, telephone 498, ring 2. M. W. Larue, Attorney at Law, Practice in all the courts and Court of Appeals, No. 338 West Main st, near Fourth. George W. M'Koin, West End Exchange and Pool Parlor, corner West and Walnut sts, Louisville. George Guinn, the Stove Man, No 919 Jefferson St, stoves repaired, Louisville. "New Restaurant and Eating House! By Mrs. Elizabeth Churchill Open from six in the morning until 1 o'clock at night. At No. 704 W. Green Street, second door below Seventh, where is to be found at all reasonable hours the best meals in the city. Also select OYSTERS Served in any style. Pig Feet, Chidlings and Hot Coffee always ready."
The Ohio Falls Express, July 12, 1884 (Vol V, No 42, Saturday, Louisville, Henry Fitzbutler, editor)

**ADVERTISEMENTS IN JULY 12, 1884, ISSUE OF OHIO FALLS EXPRESS**

The Members of St. Peter Lodge No 22 UBF will give a Moonlight Festival and Mite-Supper at Lattia & Letchers Park, 715 Fifteenth Street between Walnut & Grayson, Thursday Evening July Seventeenth 1884. "For the purpose of raising money to pay off a very heavy debt that we are under; we therefore hope that every one will turn out to help us, as we are exceedingly anxious to relieve ourselves of this great burden. Remember Supper Free." Admission Adults 15¢, Children 10¢. Colgan's Taffy Tolu chewing gum, Colgan & McAfee, Louisville. Ad from Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad. Papillon Skin Care. Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, good for illnesses associated with the "Female Population." Swayne's Ointment for Piles. Piso's Cure for Consumption. "St. Bernard Vegetable Pills." An ad for shotguns out of Philadelphia. Ad for Threshers from Mansfield Ohio. Ad from Chicago Musical College, and a few other misc ads from northern cities and Atlanta.

**GENERAL INFORMATION IN JULY 12, 1884 ISSUE OF OHIO FALLS EXPRESS**

A letter calling for the 4th biennial meeting of the National Grand Lodge in Galveston, Texas, on Monday July 28, 1884. The Republican ticket for the state of Indiana was listed. The Republican State Central Committee for Kentucky meeting at the Galt House Thursday night. Under Lodge News and Notes, the Texas delegation to the national meeting was listed, and some information presented on Kentucky lodges. Announcements of travel and clubs given. Teacher appointments given. "Current Topics." News from the Commonwealth. "Farm and Fireside." Story of a grain wreck. A poem. A short story. "Pungent Paragraphs." "Miscellaneour."
"The Courier Liar."
"If there is anything the Courier-Journal is famous for, it is publishing a wilful lie from an unreliable source. Neither the judgment of God, which caused Watterson to lose his eye, or the Ethiopian skin in which Mr. Jones, of the lying staff, is clad, seems to awaken the latent conscience of this paper, so well known as a receptacle of filthy lies and unreasonable calumny."

In another column of short pieces of news, the Ohio Falls says:
"A man called on the lame newsman at the corner of Fourth and Green yesterday morning, and said: 'Give me yesterday's Liar.' The news dealer promptly handed out the Courier Journal."
"Shall The Colored Orphan Home Die? +
"The Board of Directors of the Colored Orphan Home Society met Thursday night at Center street Church. All bills against the Home to date were read, showing the indebtedness to be $277 87. The board will hold an adjourned meeting Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock, at 619 Center street."

"Registration opened quietly last Monday, and the voters came up quietly and recorded their names to about two-thirds of the voting population of the city of Louisville. Those who recorded were of no special class or color, but were from all grades and conditions of the citizens in similar proportions."
"Upon the question of illiteracy, which formed the subject of a portion of my former report, I can not speak too strongly, nor with sufficient emphasis. The order in this State can not fail to be inspired by the absorbing interest taken in all matters pertaining to education throughout the Commonwealth. The hostility which once marked the action of the controlling party in this State against the education of our race, has slowly but surely given way before the enlightened sentiment of the whole people. Nothing could exceed the fierce opposition we have met with upon questions affecting the education of our people; but like all other questions growing out of the passions and prejudices of the late war, we are at last released from that huge incubus; and now the people of the State vie with each other everywhere in commending our efforts for an education, and stimulating every enterprise in that direction. No public man of any party would dare to urge measures against the coeducation of the masses of our citizens, white or black. We have lived down that senseless, but at one time alarming prejudice. Just as we are destined to see others follow of an equally senseless character. But masonry must lead the van in this matter, as in all others. For the sake of our order, for the sake of advancement among our people, and the establishment of a higher standard of citizenship, we must make voluntary ignorance odious, and put a premium upon intelligence and culture. Not the less imperative is this duty with us, that all the world is moving with giant strides in that direction. Our order is strong enough, bold enough, and pure enough, to assume the leadership in this movement, and it is of the first importance to do so by our official action at the earliest possible moment. In like manner we should stamp out immorality, intemperance, libertinism and vice of every description. No order can remain pure if its membership is polluted; no society can remain exalted if it permits violation of its fundamental principles."
The Lunwood Club met this week at the residence of Mr. S D Martin, 538 Laurel street, and reorganized for the season by the election of the following officers: Miss Emma Kalfus, President; Mrs. Geo Grant, Treas; Miss M Nugent, Sec. Next meeting will be held at Mrs John Crawley's, 526 Laurel street.

"Fifth Street Church.+
"This popular Baptist Church presents a beautiful appearance. It has been painted inside and outside, furnished with new seats for the basement, and many other improvements, at a total cost of not less than $2,600. It is now one of the finest churches in the city."
"Vienna Park."

"Last Tuesday a select number of ladies and gentlemen picnicked at Vienna Park. Nature smiled on them, and all returned about eight o'clock well pleased."

"The next day it rained quite early in the morning, but this did not deter another select company, under the management of 'The Home Circle,' from going to the same place. The music was late, and did not reach the Park until 4 p. m., but the genial manager of the Park so arranged matters that the picnic lasted until 9:39 p. m. All returned home delighted with the trip."

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"The picnic at the Fair Grounds was superabundantly pleasant. The ride of nine miles on the street-cars through the city suburbs, and cultivated fields was what is now enjoyed in the city gardens, then the spacious grounds with fine paths and fifteen acres of beautiful beech woods and an extensive base ball ground with good teams at work is seldom witnessed in connection with a colored picnic. Good order prevailed and all left the grounds at 8 p. m., many of the people who went to the U. B. F. Picnic, and enjoyed the occasion until a late hour."
"The West End Drill Corps created such a sensation last St. John's day at the Masonic Picnic, that when the captain went to see about drillina for them again; two are three old brothers remarked: 'Dem boys is no good any how, case most ob de people come spreshly to see dem drill; I'll tell you what brur, Johnson, if dem boys drill wif dem new suits on we's gwine to be lef; so yes vote agin it.' That is the reason the boys did not drill."

"Union Drill Company.+

"Mt Calvery and Palestine Commanderies, K T Members have organized a joint drill corps, and drill every Monday night at Ninth and Market streets. Officers: Captain, J Wesley Sherley, President; Geo Garrett, V P; W L Gibson, Sec'y; E W Warden, Treasr.; A D Black, Drill Master; W H Clarke, Assistant Drill Master."
The Ohio Falls Express, July 12, 1884, (H. Fitzbutler, ed)

"The ladies of the 'Home Circle Club' gave their annual picnic at Vienna Park Wednesday, and notwithstanding the small numbers, the rain, and the absence of music, the day would have passed uneventfully and pleasant had they not made the grand mistake of inviting too many of the funny gentlemen (?) in original/ who are so accustomed to strong drink and the card table. They found it impossible to give a day to social intercourse with ladies without resorting to their favorite sport, violating both the rules of the Park and of decency, and when called to a halt by the Park watchman, they threatened to burst up the railroad company and all present. The obstreperous Horace rushed into a crowd of ladies while talking with the manager, and without knowing the nature of their interview, began a tirade of abuse upon the poor whites present, repeating his conversation, rantings, and sneerings at the top of his voice. Finally he was borne from the scene of confusion and gas in the arms of two tender maidens, the effect of which seemed to have a soothing effect on the excitable young man. The result was nobody was hurt, and the rules of this respectable park were maintained, but the Club was disgraced, and some few ladies frightened. The manager is a man of few words, but firm, and of good nerve. The music went out on the 3 o'clock train, and Mr. Robinson got the time extended till 9:39 by the request of the committee; and after much labor lighted up the dancing hall. A few more having gone out on the afternoon train, brought the crowd up to forty eight and the evening was pleasantly spent in dancing, but it compared very poorly with the delightful day and pleasant company of the day before, who enjoyed themselves all day without any annoyance. Though quiet and unpretentious, they represent the cream of our girls and boys." signed JR

see note 5005

FRIENDSHIP CLUB IN LOUISVILLE GIVES ENTERTAINMENT (July 1884) 5010

The Ohio Falls Express, July 12, 1884 (H Fitzbutler, ed)

"Sea-Side Club."

"Friendship Temple, No. 25, will give a grand entertainment at Ninth and Market Wednesday night, July 23d. The Sea-Side Club is preparing a musical program, and will entertain the public by the rendition of the grandest musical treat of the season. This concert should be patronized largely by the temples, as the proceeds are for the special aid of Friendship Temple, S.M.T."

BLACK SCHOOL TEACHER APPOINTMENTS (July 1884) LOUISVILLE

The Ohio Falls Express, July 12, 1884 (H Fitzbutler, ed)

For "Colored Schools."

"High School, J. M. Maxwell, principal; C. W. Houser, teacher."
"Intermediate Department, First class Assistant, Miss V. M. Burke; Second-class assistant, Mr. W. P. Annis."
"Central Colored School."
"Fourth class assistants, C. M. Miller, Miss N. B. Hickman, Miss H. M. Beachum, Miss W. S. Spradling."
"Fifth class assistants, Miss L. D. Coleman, Miss G. G. Moore, Miss Emma Alexander."
"California School."
"First-class assistant, E. C. Wood."
"Fourth-class assistant, Mrs. L. S. Morris."
"Fifth-class assistant, Miss L. L. Lane."
"Eastern Colored School."
"Principal, Wm. H. Perry."
"Third class assistants, Miss A. D. Miller, Mary L. Meade."
"Fourth class assistants, Miss Belle L. Morris, Miss N. L. Fry, Miss S. E. Bell, J. C. McKinley, T. C. Brown."
"Fifth class assistants, Miss C. C. Duncan, Mrs. C. A. Maxwell, Geo. W. Talbot, Miss Arena Brown."
"Fulton-Street Branch."
"Third class assistant, Mrs. Julia A. Arthur."
"Fourth-class assistant, Miss C. B. Brown."
"Western Colored School."
"Principal, W. T. Peyton."
"Third class assistant, Miss Maria Cox."
"Fourth-class assistants, Miss Annie E. Jackson, Miss Mary J. Robinson, Miss Anna M. Bourman, Miss M. E. Sublette, Miss L. S. Patterson, Miss Lucy N. Duralle, Miss Mary A. Johnson." 
"Fifth-class assistants, Mrs. Francis M. Gibson, Miss S. Belle Alexander, Miss Bettie Daniel, John Bell." 
"Portland Branch." 
"Mrs. Mary P. Peyton, third-class assistant."
tercourse between the delegates was exceedingly pleasant and the decorum could not have been more satisfactory.

The object of the order, being the promotion of temperance and fraternity among its members, has been rapidly progressing in this and adjoining States, which was significantly manifested in the Bowling Green Demonstration.

An earnest recommendation was made to the National Council to change the sitting of the National Council, which assembles in September, to the month of August; and also to change back from annual to biennial sessions.

The public parade of the order was a surprise and a delight to all who witnessed it, and notwithstanding the prejudices to ladies appearing in the demonstration, this part of the programme was so modestly conducted as to elicit much favorable comment. The Excelsior Cornet Band of Bowling Green, headed the procession, followed by the Juveniles, who made a very creditable appearance. Then came the Ladies, and the rear was brought up by the male members. The line which was appropriately regaled, was lengthy, uniform and imposing, and made a good impression upon all classes, and especially made the people of color proud of the success of the whole affair. The procession marched to Lehman's Garden, where the day was spent in the customary amusements upon such occasions. Rev. J. L. H. Sweres, R. W. N. G. D. Chief, and I. H. Jones addressed the large assembly upon the objects and purposes of the Order, with good effect, and were listened to with much interest.

In the evening Odeon Hall was crowded with a finely appearing audience to witness the installation of the Grand Officers elected for the ensuing year. The following were installed with imposing ceremonies,

by R. W. N. G. D. Chief, J. L. H. Sweres:

- T. Morris Chester and Rev. J. L. H. Sweres, which seemed to have been well received and highly appreciated.
- At a late hour the exercises were brought to a close, after taking of the refreshments on hand, amid the regrets of all who participated.
- Thus ended one of the most pleasant and successful sessions ever held in Kentucky for the promotion of a worthy object.

J. A. ARTHUR,
R. W. G. Sec'y.
The American Baptist was published every Friday; offices at 149 Fourth Ave., "In the Courier-Journal Building, Louisville, Ky." It cost $1.25 a year; .40 for 3 mos; .75 for 6 mos, and "One copy free one year to any one who will send us five names and $6.25." This issue contained a sermon by J. L. Burrows, D. D., of Broadway Baptist Church, Louisville, which occupied almost the entire front page. The American Baptist was published by "A. C. Caperton, (Editor Western Recorder) William H. Steward, Editor. Correspondents: Rev. G. W. Dupee, Paducah, Ky." Carried advice as to religious life: prayer, holy living, etc. Sayings from other religious papers. News from Tennessee. Various lectures being given. Church news around the state. An item on Indian missions. An outline of the weekly Sunday School lesson, for Nov 21. A small amount of religious poetry. "Hints on Domestic Nursing." A story, "The Grizzly Bear," for "Our Little folks."

LOUISVILLE CHURCHES HAVE THANKSGIVING DINNER (1880) FOR BENEFIT OF THE INSTITUTE
American Baptist, Nov 12, 1880 (vol ii, no 46, friday)

The paper mentions that the President of the US had called for the establishment of Thanksgiving Day, to be Thursday, Nov 25, 1880.

"The churches of the city will unite in a Thanksgiving dinner and festival Thursday, the 25th, for the purpose of raising means to erect additional buildings on the Institute grounds to accommodate the increasing number of students. The object at once appeals to the charity of every friend of the institution, and we hope it will be a success. The place will be announced next week. In the meantime no effort should be relaxed to make it an event worthy of our denomination."

AMERICAN BAPTIST EDITORIAL LECTURING BLACKS FOR NOT BUYING PAPER (1880)

American Baptist, Nov 12, 1880 (vol ii, no 46, friday)

A Word with Our Subscribers.

We are satisfied that the colored Baptists of Kentucky do not want a paper, that they will not sustain a weekly paper; that is, they do not appreciate it enough to be willing to pay even a very small sum for it. We have tried you thoroughly for nearly two years; have made you a good paper, by far the best and cheapest the colored people have in any part of the world. We have supplied the money to make the paper, and have done a vast amount of labor on it for nothing. We have done everything the brethren have asked of us, and more. But we are growing tired of helping those who will not help themselves.

All say they like the Baptist, and want it kept up; but only a few, a very few, are willing to pay the contemptible little sum of three cents a week for it! Very few will even attempt it. Some ten days ago we sent out letters to a hundred or more brethren and sisters, asking them to forward what they owe us on the paper. Only two or three have replied, and but two have sent in any money, and one of them lives in Texas. Now that is simply trifling with sacred things.

We, therefore, give notice that we will at once drop from our list all who have not paid, or who are not touched for by some one who is personally known to us. Henceforth the paper will be sent to those only who pay for it in advance; that is, before they get it. If you can not pay in advance for a whole year, you can send 75 cents for six months, or 40 cents for three months. If you do not get the paper after this week, you may know that it is because you have not paid for it; but remember, having your name dropped from the list does not pay what you owe us. The only way to pay a debt is TO PAY IT.
We have often been asked, Why you not put more politics in your paper? The uniform answer given is, our people, like American people generally, are surfeited with politics. Of the fifty colored papers or more printed, all are filled with politics. Now it is our idea that while fifty of our brethren are laboring to keep our people from the reign of Democracy, surely one can well afford to fight to keep them from the reign of the devil.—Christian Recorder.

Bro. Tanner, if you had added the American Baptist to the number, which approves your policy, you would have found two papers among the colored people that believe they can afford to fight for the moral and religious development of our people, without mixing with politics. We have given our contemporaries in this section the exclusive use of the political field, and content ourselves in a work which is more congenial, if not popular and profitable. Politics is essential to the welfare of a nation, but we see no necessary relation between between it and our religious convictions, nor do we see where it should command our time and talents, for “righteousness exalteth a nation.”

ARRANGEMENTS have been perfected to have a course of lectures on theological subjects at the Normal and Theological Institute, commencing next Monday. We print the programme in another column. A careful perusal will assure the brethren of the valuable information which they may derive from them. Pastors and ministers, especially the young ministers, should spend an hour three days in the week at these lectures, which will provide them with a fund of varied and important information. Bring your note-book and pencils to take notes for future reference.
One of the keenest men I knew was a great stickler for what he called "doctrinal preaching." So long as the minister was busy with systematic theology, and went on regularly arguing out "the good old doctrine" in the "good old way," he was a pleased and patient listener. "Predestination," the "Perseverance of the Saints," and kindred things, were favorites. But the topic of topics, with him, was "baptism." A debate on this subject probably brought him about as near as he ever got to happiness. It stirred all the war-horse within him. He smelled the battle afar off. The noise of the captains and the shouting thereof, fairly made his little eyes twinkle and his little heart leap for joy.

But there was one kind of preaching he could not endure. He detested "moral essays," and was at no pains to conceal his dislike. The minister who in his church attempted to reason of "righteousness," except in the most general way, or of "temperance" in any way, did so at his peril. "Judgment to come" was well enough as a doctrine, but when the preacher attempted to apply it to particular sinners or sins, he was informed, in terms more vigorous than polite, that "preaching the gospel," and not "personalities," was his business in the pulpit; and, with a thorny perseverance that reminded more than one faithful minister of Paul's persistent tormentor, this brother (?) went on, from day to day and year to year, criticising and badgering one pastor after another, until at last death called him home—let us charitably hope, sincerely penitent for all the mischief and trouble he had caused while here.

Of course the faults and failures of such a life were largely chargeable to character and disposition. But there were faults of theory, mistaken and distorted views of Scripture truth, which intensified this natural perversity of heart. This man, whose religious life—if he had any—was of such a hard, unlovely, belligerent type, no doubt sincerely believed that "preaching the gospel" consisted merely in a strong and faithful presentation of the facts of the gospel.

Men, according to his view, should be told what they ought to believe, not what they ought to be or to do. Paul's letter to the Romans was his favorite epistle, and the doctrine of "justification by faith" his favorite doctrine. James he read little, and believed less. Even Christ's Sermon on the Mount and his denunciation of particular sinners and sins was simply a liberty in which He, as Head of the church, might indulge, but one that furnished no precedent for human preachers or more modern times.

We have reason to fear that not a little of this same narrow and one-sided conception of Scripture methods and truths is to be found in our churches to-day. Men think if they are zealous in defending "Baptist doctrines," heartily in their championship of a creed, "ready to give a reason for the faith that is in them," it must, of course, follow that they are very good Christians. No such inference is justifiable. Men may be great lovers of doctrine, strong in the theory of the gospel, without the slightest experience of its transforming power. Christ gives one simple test, and it is echoed again and again through all the writings of the apostles, "By their frutes ye shall know them." The great, the universal, the infallible test is, fruit-bearing. The man whose life is not made better, purer, holier by his Christianity, has nothing but the name. His "faith" is dead. His religion is vain.

It is this "doctrine" which needs to be sounded in the deaf ears of this
faithless and perverse generation. None need to be taught that Christianity means something. Empty professions, termed disquisitions upon unfelt or half-felt truths, leave materialism and atheism masters of the field. One true, modest, earnest Christian life is worth more in defense of Christianity than any uninspired defense that was ever preached or written.

We would by no means have ministers cease to preach the "old doctrines" in "the old way." Far from it. A good, strong, well-laid foundation is essential to all permanent success. But we would not have them stop there. The object of Christianity is moral, life, transformation of character. We are to "glorify God in our bodies and our spirits, which are his." If we do not do this, Christianity, so far as we are concerned, is pronounced a failure. The world so judges. Only as we are pure and better, deal more justly, live cleanly and honestly than others around us, shall we silence the cavils of infidelity and commend our religion to an unbelieving world.

A great and increasing responsibility rests upon the pulpits of our land. There is need for direct and pungent preaching. There is desperate need of telling people, often in the plainest and most pointed terms, not only what their sins are, but that they must either abandon them or their hope of heaven. Christians, at all times, are under the most solemn obligations to lead holy lives. But in this day it would seem that the obligation is, if possible, redoubled. Never before has the keen, questioning gaze of the world been turned so critically upon the Christian faith and the lives of those who profess it. If our churches and church-members were what they should be, materialism and all forms of unbelief would be utterly powerless. They would die at once and make no sign. It is the greed, the worldliness, the sharp.

hard, selfish, mammon-worshiping lives that are found, often in leading positions in the churches of Christ, that gives infidelity its power. It is from this opious storehouse of evil that its deadliest quiver is filled and its sharpest arrows drawn.

It can not be too clearly understood that this world is to be conquered for the Redeemer, not by argument, not by learned disquisitions upon this doctrine or the genuineness of that gospel. Holy living is the one invincible weapon which Christ would place in the hands of all his followers. Without this, the churches that bear His name are a weak, undisciplined rabble. With it, they can conquer the world.
We are pleased to mention the fact that the Institute is steadily increasing. There are now 72 students enrolled, and they are still coming. The building is inadequate for present demands and must be enlarged or additional accommodations provided. Prof. Simmons acknowledges the receipt of several donations this week; from Mr. Dennis Stratton, 13 specimens of foreign stamps, 8 pieces of ancient coins, 1 sea conch, 1 horse-shoe crab; from J. Watts Kearney, Jr., 7 Indian arrow heads and 37 large Cape May diamonds.

ARTICLE ON THE PROFITABILITY OF PRAYER IN AMERICAN BAPTIST (1880)

Prayer Profitable.

"What profit shall we have if we pray unto him?" impiously exclaim persons years ago, and say now; thus implying that prayer is useless, they are reluctant to believe that prayer to the Most High is either a duty or a service, and so restrain prayer before God.

What profit shall we have if we pray unto him?" what? Why, in every way.

1. Hereby comes divine illumination. 
   If any man lack wisdom let him ask of God, he will give him.
   "Neglected," says Matthew Henry, a commentator, at the close of a day, "I neglected to ask God for light and aid in my studies this morning, and hence my chariot wheels have dragged heavily.

2. Hereby comes forgiveness of sins.
   One obtains pardon of the Lord without asking for it. It is worth aspiring for, piously and in faith, is obtained on no other terms. Of these terms, however, it is ob-

Laid. "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." "I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest me the iniquity of sin."

1. Hereby comes deliverance from evil. 
   So Israel rescued from the cruel bondage of Pharaoh, because in their cruel bondage, "they cried unto the Lord." See a terrible calamity—no less than a general massacre—washed off from Esther, Mordecai, and the Jews, because "they sought the God of their fathers."

2. Hereby blessings descend upon others.
   There is an established connection between asking and receiving; and that not only between the supplicant and God, but between God and those for whom prayer is offered. "I have heard them," said God to Moses, "and pardoned thy people according to thy word." "The prayer of faith secures the sick," and as manifested in the prayers of Abraham, Joshua, and...
MINISTER WRITES TO AMERICAN BAPTIST ABOUT MEETING (1880)

From the Churches.

The Greensdale Baptist church is conducting a series of meetings, which have been in progress three weeks. We are able to say, "The Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad." Our meeting has resulted in 9 happy converts and 9 conversions. In the ordinance of baptism, which will take place on the 25th inst. Twenty are anxiously inquiring the way to Christ. The outlook is encouraging, and we look for much good to be done. We do not know when we will stop. We have not forgotten the college. Pray for us.

E. J. Anderson.

Nov. 9, 1880.

Rudens Creek—One of the students has been preaching twice in the last two weeks in a revival with great success. God has blessed us with 30 converts and 21 mourners on the bench. We are having a good time and the church is much revived. I am glad to hear that our Institute is getting along so well. I wish I could be one of the students, and I hope the Lord will open the way so that I can be of the number.

G. W. Ward.

Nov. 9, 1880.

Eld. C. C. Bates writes that he has just closed a protracted meeting with the church at White Sulphur, which has resulted in 9 conversions. Rev. W. C. Dabney is engaged in a good meeting with the church at Providence. He has 15 candidates for the water, and 30 anxious souls asking a share in the prayers of Christians.

From Bro. Calvin.

I am glad to inform you of what good times I have had in the last two months. I am a young man in the cause of Christ, and I am trying to do all I can for his kingdom. I started the fifth Sunday in August to preach in a meeting at Mt. Pleasant and preached there every night for three weeks. Fifteen were added to the church—12 by baptism, 2 restored, and 1 by letter. I then went to New Columbus and preached there one week and baptized 12 converts. I then went to Mt. Olive, where I have been preaching every night, except two, and have 8 or 9 to baptize next Sunday by Eld. P. M. Young, pastor. I have tried to preach the gospel as the Spirit leads me, and I want all the brethren to pray for me that I may hold out to the end. I hope to have the opportunity to write to you again soon. May the great head of the church be with you.

Nov. 7.

G. T. Calvin.
ANNOUNCEMENTS: LOUISVILLE CHURCHES, MINISTERS (1880)

American Baptist, Nov 12, 1880 (Vol II, No 46, Friday)

City Items.

Eld. D. A. Gaddie will administer the Lord's Supper at the Green-street church next Sunday afternoon.

Eld. A. Heath, by special request, will preach a sermon to the members of the "United Brethren of Friendship" at the fifth-avenue church next Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

An important meeting of the Executive Board and Board of Trustees is called to meet at the Institute next Monday afternoon at 3 o'clock. Every member is expected to be present.

Eld. James Paris has gone to Frankfort and Lexington to visit old friends.

The quarterly concert of the Green-street Sunday-school was given at the church last Monday and Tuesday evenings to an appreciative audience. Entertainments of this character deserve more encouragement from parents, especially, than they receive. Nothing impels us to duty so quickly as a cordial approval when we are attempting to do good.

The committee of ladies appointed by the churches of the city to arrange for a dinner and festival Thanksgiving day for the purpose of erecting additional buildings at the institute met at the York-street church last night and made all the necessary arrangements for the occasion.

There was a slim attendance at the Ministers' Conference Tuesday afternoon. Eld. M. M. Bell presided. The usual weekly reports were made. No addresses. Elders Gaddie and Heath will present papers at the next meeting in answer to the query, "How can be secured a greater interest in the churches of the city concerning our Institute?" The pastors are especially urged to attend the meeting, which are held, every Tuesday afternoon, at 2:30 o'clock, at the Institute.

STUDENTS AT NORMAL AND THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN LOU (1880)

American Baptist, Nov 12, 1880 (Vol II, No 46, Friday)

Bro. Simmons has furnished us a list of the students of the Institute, and that the brethren may know who are there, we take pleasure in publishing it. Here it is:

Nannie Smith.

Charles H. Parrish.
Ellens Taylor.
Sarah E. Nelson.
Willie Shackelford.
Ella T. Smith.
William E. Brown.
Laury Sellers.

Thomas G. Williams.

Charles P. Spoonbill.
Martha H. Williams.
Mary H. Burrell.

Jeanne Walker.
Mattie A. Dishman.
George W. Breedlove, Louisville, Ky.
Frederick Moss.

Rev. Andrew Heath.

Columbus Tolbert.
Eliza Hammonds.

Hattie P. Marks.

Jennie Wade.
Jordan Allen.

Hattie Nichols.

William Nichols.

Mattie Palmer.

Ellen N. Brown.
Emma Wilder.

George May.

Florida Highetower.

Eld. D. A. Gaddie.


Kate Lewis.

A. Walker.

Minnie A. Adams.
Sallie McGrudder.

Nellie Pipin.

Hattie Williams.

Alice C. Taylor.

Tilla S. Waters.

Henry Kemp.

Jame Kemp.

Eld. E. P. Anderson.

Mamie Gaddie.

Rebecca Smith.

William L. Brooks.

Hliza Higgins.

Emma J. Anderson.

James Allen.

Edward Waters.

Charles T. Marrs.

Aaron H. Payne.

Amanda Jones.

Eld. W. M. Richards.

Kate Preston.

Hannah James.

Charles Fishback, Warrenton, Ky.
Franklin P. Adams, Powee Valley, Ky.

George W. Paterson, Midway, Ky.

Samuel G. Wilson, Paducah, Ky.

Jasper Bynum, Tipton, Tenn.

Alford P. Stumon, Elizabeth annotation.

Benjamin Miller.

James White, Shelbyville, Ky.

Eld. E. P. Marrs.

Joshua K. G. Slaughter, Danville, Ky.

Lizzie Cox, Greensburg, Ky.

Josie Gibbs, Franklin, Ky.

Jasper Gibbs.

Jackson Gibson, Hanover town, Ind.
The following resolution was adopted by the State-street Baptist Sunday-
school, Bowling Green:

Whereas Rev. Allen Allenworth has been our pastor and superintendent for the last
three years, and has discharged his duty as a faithful Christian; and as the Lord in His
wisdom has placed new duties upon him and taken him from us; therefore, be it resolved,

1. That this school return a vote of thanks to him for his faithful services, and the inter-
est he has untiringly taken in training the
young minds for higher positions in life and
for bringing the young to Christ.

2. That a copy of these resolutions be sent
to the American Baptist for publication.
Edward Haskins, Annie Lewis, Susie Clark,
committee.

Edgar Payne, Ch'n.
Mary V. Cooke, Sec.

RELIGIOUS LECTURES OFFERED AT NORMAL AND THEOLOG. INST IN LOU (1880)
From Paris.

We are still moving on in the Sunday-school. I preach a sermon to the school every other month, and as all the young people seem to be interested in the sermons, I will arrange it so as to preach a sermon every third Sunday in each month.

We are getting along well with the basement—putting up the wall; so that we will soon have a good basement. We are getting ready to start a series of meetings, and see if we can't have a protracted effort.

The election was quiet until late in the evening, when some colored man voted the Democratic ticket, and came near being mobbed. Several were put in jail on Wednesday, and some are to be held to the Circuit Court.

We have opened our co-operative store and are doing well so far. I believe it will be a success. I think if our people would put their little mites together they could do themselves much more good than to give all their earnings right back to the white people; for the only hope for our people is to try to get money and education along with their religion, for they will find that it takes more than being in the church to make them a success in life, and the sooner they see this the better for them.

Since we have carried the Presidential election, there are some here who wish to go to Washington and see the President inaugurated; hence an excursion is on foot for the 4th of March.

James Thomas.

November 8, 1880.

The Prodigal—Reckless.

A series of sermons preached by J. L. Burrows, D.D., in Broadway Baptist Church, Louisville.

Burrows aWidget awa"ng


About three miles above the cataract of Niagara, where the river seems very smooth and placid, there is a ferry. Experienced boatmen, who know the river thoroughly and how to take advantage of the eddies and counter currents, for liberal tolls, will row passengers across. They know it is a dangerous business and take all possible precautions against accidents. A few years since a young man in a spirit of sheer bravado, made a bet that he could cross the river alone in a small boat. Old boatmen protested and warned him of the peril, and finding he would not be dissuaded, tried to instruct him as to the course he should take. He pushed the boat from the shore, and with strong oars and strong arms, keeping the bow diagonally up stream, with coat off and bare head, with muscles tense and teeth set, he shot out into the river. Midway the smooth but rapid current caught the boat, turned the bow round and sent it down stream. Now he seemed to throw the might of a Hercules upon the tough oars, and to be pulling with a giant's might for the shore at a lower point. But his strength was bogust as an infant's would have been. Soon the setting rapids seized his frail bark, and tossed and twisted it round and round in their scudding whirlpools. No youthful strength, no sturdy oaken boat could help him now. The roar of the cataract is in his ear, and its foam is in his eye. Within a hundred yards of the fall the boat struck a jagged rock that projected above the surface. Instinctively he grasped it, let his boat go, and drew his body prone over the bowlder. Soon crowds gathered upon either shore. The whole community rushed to gaze, helpless, upon the doomed youth. All conceivable methods were tried to save him: By gestures and shouts that could not be heard, they encouraged him to hold on. Hopes were cast into the current above him that they might be swept within his grasp. But all in vain. Women and strong men wept, and rich men offered thousands of dollars for his rescue. The afternoon waned and night came. Still the crowds lingered. They could hear no call, no shout. The roar of the falls drowned all sounds human voice could make. The day broke at last. Many eyes were strained in the dim dawnling toward that surf-beaten rock. Was he there yet? Yes! the increasing light revealed him still clinging to his hold. Again swarms of men and women lined the shores. Renewed efforts were made to reach and save him. All day he
lay stretched upon the narrow ledge with the spray dashing over him. Twenty-four hours did he grapple for life. Then, exhausted, worn out with the long struggle, he threw up his hands toward heaven, was swept off with the torrent, plunged down the boiling cataract and was seen no more.

Is this not an emblem of the starting, the taper and the close of many a young man's life? In reckless sport, not meaning to imperil his soul, he ventures into danger, against protestations and warnings, from which he becomes powerless to extricate himself. He lodges for a little space in some point of peril, whence he would return if he could, where he is swept over, and where desperate efforts are made to save him; but too late, and he is swept over the cataract into eternity. It is a thrilling illustration of the folly and fate of millions.

The lad described in the impassable of Jesus, in just such reckless spirit, "not many days after" his portion was given him, "gathered all together. He seems to have lingered a few days. "Not many," his passions were guiding him into activity for their gratification. In your experiences have there not been brief seasons of hesitation and doubt, attempts at reflection, seasons in which some feeble restraints held you back from aimless wanderings? We can easily fancy this lad roaming over his father's fields, or lying in the shade pondering with himself: "Now I have what I have so longed for. I have money and liberty. Now what shall I do? It would be pleasant to get away from my father's eye, and from the restraints of home. How glorious to see and enjoy free life! But is it right? Is there no danger? A good father, after all, mine has been, and I see that my purposes are grieved his heart. Ought I not repress these inclinations and settle down to the duties of a sober, pious life? And then, what will be the result to myself if I persist in carrying out these intentions? May I not go too far, and be led into destruction?"

Well, I hope I have strength and resolution sufficient to refrain from hurtful indulgences. I mean to be moderate in my enjoyments. Perhaps I shall soon be satisfied with my experiences and return to my father's house. Perhaps I shall find opportunity to invest my portion profitably and increase my wealth.

There are dark visions as well as bright, that loom in the future, for the youth who is at all capable of considering. We may imagine two serious interviews between father and son, in which the old man puts forth all the influence of paternal solicitude to restrain the roving propensities of his wayward boy. We might easily, too, introduce into the picture a mother; a loving, weeping mother—such a one as some of you have had—folding her arms around her wild son, rainng tears upon his cheek and imploring him to stay at home, and bless her by his obedience and piety.

All this may make some impression upon the heart of the restless son. He almost yields. But untoward propensities and untoward temptations at last triumph, and he becomes utterly reckless; his will and passions settle the question, and with desperate resolve—teeth set hard—he decides, "I will take my own course," and he gathers all together and departs.

Can you read the application? Have your experiences been anything like these? Have you begun to imagine pictures of the gleefulness and jollity of vicious liberty? Have you made short excursions down the path of indulgence, tremblingly drawn back, troubled by conscience? Gone a little further and deeper next time? Conscience does not now sting so sharply. Next time the enjoyment is a little brighter. And so on and on, sin ever sweeter and virtue ever sourer, conscience silenced, passions intensified, warning sneered, entreaties mocked, affections trampled to death, off you go on a frolic race to a tragic end.

Let our theme be THE RECKLESSNESS OF SIN.

By recklessness I mean thoughtlessness and carelessness of consequences. Like that of the young man who jumped into the boat above the rapids in a spirit of impetuous daring and impulsive bravado. Recklessness does not ponder probable results, rushes ahead, risks needless danger, chokes down misgivings, slams at remonstrances and snaps restraint.

A French proverb says: "He that once beassattered defies the ditch. It is the spirit that cries out, "I don't care." That answers every care against wrong or peril with "I don' care." But it is very distressing to your friends. I don' care."

you may, appeal as you please: test as you like, "I don't care."

don't mean to be controlled or checked; I am bent upon doing what I please.

In the brutal bull-fights of Spain and Mexico, it is said that the fiendish beasts, tormented, lacerated, made the arena, at last arches his neck for the final master stroke, the spear into his brain.

Take this as a figure of the deadliness of a vicious life. Each rush, gilded by passions, attended by lusts, by gay flattering rage, just shuts his eyes blindly rushing to the slaughter.

"I don't care." tells the whole story of headstrong, foolhardy temper. Go and plead with one who has taken the bit in his teeth. My friend, your course is all wrong. I don' care. But it is very distressing to your friends. I don't care.
am bap, nov 12, 1880 (vol ii, no 46)

ungrateful to God. I don’t
But it is against your own interest
I don’t care. It is ruining others
I don’t care. But it will end in
eternal perdition. I don’t care
that takes the devil into his boat
ferry him over the river.”

God has given us reasoning faculties,
and it is insane folly not to use these
faculties. You are competent to form
a fair judgment between right and
wrong, evil and good, safety and dan-
ger. Now I sit down calmly by the
side of one of these reckless young
men, if I can get him into a thought-
ful mood for half an hour, and I ask
him: My dear young friend, do you
really believe that there is a God?
He replies, I certainly do. Do you
believe the Bible to be God’s word?
Yes. Is your judgment convinced
that you ought to love God in your
heart and serve him in your life? It
is. Are you convinced that it would
be most right, most safe, and at last
most blessed, to govern your heart
and life by the precepts of this Bible?
I am so convinced.

What more can be asked, what
other convictions do we need? His
reason and judgment are all right.
What will he do? Will he go now to
his closet and pray for pardon and
help, and give up his heart and life to
that Savior who loves him and who is
lovingly anxious to redeem him?
Why not? He himself says that this
would be right, prudent, honorable
and safe. But with these admissions
upon his lips, and these, convictions
in his soul, as soon as the door closes,
he breaks into a laugh over your ser-
ious questions, jokes about them with
his next companion, boasts that he’s
not to be caught in any such web
woven of his own admissions and
convictions; that he is not to be
trapped into a good and pure life, and
is impatient for the hour to come
when he can plunge into the melees of
forbidden and hurtful amusements
and pursuits. In spite of his reason
and judgment he is reckless enough
to persist in what he knows is wrong
and perilous. He says that a life of
piety would be best and that a life of
sinfulness is worst, and yet he refuses
the one and chooses the other.

Reason! You might as well reason
an ox out of a corn field, or a bound-
out of a chained bare. He has given
up reason altogether as a guide for
him. I meet a traveler on the verge
of a thicket swamp. He is about en-
tering, I hail him, “My friend,
thickets is a very dangerous place.
It is alive with vipers and adders and
rattlesnakes. You will risk your life
if you venture to go through it.” He
jovially replies, “I know all about

it.” “Have you any protection
against the bite?” “None at all.”

“Have you any remedy if you should
be bitten?” “None that is certain.”

“But it is very rash to go there.”

“I know it.” “You may lose your
life.” “I suppose there is that dan-
ger, but I am going to try it any-
how.” And against all reason and
prudence, he walks into that jungle,
and who will dare to follow him and
bring back his swollen, feasting
corpse? Such conduct you would
call madly reckless.

And yet you, convinced as you are
of the horrible perils of your godless
path, with a recklessness of which
this illustration is but a weak type,
inasmuch as the recklessness of
imperiling the deathless soul is infinitely
greater than that of risking the mor-
tal body, you will, with your eyes
open, keep right on in your road of
guilt and danger. You are yourself
saying at every step, “This is wrong,
is hazardous; but I don’t care, I
will risk it.” Oh! the insane folly!
Oh! the desperate dominance of lust
and passion over reason and fore-
thought!

Second.—The sinner in his reckless-
ness tramples upon the purest affec-
tions. What capabilities of loving and
happiness which pure love creates
you possess? You are capable of
loving God with all your heart, and
your neighbor as yourself, and of en-
joying all the blessings which flow
from such love. There is really no
ture happiness apart from the a-
fections. Hatred, is wretchedness.
Pure love is felicity. There can be
no real enjoyment in life which the
heart does not create. Now, piety
draws out into practical exercise all
the gentler, purer, lovelier affections
and capabilities of our nature. A
man in the habit of being wretched
who cultivates love for his God or Re-
demer, or of his neighbors, seeking
to do them good. But the sinner
suppresses all these finer qualities of
the spirit, clutches his own heart with
the strong grasp of depravity and
strangles out of it all the life of its
happiness.

He tramples upon the affection of
others, too, in his recklessness. The
enraged of a father, the love of a
mother, the solicitude of sister or
wife, the anguish of all who wisely
care for him and seek his good are
all abused and scorned. Oh! how
hastily selfish depravity makes a
man! What cares he for others’ joys
if they would interfere with his in-
clinations? He persists in his path
on loving hearts at every step. He
laughs at pleadings, mocks at tears,
and desperately tramps onward in
scorn of all. Alas! poor prodigal, is
there nothing in all this anxiety that
can touch thy heart or check thy feet? It is solicitude for thy
good; do not despise it. But there
is a love which thou slightest more
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Tender than all this, 'It is the love of Jesus. Wanderer, thy Redeemer loves thee. He has no pleasure in thy sins, thy woes or thy death. So intense is his love, that he has consented to bear thy sins— to die for thee, that thou mightest live. By his suffering life and cruel death he has provided for you every real blessing and pure joy, for this life and for eternity, of which your nature is capable. And yet, in your insane recklessness, you are repudiating all this love, declining the blessings it professes and restraining all generous outflow of resource from your own soul. Upon all pure and refining affections the sinner tramples in the recklessness of his mad depravity.

Third.—In his recklessness the transgressor sacrifices his own interests. That the prodigal of the parable did this you all see. It is so with every sinner. When you see a youth, with opportunities for doing well for himself, in a position where industry and

mindfulness promise success, reputation and fortune, and see him wasting time in indolence or in amusement, abusing trust, neglecting service, you say, what a reckless fool to be throwing away such a city who have done just that thing and hundreds who are doing it to-day.

But of infinitely graver moment is the folly of disregarding the spiritual and eternal interests of the soul. In the one case, he has only disgrace and poverty and degradation to suffer in this life, and that will soon be over; but, in the other case, he falls down upon himself everlasting beggary, "shame and contempt." Within his reach are means of securing peace and honor upon earth and treasures in heaven. "He throws up his interests in both worlds." He is likely to be a nuisance and a pauper, if not a criminal, in this world and a wretch and a curse in the next. O, young man! be warned against this accursed recklessness in sin. Do think a little of the future, and consider how the conduct and impulse of to-day is to bear upon you prospects and welfare to-morrow. Reckless youth, bent upon self-indulgence, careless of consequences generally brings a manhood of disaster, an old age of regrets and an eternity of calamity.

Fourth.—This recklessness in sin hardens the heart. The longer it is indulged the harder it is to control. Early wanderings are often checked by misgivings and compunctions. The heart is sometimes softened and the young transgressor resolves to stop in his dangerous career. Often he is almost on the verge of turning back to his Father and Savior. But some wily temptation, some snare of the devil, is cunningly laid in his path, and he recklessly yields, dashes off all relenting emotions, passes the

propitious hour, steals his heart against softening and leaps another step downward. He will never feel just as he once felt. There may be other pauses in his course, but not so impressive and hopeful as the first. One hardening of the heart against such impressions induces it a little. There is a thin flake over it which will require more force to break through. The same motives will not have the same effects, the same medicines in like quantities will not quite produce the same effect a second time. If continued they will need to be increased. The system braces itself against their power. It can bear more poison every time. Nero is said to have been a tender-hearted youth when he came to the throne. He shrank from signing a death-warrant, tearfully wishing that he could not read nor write. He soon got over
Jesus Christ he must perish. And he admits this terrible truth with a smooth face and a hard heart. He feels but little alarm about it, and does not struggle against his doom. The flames of hell may flash in his eyes, yet he can walk right on into them. He is recklessly resolved to brave the consequences of continued impenitence. The prospects of speedy perdition can not turn him back from the broad road. "He hardened himself against God and strengthened himself against the Almighty." He was deemed a reckless fool, who, a few years ago, to please a gaping crowd from a high stage over the Genesee Falls, plunged head first into the foaming abyss, shouting as he started: "Some things can be done as well as others." He never rose out of that flood. Yes, some things can be done as well as others. Millions have rushed into hell with open eyes, and so may you. Many

have—and so may you—fought against reason and conscience, against warning and pleading, successfully resisted all influence to draw them to piety and to heaven. You can brave your doom and laugh and sing and dance on, while the breakers of the fathomless, shoreless ocean of perdition are hoarsely roaring in your very ears, and dashing over your very feet. O, yes; you can do all this. Will you?

The prodigal "gathered all together," and risked it all in his reckless experiment. So some of you are risking everything you possess in the universe, staking all upon a few gambling deals, in hope of winning a few amusements or gratifications. O! if it be not already too late, stop just where you are. O, no! do not stop there, but turn back, won by a Father's love to a Father's heart.

MINISTERS WRITE AM BAP ABOUT REVIVAL MEETINGS (1880)

I have been conducting a series of meetings with Little Blue Spring church for the past week. The Lord has blessed us with 12 conversions. One Campbellite and one Methodist have given us their hands and tell us they want to be buried with Christ by baptism.

J. W. Harlow.
Nov. 2, 1880.

Anchorage.—We have been engaged in an interesting meeting for the last two weeks, which has resulted in 7 additions to the church, two of whom I baptized the last Sunday in October. Eld. Wm. Miller, of Jeffersonville, preached two sermons for us, which were greatly appreciated. Our Sunday-school is in a good condition and increasing in interest and numbers.

Nov. 10. John Hightower.
KY BLACKS HOSTILE TO LILY-WHITE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN KY (1886)
The New York Freeman, Oct 23, 1886, p 4

Regular Correspondence of The Freeman.
LOUISVILLE, Oct. 19.—There is no more Republican party in Kentucky worth writing about. The white wing have treated their colored ballots so indly, that they have driven the colored voters to bolt the ticket and nominate one of the race as an Independent candidate, or to vote for the Prohibitionists or Democrats. In the Third District the Congenial race has become quadrilateral. There are two Democrats, one white Republican, who is said to be distasteful to the colored voters, and they have called for the Rev. Gibson to make the race. He has accepted, and if he polls the full colored vote, Kentucky will send her first colored representative to Congress. The majority of colored voters also refuse to support Gus Wilson in the Fifth District. Such Negro-haters as Dr. Hunter, the Republican candidate in the Third and A. E. Wilson in the Fifth have killed the G. O. P. in Kentucky.

ISSUE OF WOMAN'S EXCHANGE IN LOUISVILLE (1886)
The New York Freeman, Oct 23, 1886, p 4 (Louisville correspondent C. W. Hines)

I had another talk with Miss Cowan concerning the Woman's Exchange. She said: "The question is now shall the Exchange be closed or shall it continue another year. I think it will dissolve and those that are left will join the Woman's National Congress that will meet Wednesday, Oct. 20. The Congress will be something, and a mighty something, in this United States if they do not draw the color-line, but if they draw the line they will go to pieces just like the Exchange is about to go now. The object of this Congress is to secure to women higher intellectual, moral, and physical conditions, with a view to the improvement of all domestic and social relations; the securing of equal wages for equal work. It should be the aim of these women if they mean what they say, and the intention of their organization is to protect their sex, to prove it by obliterating the color-line against their darker sister."
CHANGES IN SCHOOL APPOINTMENTS IRREGULARLY DONE (1886)

The New York Freeman, Nov 6, 1886, p 1 (C.W.Hines, corres)

The following transfers of teachers were made last week: J. H. Williams from Central to Ninth Street branch; Miss Prima Elphinstone from Ninth Street branch to Western School; Miss Annie E. Jackson from Western to Central School; Miss Georgia G. Moore has charge of the second division of the Second Grade at the Central; Miss N. L. Fry and Miss H. C. Beauchamp have been appointed assistant teachers at the Eastern Branch School. The committee on colored schools does not seem to know what is needed or wanted this year. I have never seen so much confusion in regard to appointing and removing colored teachers. Before the September term of 1886 opened this committee had three months time to examine and know who was and who was not competent for this and that position. It has been customary for the committees heretofore to report re-—

not filled by anyone, nor did the committee explain why they were left off. A few days before the opening of the schools this committee appointed the old teachers, but still they are not satisfied and continue to remove teachers from pillar to post. The chairman of the committee, Mr. Alfred T. Pope, was absent some months in vacation and Dr. Trunnell, the senior member, acted in his place. It seems that Dr. Trunnell made some changes that did not suit Mr. Pope and he countermanded Dr. Trunnell's removals and situated the teachers to suit himself. We advise the Louisville School Board to look into the matter, before it hurts them all. Mr. Pope and Dr. Trunnell both ought to be removed and others elected in their stead as committee men on the colored schools. It is sad as long as they remain on the committee they will be antagonistic to each other, which will be injurious to the School Board and the teachers, and be the cause of further neglect of duty toward the colored children.

BLACKS NOT GETTING FAIR TRIALS IN LOU: N Y FREEMAN SAYS (1886)

The New York Freeman, Nov 6, 1886, p 1 (CWHines, corres)

In October term of the United States Court has caused much public talk. The charges here as a whole consist of the fact that white men or women who is accused of any crime, let it be large or small, before it goes to trial. They commended Inspector Maynard for arresting Mr. Cooper, an innocent man, and trying to prosecute him. These same papers called Inspector Finley herculean, because he arrested a colored man, and boy about fifteen years old. The boy was convicted on account of being ignorant of the law and not altogether bright at times. Of course the jury was not aware of this fact; if they had been they would have acquitted little Wm. Hunter. Of all the slimy cases that I ever heard of was the one between Harris and Finley tried to work up against Wm. Bullett, former of the Louisville Post Office. I am told, Mr. Harris admitted upon the witness stand that all white people are somewhat prejudiced against colored people. Mr. Finley and Deputy Hughes said that they saw Mr. Bullett through a half an inch sliver hole at the same time, looking at a pair of shoes in the store. The boy, ascertained four for account and asked for change. The papers never dealt with the March voter and the prosecuting attorney declined to take him.
ACCOUNT OF BLACK CONVENTION, Dec 1867

Lex Kentucky Statesman, Dec 3, 1867, p 3

THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND TESTIFY

The Colored State Convention, pursuant to announcement, met in this city, at the Second Methodist Church (colored), on Tuesday last, at 12M. Upon the organization of the meeting W.F. Butler, of Louisville, was called to the chair, and Henry Scroggins appointed Secretary.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

A committee on permanent organization reported the following ticket of officers which was elected:
President - Rev W F Butler, Louisville.
Vice Presidents - Rev Gabriel Burdett, H. King, C. C. Clerk, E. Green, E. W. James, Franklin County.
Secretary - R T W James, Franklin County.
Assistant Secretary - A D Jones, Warren county.
Corresponding Secretary - Henry Scroggins.
Treasurer - Bartlett Taylor.

COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS.

The following were appointed by the Chair as a Committee on Business, including resolutions: H. King, C. Perry, Rev. G. H. Graham, of Fayette; Rev. C. M. White, of Kenton; W. Lawrence, of Nelson; D. V. Illgdon, of Warren; A. Elliott, of Muhlenburg.
Other committees were also appointed; and at 4 o'clock the Convention adjourned until 9 o'clock Wednesday morning.
When the Convention reassembled, and after prayer, roll called and reading of the minutes, new delegates were enrolled.

Reports from Business Committees were made and disposed of, and some time occupied in speech making while waiting for the committee that was preparing resolutions.

Upon the return of the committee the following declaration of sentiment was made:

Whereas. It is right and proper for citizens to peaceably assemble together and represent their grievances to those in authority: and whereas: we are denied the right to testify against white persons in the courts of this Commonwealth: and whereas, on account of our color we are not permitted to go to the polls and vote as other men; and whereas, we are taxed without representation; and whereas, much misunderstanding and dissatisfaction prevails among our people because we are unequally taxed; and whereas, although we pay full fare, we are not allowed the privileges of passengers on the public conveyances; and whereas, the Freedmen's Bureau has done much to protect and secure justice to our people; and whereas, with a view of exciting prejudices against us, wicked persons circulate false and unjust charges that we have armed leagues and meditate a forcible enforcement of our rights; and whereas, the want of testimony in the courts leaves our females exposed to the wiles of the dissolute and unprincipled, who may approach them with insulting and degrading propositions with impunity, and for this crime of crimes there is no redress in this enlightened Christian Commonwealth -- therefore, be it

Resolved. That we the delegates of the Colored population of the state of Kentucky, in Convention assembled, will prepare and cause to be presented to the General Assembly, a petition praying them to grant us the right, by law, to testify in all the courts of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That we will cause to be prepared and presented to the Congress of the United States, a petition, praying the honorable members thereof to secure us the right of suffrage.

Resolved. That we pray the General Assembly of Kentucky to so alter or amend the statute of the State as to establish one general code of penal, school and pauper laws for all the people of the Commonwealth, irrespective of race, color or condition.

Resolved. That we call the attention of officers of steamboats, railroads, and stage companies to the fact that, although we pay full fare ourselves, our sons, our wives and daughters are not allowed the privileges of travelers, but are put in second-class and disagreeable places, where we are frequently abused and insulted by drunken and ill-behaved white persons; and we pray them to relieve us from all unjust and unnecessary restraints, and to cause their employes to treat us as they treat other persons.

Resolved. That we will cause to prepared and presented to the Committee in Congress on Freedmen's Affairs, a petition showing the necessity for, and praying the continuance of, the Bureau in Kentucky until such a time as we shall obtain the right to give evidence in the courts and to vote at all elections.

Resolved. That we will provide for our poor, feed our hungry,
Resolved. That we thank God, and congratulate with gratitude the friends of educational enterprise in the State generally.

Resolved. That while all have done well, the Berea College, under the direction of the Rev. J.G. Fee, Rogers and Lincoln, with a corps of female assistants, are worthy of all praise, they having taken the high and righteous ground of impartial education, regardless of color.

Resolved. That we pledge the institution our influence and support; also, the institution erected on the Hill property, at Frankfort, Franklin county, purchased by the colored Baptists of Kentucky.

After the unanimous passage of these resolutions, General Brisbin having been called upon, addressed the Convention in a lengthy speech, replete with much sound and good advice. After which the Convention adjourned, and at night was addressed by Col. Willard Davis, in one of his usual eloquent and entertaining harangues.

The following memorials were reported and adopted:

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

To the Honorable House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, In Congress assembled:

ACCOUNT OF BLACK CONVENTION, Dec 1867

Lex Kentucky Statesman, Dec 3, 1867, p 3

The colored people of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, through their delegates in convention assembled, most respectfully petition your Honorable Bodies to grant us the right of suffrage. Your petitioners bet leave to call your attention to the fact they are not permitted to testify in the Courts of the Commonwealth against white persons, and in consequence many persons who commit murder, rape, arson, and all manner of outrages upon the colored people are permitted to go unpunished. Your petitioners would further represent that they are now, and ever have been, loyal to the Government of the United States, more than thirty thousand of their brothers and sons having enlisted in the army of the Union during the late war; that they are peacable, lawabiding citizens, who pay taxes as other people, but who, on account of caste and the color of their skin, are denied political rights in the Government they are taxed to support. Your petitioners would further represent that inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States has abolished slavery everywhere within the jurisdiction thereof, so that all constitutions, laws or regulations growing out of the same are null and void; and inasmuch as the same Constitution, in another provision, declares that no State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; and inasmuch as Congress in empowered, by appropriate legislation to enforce these several provisions, which we believe cannot be done without securing the elective franchise to the citizens of color; and, inasmuch as the color of our skins did not, in time of war, prevent the government from claiming our allegiance, and causing us to bear arms in its defense, and it is a well-established principle of
just government, that allegiance and protection go together, the one
being the consideration of the other, and inasmuch as the Declaration
of Independence promises the equality of the people, and it is the
expressly declared duty of Congress under the Constitution to guarantee
to every State in the Union a republican form of government; and, Inasmuch
as many white persons of no greater degree of intelligence than ourselves
are allowed to go the polls and vote in this Commonwealth, and thousands
of men who fought against the Government in the late war also vote,
thereby electing disloyal persons to office; and, inasmuch as we greatly
desire to assist the Unionists of the State in electing loyal men to office;
now, therefore, we earnestly pray your Honorable Bodies, in such way and
manner as it may properly and legally be done, to enact such laws or
amend the Constitution of the United States so as to secure to every
citizen in this Commonwealth who may have been a slave or is the descendent
of a slave, or by reason of race or color is deprived of equal rights,
to vote at all elections for members of Congress, for Presidential electors,
for Representatives and Senators in the State Legislature, for all State,
city, town and other officers of every kind, and upon the same terms
and considerations as white citizens of the State are now of may here­
after be allowed to vote. And we will ever pray, &c.

MEMORIAL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

To the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky

ACCOUNT OF BLACK CONVENTION, Dec 1867

Lex Kentucky Statesman, Dec 3 1867, p 3

Come Greeting. The colored people of the Commonwealth of Kentucky,
through their delegates in convention assembled, most respectfully petition
your Honorable Body to so after and amend the clause of the statutes as
permit no person to be disqualified from giving testimony in any of
the Courts of the Commonwealth; in actions, both civil and criminal, by
reason of birth, color or previous condition. We also most respectfully
state that any and all obligations to this much needed reform are based
upon the theory that our juries are honest enough to render their verdict
to and in accordance with the law and the evidence, and that they have
intelligence enough to discriminate between conflicting statements, to
detect falsehood, to arrive at the truth of every case, and render im­
partial justice between man and man. Unless this theory is true- and
no one asserts to the contrary- the Judiciary system of the State is a
failure. If true when applied to the white people, it must, by every
sound system of reasoning, be equally true when applied to us. To say
that a jury of white men, upon their oaths, are honest enough to do
justice between white men, and intelligent enough to decide upon the
truthfulness of statements made to it by such evidence; and , at the same
time too dishonest to do justice between a white man and a black one,
and has not intelligence enough to decide upon their truthfulness; is
an assertion too absurd for utterance, and is an insult to every right­
minded man, that this is the logical argument to be deduced from our pre­
sent system. If your juries are competent to make their verdicts under
the law from the evidence of white persons, they are equally competent to
do so from the evidence of black persons.--Some may say that we are in-
competent to serve as witnesses in a case where a white person is an interested party, by reason of our want of intelligence, or our disregard of truth. We deny this most emphatically. The same objections may, with equal propriety, be extended to thousands of white persons in this State. Juries almost daily render verdicts directly opposite to the statement of some witnesses in whose testimony they have no confidence, and many a white man is a witness whose intelligence is no greater than that of the average of our own people. These are matters that should not be urged in general objection to any class of witness whether black or white. It surely occurs that false testimony escapes alike the attention of the court, the jury, the clients and the attorneys engaged in a trial; and a rigid enforcement of the law punishing perjury will effectually protect society from all danger of this character. Under our law, we are now competent clients and witnesses for or against each other. In action, both civil and criminal, where our own people or color alone are interested, in property or life, we are citizens of the same common country.

Much of the property now constituting the aggregate wealth of Kentucky has been acquired or improved, in whole or in part, by our labor. Some know better than the citizens of this State how we have protected and cared for both the property and the lives of our former owners. Suddenly freed by act of war, we were mostly thrown upon our own resources, without property or means of protecting what little we now have, the product of our own toil and care. It is larceny to steal it from us; it
case. And that equal and exact justice may be administered to both white and black, we ask that all disqualifications on account of race or color, in so far as they apply to testifying, be removed, and that the plaintiffs and defendants in every action, whether white or black men, shall be made competent witnesses, with the right to testify in their own behalf, subject only to such exceptions as are made for white men.

For this simple act of justice to a poor and oppressed race, we appeal to you by every consideration of civilization and love of right. And for your favorable action we ever pray.

The Finance Committee reported the receipt of $125,20 to pay the expenses of the Convention, and the publication of its proceedings.

Rev. Q. A. Graham made a very interesting and intelligent address, cautioning the delegates when they return home that they must not consider their work as being completed: and cautioning them that the world has now their eyes upon us, and in consequence we should also keep our own eyes open. After which the Chair pronounced the Convention adjourned.

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**ACCOUNT OF BLACK CONVENTION, Dec 1867**

Lex Kentucky Statesman, Dec 3, 1867, p 3

**NY FREEMAN: BLACK CANDIDATE GIBSON COULD HAVE BEEN ELECTED, BUT WITHDREW, 1886**

The New York Freeman, Nov 13, 1886, p 1
LAFAYETTE STREET SCHOOL MADE A PRIMARY SCHOOL IN LOU (1886)

The New York Freeman, Nov. 13, 1886, p 1

"The Freeman correspondent is proud to note that the Lafayette Street School has been made a primary, under the supervision of Mr. S. B. Taylor as principal. Prof. Taylor is a Louisvillian and taught school at Simpsonville one or two sessions, and returned home with a recommendation from the Shelby County educational authorities as one of the best teachers among the great number of white and colored that were in their employment."

CALVIN FAIRBANK LETTER TO LIBERATOR DESCRIBING SLAVE MARKET IN LOU. (1851)

The Liberator, Nov. 7, 1851 (Fri) p 3

Fairbank writes from Louisville, Oct 22, 1851, to Garrison & Liberator

"I write from the market of souls in Louisville, Kentucky. I have many things to write, but my letter must be short, and, therefore, not very minute. Let not my friends be anxious for me; I will keep out of the lion's jaws."

"There are four markets in this city, at which men, women and children are sold like sheep—Garrison's Powell's Antiflame's, and one other. I have just seen the inside of Garrison's, where young men and women, who seem fit for refined society, are kept for sale; the others I have not visited. My visit here at this time has taught me a new lesson in slavery. Slaves are all obliged to be at home by 10 o'clock, P. M., and if found out after that time, without a pass, they are taken to the watch-house and whipped. Many of them are as closely confined as prisoners, and all who feel disposed may treat their slaves with brutality. A case is in my mind's eye now. A woman, as 'white, and fair, and a' that,' /sic/ as most ladies, is a slave to one of the most unfeeling mistresses in the place, who often whips her unmercifully, tearing off her clothes, kicking her &c. She was in Boston last summer, when even Mr. R. C. Winthrop's heart was moved with pity, and he offered advice in keeping with his republican professions." She was apparently offered aid in escaping, but could not give up her children."
An account of the escape of a slave family entitled "A Romantic Slave Hunt"; taken from the Voice of the Fugitive. The story seems unlikely. It seems that "a rich slave trader of Kentucky" had a "favorite family" he considered trustworthy. The man servant was a barber who lived in Louisville & also carried on some business for his owner, often going to Ohio, etc. The master allowed the daughter of the man servant to go to Cincinnati. She did not return on time. The master allowed the alarmed mother, with her other children to try to find out why she did not return. When the mother and children did not return, the man servant pleaded that he be allowed to find his wife and children. They all went to Canada.

NEITHER PARTY WILL SUPPORT BLACK PROGRAMS; BLACKS WANT POLICEMEN, FIREMEN (1886)

The New York Freeman, Nov 20, 1886, p 1 (C.W. Hines, corres)
C.W. HINES, N.Y. FREEMAN CORRES, SUGGESTS BOYCOTTING GERMAN STORES THAT REFUSE TO SERVE BLACKS (1886)

The New York Freeman, Nov 27, 1886, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

...
FALLS CITY BASEBALL CLUB, PLAYING GROUND, ETC (1886)

The New York Freeman, Nov 27, 1886, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

CLEVELAND APPOINTEE IN LOUISVILLE REMOVED BLACK REPUBLICANS FROM JOBS, NOT WHITE REPUBLICANS (1886)

The New York Freeman, Dec 4, 1886, p 1 (c w hines, corres)
WATTERSON SPEECH TO NATIONAL FREEDMAN'S PREPARATORY ORGANIZATION
(Louisville, 1886)

The New York Freeman, Dec 11, 1886, p 1 (from c w hines, corres)

MEETING OF THE COLORED CITIZENS OF CLARK COUNTY (Nov 1867)

The (Lex) Kentucky Statesman, Nov 22, 1867, p 3

Pursuant to a call made by the colored State Central people of Clark county held a meeting in the town of Winchester, on Saturday, the 16th day of November, 1867, for the purpose of electing delegates to attend a State convention to be held in the city of Lexington, on the 26th inst. A circular was read stating the object of the call; after which Alfred Morgan was appointed chairman and George Cary Secretary.

On motion a business committee of five was appointed, consisting of the following persons: S. Stevenson, A. Emery, Peter Hood, Nelson Ramsey, and Jesse Ramsey, who reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted and ordered to be printed:

Resolved. That the tone of their press, the speeches of their leading men, and all the late acts of the rebel Democracy clearly indicate to us the determination of that disloyal and corrupt party to re-establish slavery if they should obtain the power.

Resolved. That the signs of the times clearly show that the so-called Democratic party is the deadly enemy of the colored race, of free institutions, and of the United States Government.

Resolved. That the indications of the times demonstrate that the liberties not only of the colored people but of the masses of the white people in the United States can only be preserved by clothing all the loyal part of the community with political privileges, and by putting more restraint upon the rebels who have already attempted a forced
overthrow of the Government, and who are even now untiring in their attempts to destroy it.

Resolved, That a wise and statesmanlike policy indicates that the colored people of the country, who through all the last few years of trouble and peril were steadfast in their loyalty, should at the very earliest opportunity, be invested with the right of suffrage.

Resolved, That the thirty thousand colored men in Kentucky whose hands held the musket now claim the right to hold the ballot.

Resolved, That when we succeed in obtaining this great right now denied us, we will vote the same way we shot, and that we well know how to distinguish political friends from political enemies; that we will stand by those who we stood by.

Resolved, That we tender our congratulations to our brethren in the real states, for their recent glorious success.

Resolved. That we call the attention of Congress to the fact that here in Kentucky the colored man who periled his life for freedom, for liberty, for country, and who fought under the stars and stripes, is denied the right of voting, of sitting on juries; denied every "right that a white man is bound to respect," while the traitors who with bloody hands sought to destroy the nation's life rule the land.

Resolved, That such a state of affairs reflects disgrade upon that supreme law-making power, whose duty it is to reward the faithful and to punish the guilty.

Resolved. That notwithstanding we have long waited, and have as yet waited in vain, yet we still cherish the hope that Congress will awake to its duty, and will afford some protection to the loyal men who in the darkest hour of the Nation's peril, rallied two

snatch freedom from the hands of traitors.

Resolved, That to the end that liberty and freedom may be established that justice should be done, that the true men of the State, not only colored but white, may be protected from the violence and the malice of the now dominant reb

utional duty of guaranteeing to each State a republican form of government-take the mitiatory steps to secure to the State of Kentucky a republican form of government, as is contemplated in the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That we do most earnestly recommend to our people throughout the State to live, if possible, on terms of peace toward those by whom they are surrounded; to cultivate quiet, sober, industrious and orderly habits; to seek as far as possible, to disarm prejudice by good conduct and to avoid, as far as possibly can be done, giving unnecessary offence.

Resolved, That while we wish for quiet and peace, yet we do not love peace so well as to enjoy peace at the sacrifice of our liberty; and we amy here assure those persons who are predicting that they will soon again be our masters, that they are ? We do not the galling yoke of slavery; we have tasted the sweets of liberty. If the
last dire extremity shall come, we may many of us die—but we will die freemen rather than live slaves. We have fought for our liberty once; we can do so again.

Resolved, That we have a deep, a full and serious sense of the important issues how before the country: we regard the great struggle now going on as one of vital importance to us; that we rely on the justice and the wisdom of the Congress of the United States, and as that body has been made the subject of threats if it should do its duty to our people; and as threats have been made by the of a faithless and recreant President—therefore.

Resolved. That we pledge our lives, fortunes and sacred honors, that should that terrible hour again come when the enemies to us and to our Government shall take up arms to enslave the one and to destroy the other, we will respond to the call of a loyal Congress, to the last man, woman and child able to carry a gun, to do or to die for liberty and for country.

Resolved. That Peter Hood, William Roe, George Cary and Jeremiah Taylor be appointed delegates to the State Convention, to be held at Lexington, on the 26th of November 1867.

Resolved. That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Kentucky Statesman, Frankfort Commonwealth, Cincinnati Gazette and Commercial, Washington Chronicle and Philadelphia Press.

ALFRED MORGAN, Chairman.

GEORGE CARY, Secretary.

SLAVE ACCOUNT OF BEING SLAVE OF HENRY CLAY (1846) The Liberator, April 10, 1846, p 2

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, A. M. the house was called to order by Mr. L. Foster, who acted as chairman of the meeting, and J. Binga 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 33 years? 9 of which 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 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 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 count 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 valley. 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 be but death, and I might as well die with the colic as the fever. With these considerations, I started for Canada.
SLAVE'S ACCOUNT OF BEING SLAVE OF HENRY CLAY (1846)

The Liberator, April 10, 1846, p 2

Such usage as this caused me to flee from under the American eagle, and take shelter under the British crown. (Cheers.) Thanks be to Heaven that I have got here at last: on yonder side of Detroit river, I was recognised 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.

A song by H. Bibb—The Fugitive's Triumph.

A reply by H. Bibb: Dear friend, in behalf of the citizens of Canada, we hail you with joy—we hail you as a brother—we bid you welcome to all the privileges and immunities of a citizen of Canada, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. You are no longer a slave—no longer three-fifths of a man—the very moment you set your foot on British soil, the fetters fall from your limbs. You are now in a new country, among strangers, and far from your friends, and we can sympathize with you. We know how you love what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife and children—and heart-rending as it is, we must give them up, but we will ever pray. And now in conclusion, my advice is, go to work for yourself—the land is rich and fertile, and let us prove to Henry Clay and to the world, that we can take care of ourselves, and let honesty and integrity be our motto now and forever.

Moved by M. Needham, that the proceedings of the meeting be published in the Signal of Liberty, and all other papers friendly to the oppressed. Adopted.

J. BINGA, Secretary.

ACCT OF TRIAL, HANGING OF HARVY PASH, OF BARDSTOWN, A MULATTO (1886)

The New York Freeman, Dec 18, 1886, p 1

Louisville, Dec. 10.—Harvy Pash paid the penalty of death on the scaffold in the jail-yard at Bardstown, Ky., at 3:30 Friday, Dec. 10, for shooting and instantly killing Felix Adams on the morning of June 5, 1885. Pash and Adams were farm hands in the employ of Ben. Gregoby, near the town. There seemed to be an old feud existing between the two for years. They both feared each other and murder was expected by their friends at any time. At last Pash got the drop on Adams at the barn. Only the two were present, therefore circumstantial evidence convicted Pash. Pash said on the witness stand that he was compelled to shoot Adams in self defense. The jury being all white men, paid no attention to the defendant's testimony. From all appearances they were eager to hang him. A petition was gotten up with hundreds of signers, asking a commutation to life imprisonment. Gov. Knott being a hater of colored people, refused it. Pash was an intelligent mulatto about 25 years old. He came of a good family and they were highly respected. The hanging of Pash is the first execution that has occurred at Bardstown since 1858, at which time three colored men were hanged. After they were hanged it was reported that they were innocent of murdering their master, James G. Maxwell, that he had been murdered by unknown white men.
MAYORALTY RACE KEY TO WHETHER BLACKS GET ON POLICE FORCE, FIRE DEPT (1886)

The New York Freeman, Dec 18, 1886, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

COLORED EXPOSITION IN LOUISVILLE, DEC 1886-JAN 1887

The New York Freeman, Jan 1, 1887, p 1

"The colored exposition opened Dec. 22 at 15th Street M, E. Zion Church. It contains a large number of elegant displays, and many more interesting features will be introduced during the six weeks session."
A tournament of forty singers took place at Liederkranz Hall Wednesday and Thursday, Dec. 22 and 23, under the auspicious leadership of Prof. Wm. J. Simmons and Prof. Wm. L. Gibson. The event was the first of the kind ever witnessed by a Louisville audience. The title was "A Cantata of Eight Nations," who were on the stage at one time. The stage was handsomely decorated with flags of all the republics and different kingdoms. The mounting was rich and rare, and the costumes peculiar and very fine. Forty songs were sung, the wording of each pertaining to the nation represented. The following were the singers: Messrs. G. E. Adams, P. T. Frazier, D. H. Foston, L. W. Cross, C. T. Sneed, H. W. Conrad, W. H. Nisim, S. W. Jordan, G. W. Talbott, V. P. Marrifield, R. Hamilton, Misses L. C. Osborne, I. E. Wood, A. G. Gilbert, Lillian B. Ash, L. E. Clayborne, Mary E. Higgins, Estella Thornton, Maria Burnett, Eva Frazier, Lottie B. Lee, Eliza Heath, Katie Scott, Lavinia B. Elliott, Ella Ratcliff, Susie Powell, Luella Gibbs, Annie Roberts, L. F. Jordan, Mary Henri, B. E. Taylor, Nellie Jones. They were assisted by Mrs. S. O. Hutchinson and S. W. Jordan, formerly of the Pike Jubilee Singers. After the performance 9,000 household articles were given to the audience.

The New York Freeman, Jan 1, 1887, p 1 (c w hines, corres)
COLOR LINE BEING DRAWN IN THEATERS, RAILROADS (1887)

The New York Freeman, Jan 15, 1887, p 1 (C W Hines, Corres)

Regular Correspondence of The Freeman.

Louisville, Jan. 10.—Talking about the color-line being drawn in theatres, politics has nothing to do with it. The majority of theatre lessees are said to be Republicans. I know it to be the truth, as far as Mr. Mc Cauley and Pat Harris are concerned and they control the two best theatres in Louisville. I will leave the theatres to tell you that the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad has joined the Louisville and Nashville system in the color-line business, and if possible colored travellers should shun these two roads. There are other roads by which they can reach the South, namely those running through Illinois and Virginia. I guess they have too much self-respect and common sense (financially, if for no other reason) than to draw the color-line. So patronize them and boycott the C. and O. and L. and N. R. R. and theatres which are no good to the race any how.

N Y FREEMAN CORRES URGES LOU & KY BLACKS TO BOLT REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR THE LABOR PARTY (1887)

The New York Freeman, Jan 15, 1887, p 1 (C W Hines, Corres)

The Kentucky white Republican State Central Committee met in the Louisville Hotel Wednesday, Jan. 5, at 8:30 p. m., with T. Z. Morrow in the chair and R. G. Dunlap secretary. My reason for calling this meeting the "white" Republican is because the white Republicans of Kentucky have always maneuvered to cheat the colored brother out of representation and keep him off this committee. We have stood out long enough and we have been laughed at by the Democrats, the Greenback and Independent parties, and now is our chance to stop this chuckling by bolting the Republicans and trotting with the Labor party hereafter. Now, after showing the disposition that has existed toward 80,000 colored voters, I will name the men who have been the authors of this proscription. Their record in the past is proof against them. Here are the names...
MARY L MEAD'S NIGHT SCHOOL AT HER HOME (1887) LOUISVILLE
The New York Freeman, Jan 15, 1887, p 1 (c w hines corres)

SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF MRS. MARY L. MEAD'S FEMALE CLASS WHO ATTENDED THE EASTERN NIGHT SCHOOL, HAVE REQUESTED THE FREEMAN TO SAY THROUGH ITS LOUISVILLE COLUMN THAT THEY DESIRE THE CONTINUANCE OF THE SCHOOL AT HER RESIDENCE, 780 SECOND STREET. SHE HAS ACCOED TO THEIR REQUEST AND CONSENTED TO DO SO FROM JAN. 8 TO JUNE.

DISCUSSION IN LOUISVILLE GROCERY STORE ON UNEQUAL JUSTICE FOR BLACKS (1887)
The New York Freeman, Jan 22, 1887, p 1 (c w hines, cores)

NOW SUPPOSE WE HAD THE PROSECUTION DUE US, THE LAST ONE OF US WOULD BE HANGED OR IN THE PENITENTIARY, INSTEAD OF BEING IN THIS GROCERY DISCUSSING WHO OUGHT TO BE HUNG. SOUTHERN HISTORY WONT BEAR ME NOR YOU OUT AND THEREFORE WE LIVE IN GLASS HOUSES AND CAN'T AFFORD TO THROW STONES AT THE ANARCHISTS. AS TO OUR COURTS I HAVE BEEN A CLOSER OBSERVER OF ALL IN LOUISVILLE I SEE LOT OF DISCRIMINATION PRACTICED. FOR INSTANCE LET A NEGRO KILL A WHITE MAN, EVEN IF HE DOES IT IN SELF-DEFENSE, THESE COURTS WILL SEE TO IT, THAT THE JURY IS COMPOSED OF ALL WHITE MEN WHO ARE TO TRY THE CASE; BUT IF A NEGRO KILLS ANOTHER ONE OF HIS RACE, THESE COURTS WILL ALSO SEE THAT SOME ONE OR TWO NEGROES ARE IMPELLED TO SERVE ON THE JURY. "IS THAT JUSTICE? I HAVE BEEN A FREQUENT VISITOR AND ALSO A JURYMAN IN EVERY COURT IN THIS CITY. THERE ARE BUT TWO COURTS HERE THAT EVER HAVE NEGROES TO SERVE UPON THE JURY PANEL. THEY ARE THE UNITED STATES AND THE CIRCUIT COURTS OF LOUISVILLE. THERE ARE FIVE OTHERS.
DISCUSSION IN LOUISVILLE GROCERY STORE OF UNEQUAL JUSTICE FOR BLACKS (1887)

The New York Freeman, Jan 22, 1887, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

courts here. The conduct of courts in the Southland and the organisations heretofore known as the rifle Club, Ku-Klux, Road Liers, Knights of the Golden Circle, and the present Judge Lynch, were organized to persecute the poor whites and Negroes. How can we expect life, liberty and property to be protected, if we license murder in the South and expect to punish it in the North; and if they hang the Anarchists, they ought to hang thousands of white men in the South that are at large, and some of them are members of Congress and others sitting as justices of courts.

THE FALLS CITY BASEBALL CLUB; C W HINES MANAGER; NEGRO LEAGUE FORMED (1887)

The New York Freeman, Jan 22, 1887, p 1 (c w hines corres)

The colored baseball players of the United States have entered into the baseball arena this year with eight clubs in the field already. Baseball is a scientific game and there is plenty of money in it. Here is what the Louisville Commercial says about it:

"The interest in base ball, felt by every class of citizens, has not decreased among the colored race. The glory achieved by the Globes, a colored club that played in the East a few years ago, and never lost but one game, and the Actives, who were the colored champions, at that time, still inspires the Louisvillians. The result has been the formation of a national colored league, and one of the strongest issues in the representation of Louisville under the name of the "Falls City," and composed of the following members: Jason Tiley, Fred Mayfield, H. Gillespie, W. Jesse, J. Thomas, Napoleon Black, Frank Gaylor, John Hickman, Wm. Thomas. The other clubs are the Browns of Cincinnati; Capital City of Washington; Keystone of Pittsburgh; Lord Baltimores of Baltimore; Pythians of Philadelphia; Resolutes of Boston, and Gothams of New York. The Falls City Club has excellent grounds at Sixteenth and Magnolia streets, which are being improved rapidly. The prospects are that the Louisville club, under the management of C. W. Hines, will make money during the coming season. The colored clubs will for their opening date after the white league clubs have had their schedule meetings."
MASS MEETING OF BLACKS IN PARIS; FORM INDEPENDENT PARTY; DEMAND RIGHTS (1887)

The New York Freeman, Feb 5, 1887, p 1 (c w hines corres)

"I learn that Mr. G. W. Gentry of Lincoln County and Mr. E. W. Glass of Christian County have announced that they will contest for Legislative honors in their respective districts. The Freeman man advises these two gentlemen to commence an early canvass, so as to form a strong organization. We have enough colored votes in either county to elect Messrs. Gentry and Glass next August."
Inside the Party:
The colored people of the county of Garrard, Ky., appear to be dissatisfied with the measure of fair play they have received at the hands of the Republican party, and have decided to make an issue of the matter. The Louisville Republican becomes wrathly at this evidence of impudence, and declares as follows:

"If this issue is to be made, there can be no good reason why it should not be made now. If Republican candidates are to be chosen under duress, and because of their color or nationality without reference to their qualifications for the discharge of the duties of the places to be filled, the sooner the great mass of the party understand it the better."

After a sickly rehash, with much of exaggeration, of what the Republican party has done for the colored people, with not a whisper of what the colored people have done for the Republican party, the Republican continues:

..."it is the fate of all times a few harraste politicians, guided perhaps and imbecile want to go into the Democratic party, because they cannot dominate the Republican party, let them go. Thekbdance will be a happy and profitable movement for the Republican party."

The Republican party and its responsible leaders seem stoned blind to the fact that the colored men of this generation are in every thing which constitutes manhood essentially different from their fathers. They are in no mood to be dictated to and bossed around by the white members of their party and to be satisfied with doing the voting for the party. It does not matter what the party has done in the past, the vital question is, what is it doing in the present and what is it going to do in the future.

DILEMMA OF KY BLACKS: BETWEEN REPUB & DEMO PARTIES (1887)
The New York Freeman, Feb 12, 1887, p 2 (c w hines, corres)

The colored men of to-day who remain in the Republican party are determined to be heard in the councils of the party and to have their proper share of the spoils of victory. If these are denied them they will go, and if the Republican party can stand the "going" the colored men can. It is not necessary to go into the Democratic party.

There are plenty other channels through which defrauded and outraged citizens can register their protest. It is an outrage to suppose that a million voters will be content in the future to be the blind voters of any party, shut out from its councils and denied other participation in the fruits of victory than to pick up the crumbs that fall from the banquet table. Those who build upon this frail foundation will get gloriously left when the issues are drawn.

The vaunt of Senator Ingalls that "the Republicans don't like a Democratic Negro and the Democrats don't like any Negro at all" has no terrors that we dread. With intelligence and courage at our back and the ballot in our hand, and the honest patriotism of the whole country to sustain us, it is our duty to force at the ballot box from the Democratic and the Republican party the measure of justice and fair play which is ours under Federal and State Constitutions.

We warn Republican leaders and newspapers that we are in no temper to be bullied; that we are not caring a picayune what the party has done, but are watching closely what is being done now and will be done in the future; and that the measure of support we give in the future will be beguaged by the measure of justice and fair play accorded us, and not on account of the cancelled benefits of the past.
FALLS CITY BASEBALL CLUB OWNS PARK (1887) LOU

The New York Freeman, Feb 19, 1887, p 1 (cw hines, corres)

Louiville, Ky., Feb. 13.—The falls City Base Ball Club of Louisville is the only colored league club in the United States that owns its grounds. It has a handsome park at 16th street and Magnolia avenue, with two lines of street cars running to the gate, and the Kentucky and Indiana Bridge Company will be running their trains to the ground before the opening of the baseball season of '87. The Falls Citys will also put several hundred tickets on the market at $1 a piece, admitting the purchaser to six championship games. They will be stubborn opponents to the club that wins the pennant. The management authorized The Freeman to say that they have a few open dates, and are ready to arrange games with any club that desires to cross bats with them before April 19. Address all commun
ications to C. W. Hines, Sr., 1729 Clay Street.

MOVE IN LOUISVILLE TO BOYCOTT WHITE NEWSPAPERS THAT DENEGRATE BLACKS (1887)

The New York Freeman, March 5, 1887, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

Kentucky Correspondence of The Freeman.

Louisville, Ky., Feb. 26.—Your correspondent has been informed that there is a project on foot in this city as well as other Southern cities, for boycotting all white papers that designate us from all other nationalities as 'coons,' as 'brutes' and other scurrilous names that their editors and reporters use when they are writing about the race. The Freeman suggested such a movement long ago, as the sure way to defeat all these great foes that the race has had to contend with during its history, viz: some of the white journals that are edited by a lot of inhuman cowardly scoundrels, who use their pens and columns to urge the mob and the Ku-Klux, and lie to bias the courts against the poor and the weak. Bravo, I say, go ahead with your organization. It is one of the best moves that were ever made, and the only useful method to get rid of these enemies is to starve them to death. The same rational remedy must be applied everywhere and against everything that makes any distinction on the account of race or color.
FUNERAL OF REV ANDREW HEATH OF 5TH ST BAPT CH LOU (1887)

The New York Freeman, March 5, 1887, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

One of the largest funerals that ever occurred in Louisville was that of the Rev. Andrew Heath, who died after a long illness. He was the pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist Church for fourteen years. The deceased was born in Henderson county, Ky., 1832 and died Feb. 19, 1887. I learn that Mr. Heath had been a soldier of Christ for forty years. As early as 10 o'clock Tuesday morning the church was crowded. The doors had to be closed by the ushers to keep the crowd back. The exercises were conducted by Rev. J. H. Frank, assistant pastor of the church. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Simmons, and the following ministers assisted in the services: Revs. S. F. Young, C. H. Parish, Maxwell, Scott, Harper, Godby, Washington, Evans, Talbert and Alexander. The Colored Ministerial Association, composed of about one hundred ministers of all denominations, attended in a body. The following of the white Baptist churches were present and lent to the service: Revs. Dr. Eaton, Boyce Broaddus, Caperton and Revs. Tupper and Thompson. Mt. Moriah Lodge, No. 1, F. A.

Y. M., of which he was a member, escorted the remains to the church and conducted the very impressive ceremonies of the Masonic fraternity. The pall bearers were from the Deacon's Board. Rev. G. B. Jones and Shelton Guest; from the laity of the church, Isaac Morton; Ministerial Association, Rev. A. Stratton; Executive Board of church, E. P. Mars; from Mt. Moriah Lodge, Willis Adams, Wm. P. Norton and W. P. Churchill. As they entered bearing the heavily draped casket between them, the organ so by played "Nearer my God to Thee" and all bowed in respect to the good man they loved. The grief of the congregation was very touching and tears flowed untrained from all eyes. The handsome church was draped with mourning and around the casket was placed the floral offerings which were profuse and elegant. From the church the remains were taken to the Eastern Cemetery, where they were placed in a vault with the usual ceremonics of the Masons.

3 BLACK DELEGATES TO PROHIBITIONST CONVENTION; LILY WHITE TICKET (1887)

The New York Freeman, March 12, 1887, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

3 Negro delegates were opposed to putting a colored man on the Prohibition ticket. The house got into confusion, white delegates made all kinds of hypocritical and slick arguments and they ran around the house and voted until they got the ladies on their side in opposition to Mr. Graves’s nomination. Then the vote was taken. A few of the opponents got ashamed of themselves, I presume, and voted for Mr. Graves, but they understood that he could not be nominated, so Stevenson was made their choice by large odds. Rev. M. F. Robinson nominated R. E. Neal, a white man of Louisville, against Mr. Graves, but withdrew Neal’s name and voted for Stevenson in preference to the colored candidate, when he saw Mr. Gray object to it on account of his color. Mr. Barry did likewise, and after he had been whispered to by several white delegates, in his speech indorsed the very strongest white man that was opposed to Mr. Graves’ nomination. The following white ticket was chosen: For Governor, Judge Fountain T. Fox, Jr.; Lt.-Gov., W. I. Gordon; Treasurer, R. K. Dyson; Auditor, Dr. A. T. Henderson; Register of Radical Calendars, C. W. Booth; Superintendent of Public Instruction, H. W. Stevenson.
5TH ST CHURCH MEMBERS OBJECT TO SELLING COPIES OF N Y FREEMAN CONTAINING COPIES OF REV HEATH' OBITUARY AT CHURCH DOOR (1887)

The New York Freeman, March 19, 1887, p 1 (c w hines, corres)

An Ungrateful Congregation. Zeal and Loyalty in a School.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Mar. 14.—Reader, the Louisville letter in The Freeman of March 5, if you remember, contained a lengthy tribute concerning the death and funeral of the late and lamented Rev. Andrew Heath, who was pastor of Fifth Street Baptist Church for fourteen years. The Freeman correspondent thought the members of that congregation would appreciate any good word or words that were written or spoken about the said great and good man. So I took a few copies to the above named church Wednesday night, March 9. I saw the pastor in charge, Rev. John Frank, and consulted him in what way I could let the congregation know that The Freeman contained the said article. He suggested that I write a notice, stating what was desired and asking the privilege of selling a few papers outside of the door after the business meeting had adjourned. I did so and he read the notice to the congregation. I learned that before Mr. Frank got through, he was interrupted by several boisterous members and one of them offered a resolution that no other colored paper but the American Baptist could be sold in or at the door of their church, which was unanimously adopted. Your correspondent did not know this until the crowd rushed upon him, both men and women, some using all kinds of threats and bad language. One woman said "there's nothing worse reading in any of the Negro papers anyhow," and the man with her sanctioned what she said.

REMEDIAL CLASS FOR EX-3RD GRADE STUDENTS AT EASTERN SCH OF W.H. PERRY (1887)

The New York Freeman, March 19, 1887, p 1(c w hines, corres)

The third grade in Prof. Wm. H. Perry's Eastern Colored School, of which Mrs. Alice Miller Dunlap is teacher, numbered eighty pupils the present session. Both teacher and pupils labored under a disadvantage, it being impossible to give especial attention to those of less ability. Things went on this way until the latter part of November, when as a result of the overcrowding, the weaker pupils naturally lost their class standing, in consequence of which they were degraded. Some time afterward when the room was visited by our new committee of which Mr. G. H. Cochran is chairman, the circumstance was mentioned. Mrs. Dunlap showed true loyalty to her profession by expressing her willingness to form a class of the ex-third grade pupils and try to bring them up, if they would only give her a room; notwithstanding these pupils had lost their class standing and spent near two months out of the grade. Mr. Cochran was highly pleased as he stated it, to "see her exhibit the real spirit of a teacher." The committee have rented and furnished a neat brick cottage near the school in which Mrs. Dunlap is working zealously with her pupils, having given up a brilliant class in the large building. Miss Fry now has charge of the third grade in the large building, having been promoted from the Lafayette Street School.
C. W. Hines went to Baltimore via Washington to a meeting of owners of black baseball clubs. While in Washington he went out to Howard University. "Meeting Mr. T. J. Minton and his son, I said I was looking for a young man that I had been told would be among the brightest scholars and orators that Howard had ever produced. Young Mr. Minton paused a moment and then said, 'I guess you must be looking for Mr. Chas. S. Morris of Louisville, Ky.' He led me to Mr. Morris's room and 'Sa'chel,' as he signs himself in his newsy letters to the Indianapolis World and Detroit Plaindealer, asked me to breakfast with him." They then saw the sights in the area.

The Garrison Camp of the United Brothers of Friendship entertained the Palestine Commandary and Patriarchs at Wedekind Hall Monday night, March 21. The hall was filled with spectators to witness the drill. All the contestants did well, but Palestine as usual took the house by storm, when they made their appearance. One could have heard a pin drop when these gallant knights were going through fourteen evolutions without command. After the drill of these three superior performers, Prof. Lilly's string band opened and dancing was kept up until a late hour. The season of amusements will now continue for the balance of the Spring, Summer and Fall.
MEETING OF THE LITERARY AND MUSICAL SOCIETY IN LOU (1887)

The New York Freeman, Apr 2, 1887, p 4 (c w hines, corres)

The Literary and Musical Aid Society met at Quinn Chapel Monday evening at 8:30 P.M., with Wm. H. Gibson in the chair. The audience was composed of most all the literary people of this city. The program was an excellent one as follows: Music; prayer; address by vice-President. "Plan for Action," music; address by Pres. William H. Gibson; "Resolved, that it is both just and proper for women to vote." Four speeches were made, two affirmative and two negative. The resolution is still pending. Wm. H. Gibson was elected delegate to the Nashville Literary Convention of the A. M. E. Church, which is in session at this writing. I am told it will be a representative gathering of the literary people of the Southwest.

EXHIBITION GAMES OF FALLS CITY CLUB (1887)

The New York Freeman, April 2, 1887, p 4 (c w hines, corres)

The Falls City baseball club is showing splendidly. They played a practice game with a picked nine Saturday, March 30. The score stood 10 to 3 in favor of the Falls City. Gilliespie's work in the box and Thompson's at the back-stop were the features of the game, but all the men filled their places well on both sides. The people who saw the game say that they expect that there will be great ball playing done by the Falls City this season. The next game will be with another picked nine with the reliable Combs and Woods as the battery. A new
"We are happy to be able to announce that the Union League of our city has opened at the Hall on Market street, between Fourth and Fifth, a Reading Room, where many of the very best papers in the country are to be found. We observe the following on the list: New York Evening Post, Tribune and Times, Harper's Weekly and the Independent; Philadelphia Press and North American; Baltimore American and the Washington Chronicle; Boston Advertiser, Buffalo Express, Chicago Tribune and Journal, Missouri Democrat, Cincinnati Gazette and Commercial, Indianapolis Journal, Louisville Press and Brownlow's Whig and Rebel Exterminator."

"The room is open every evening from 6 to 10½ o'clock."

"COLORED SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETY OF THE FIFTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH."

"John M. Lanagatan, Esq., a colored gentleman from Oberlin, Ohio, delivered and address before the above named society last evening on 'The Duty of Colored People to the Government of the United States.' . . . His object was to show the duty of colored people in the present emergency . . . it is their duty . . . to sustain the government in every possible way, and especially by enlisting in the army. He referred to the decision of Attorney General Bates, that the negro was a citizen of the United States, and as such owes allegiance to the Government."

"Abraham Lincoln was the black man's leader, his Moses, and they were bound to follow him. "Being true to the Government the negro was true to himself and his race."

"After the address, which was listened to with the closest attention, the audience, composed almost entirely of colored people, were called upon to contribute to the funds of the society."

"This society is doing a really good work in contributing to the relief of colored soldiers and their families."
"The first organization of this kind among the colored people in this city, known as the 'Louisville Colored Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society,' has been in operation for a long time and has been doing a noble work. It has been instrumental in season and out of season in ministering to the wants of colored soldiers and their families."

"It has already been announced in our paper that a number of benevolent ladies contemplatéd getting up a Fair in the Masonic Temple for the benefit of destitute refugees in our midst. The object commends itself to every charitable person in the community. The ladymanagers of the Fair are now soliciting contributions, and we are glad to learn that our citizens are responding liberally. The managers have desire to acknowledge the following contributions: A lady's elegant cloak from Messrs. S. Barker & Co., of the New York Store; a beautiful bonnet box from Mr. H. McCleary, Main street; a pair of splendid Venetian blinds from Messrs. Flood & Thummel, Third street; a very handsome Balmoral skirt from Mr. Trabue, Main street; fifty bushels of coal from Mr. Miller, coal dealer."

"Arlington's Minstrels, with most commendable liberality, have tendered the lady managers a benefit to enable them to supply their tables. The generosity of this troupe deserves to be remembered by our citizens."
The Soldier's Aid Society of the Green street (colored) Baptist Church.

"This Church and Society are doing a good work in administering to the sick and wounded colored soldiers in the barracks and hospitals of this city. Nor is their charity bounded by the limits of the city. On Thanksgiving Day they provided a sumptuous meal dinner for colored soldiers in New Albany. On the same day they raised a thanksgiving contribution of over thirty dollars, which they handed over to the U. S. Christian Commission. And they are now spending that money a week in buying delicacies for the sick colored soldiers in the barracks and elsewhere in the city. Moreover, they mean to continue the good work, and aid the glorious cause of the nation and humanity by every means in their power."

BENEFIT CONCERT OF LOU COL LADIES' PHILHARMONIC SOC AT QUINN CHAPEL (Jan 1865) FOR SOLDIERS' RELIEF

The Concert of the 'Louisville Colored Ladies' Philharmonic Society,' at Quinn's Chapel, for the benefit of the Colored Ladies' Soldiers Aid 'ociety, took place last night, and was very well attended. The entertainment, which composed of vocal and instrumental music, was highly appreciated by the audience, and would have been no discredit to any of our best amateur musical societies."
Louisville Daily Union Press, Jan 28, 1865

There was a Refugee home on Broadway in Louisville opposite the Military Prison.

Louisville Daily Union Press, Feb 7, 1865

"Captain Klink addressed the colored people of this city by invitation, in the Center Street Methodist Church, Monday night. The house was crowded to repletion. His subject was the war as bearing on the condition of the colored race in this country."

"At the conclusion of the address, the audience was called upon to contribute to the Ladies' Colored Soldiers' Aid Society, and to the support of a school for colored children now in progress in the same building, and the sum of $119 was collected."

Center St. Methodist
"Mr. Robert Hamilton, of New York, editor of the Anglo-African, will address the colored people of this city in Ashbury Chapel, on Ninth street, Sunday evening. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Colored Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society. The public are invited to attend. Mr. Hamilton is a forcible and able writer, as the columns of the Anglo-African attest, and will no doubt make an interesting address."

Head'qtrs Dept. of KY, L'v, Mar. 4, 1865/ General Orders #7.
"The Post Commandant of Louisville will at once suppress all slave pens and other private establishments for the confinement of persons in the city, and will discharge persons confined."
"He will report the execution of this order."
"By command of Major General Palmer."
"The general order of the camp is good. The general health is good. In the 'Refugee Home,' among hundreds of women and children, under present circumstances, we must expect sickness and death."

"I do not propose to defend the ward system. Wards do well for men who enjoy plenty of open-door exercise. They can leap into a bunk, sleep for a night, then out and on the tramp again."

"But to gather one hundred and fifty children together into one ward is not well. The spread of infection, the effect of continued noise upon the nervous system, the depression of mind incident to the continuous spectacle of disease and death—all are unfriendly to health and happiness. Health and happiness will be in proportion to our approach to the family relation. The present wards can not be subdivided and found very useful."

"Neat, substantial cottages are now being erected in which small companies of eight or ten persons can be comfortably situated. Of the one natural family will be found comprising this number."

"But we especially notice that the past and much of the present mortality is not to be ascribed to the ward system. About the beginning of winter, in an extreme cold snap, some three or four hundred of these women and children were thrown out of camp, without food, with nothing to shelter their bodies but what little was then on them... Many thus contracted disease from which they never recovered..."

"Again, many of these women and children have come from the homes of cruel masters, with but little to cover their bodies and shelter them from the cold and rain. Traveling, as they did by night, and wandering in fields and woods..."

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**PALMER'S SPEECH TO BLACKS OF LOUISVILLE (Mar 1865)**

Louisville Daily Union Press, March 22, 1865

Palmer's Speech to the Colored People of Louisville.

"On the 3d day of March, 1865, Congress declared that the wives and children of colored soldiers should be free and they are now free, (prolonged cheering)

"I came here to do that thing— I came to say that the American nation of more than 30,000,000 of people now recognize the manhood of the colored soldier, inviting him to take upon himself the responsibility of that position and of all that grows out of his position in the ranks. In other times and under other circumstances, the freedom of three or four millions of people, would be regarded as no trifling event in history."

"We however observe this as the simple logic of events and you are called upon to adapt yourselves to this new order of things... Every man who has put himself upon himself the blue is a free man..."

"On the 3d day of March when the shackles were stricken from the arms of hour wives and your children, the obligation of providing for them, of educating them, of rearing them up for usefulness, was taken away from the master and thrown upon you...

"Any colored man just now fresh from slavery, just restored to freedom, just placed in possession of his wife and children that will trifle his money away for gewgaws of excesses and dissipation and leave destitute a wife and children given to him by a beneficent Government, ought to have the blue yehn-gren-hid-aav-torn from his back, (applause)...

"It is enough that you teach your children industry and prudence and thrift, and you can afford to wait and let these things solve themselves. (slavery)

"Remember that the family relation is the foundation of all virtue."
MOVEMENT OF BLACK TROOPS: SHELBYVILLE, NEW HAVEN, BARDSTOWN, GLASGOW, GREENSBURG, ETC (Apr 1865)

Louisville Daily Union Press, apr 5, 1865

"Unusual activity has prevailed among the colored troops during the last few days, and we hear of bodies moving in several parts of the State."

"A force appeared on Saturday at Shelbyville, and another on Sunday at Christiansburg, while a strong column is reported to be near Bloomfield. Eights-four recruits are said to have been obtained in Shelby county. Bodies of colored cavalry are at New Haven and Bardstown, and a force of infantry at Glasgow."

"Another force left Greensburg, moving Southward. The sixth colored cavalry, nearly one thousand strong were at Paris on Thursday and encamped outside the town. The 119th U. S. Col'd Infantry passed through Nicholasville last week, and we understand the Fifth Colored cavalry at Camp Nelson is being mounted."

"Recollecting is very lively and the unfinished regiments are rapidly filling up. The 125th Colored Infantry, Col. Armstrong, obtained two hundred recruits during the last few days."

RECRUITING, CONDITIONS AT CAMP NELSON (Apr 1865)

Louisville Daily Union Press, apr 9, 1865

"Brigadier General Speed D. Fry, who was early in charge of this post, and who had commanded most of the time, has had this responsibility for improving Camp Nelson."

"Contemporaneous with the law providing for the enlistment of colored troops, and prior to instructions reaching posts on the 28th of May, 1864, many colored troops - men came into camp Nelson for enlistment. General Fry was then commanding at another point, and Colonel Clark, then commanding here, having doubts as to his authority, did not receive them. The soldiers's home under its authority to feed refugees drew rations and fed them. They crowded the camp by their continual coming, and were under proper orders, received and mustered into service until up to this time not less than 10,000 colored troops have been received, trained, and sent out in the Federal army."

"It has been erroneously charged on Fry that he referred these troops and thus opposed the Government; but nothing is more false, as the General was not then in command. . . It was thought that the cause of this attack upon the General was, that he carried out the orders of Adjutant General Thomas to rid the camp of colored refugees; who it was clearly known were exerting a demoralizing effect upon the soldierly. . . Camp Nelson has served its purpose well as a military post, and should the war speedily close, and its military value cease, it may yet remain as the Canaan of the fleeing slave, and a house of refuge to the down trodden poor."
Camp Nelson Ky. "It was organized in 1862, at the instance of General Burnside . . . to serve as a transporting point thence to East Tennessee. . . ."

"The camp . . . is furnished with extensive storerooms for quartermaster's and commissary's supplies; with wagon yards covering acres of room with immense stables for a thousand horses; with corrals for the safe keeping of government hay stock on a large scale; with vast granaries, hay sheds, wood sheds, &c. . . . Numerous smith shops are constantly making or repairing the means of transportation such as wagons, ambulances, transfers, tools, &c. A saw mill and carpenters factory driven by steam, make and dress lumber, shingles, lath and every thing in that line necessary for building purposes, all of which is more than remunerating for the outlay. Besides the residences of officers and employees, there is a large general hospital with capacities to accommodate 2,000 patients. The United States Sanitary Commission have erected, and by their agent, Mr. Butler, are successfully supplying this post with a model Soldiers' Home. . . . There are also many cottages for the refugee camp, where homeless and helpless families are temporarily housed till they can do better. A large and rapidly increasing colored refugee camp is also established to accommodate which quite a village of houses, workshops and gardens are provided, and industrial pursuits are inaugurated. Either are gathering the wives, children and other dependencies of the several thousands of colored troops who enlisted at the post. And in addition to all this should be mentioned the ample water works on the river, throwing an eight inch column of water four hundred and eighty feet high into the reservoir, whence it is distributed to all necessary parts of the camp by iron pipes."

HOSTILITY BETWEEN WHITE, BLACK TROOPS AT CAMP NELSON (apr 1865)

"It is very lamentable to see the extent of hostility which exists in the white soldier towards his colored comrade in arms, considering that the national legislature and the President, by proclamation, have given the colored soldier his present status in the army of the country. All acts of violence committed upon him in consequence of such official recognition, are utterly rebellious and should be punished with severity."

"Ignorant and malicious white soldiers have perpetrated such crimes against the colored soldiers for a long time, almost with impunity—now, for the sake of humanity and justice, all persons committing such offenses, ought to be punished severely. For my part, I cannot see what inducement can be sufficiently attractive to the colored man in the army; seeing that for the past nine months his status as a soldier has superinduced violence against him, both from white soldiers, as well as from his natural enemies in civil life. "While on a visit to Louisville recently I was shocked by the statement of an officer in a colored regiment, that 'rarely a day passed, unless violence, mortal or otherwise was done to one or more of his men.' It is the case here and possibly elsewhere."

Signed "B"
"At the request of Major General Palmer, commanding in this Department, the undersigned have been at the pains to inquire into the number, condition and wants of the colored people with regard to common school education...

"There are at present six schools in operation in this city, conducted by four male and five female teachers:"

"1. Fifth street, Baptist, Rev. Henry Adams, Miss Boxboro, and Mr. Adam's daughter, Teachers. It has been in existence above 20 years and numbers 112 Scholars."

"2. Center street, Methodist, Miss Laura Wilson, Miss Alice Woodson, managed by Trustees and numbers 114."

"3. Ninth street, Methodist, Rev. Thomas Brooks, assisted by his wife, numbers 60."

"4. St. Mark's Episcopal, Green street, by Mr. D. D. Dennechy (white) Teacher, numbers 46."

"5. Quinn's Chapel, Walnut street, Mr. Cook, numbers 45."

"6. Jackson Street, Methodist, Mr. Henry Miller, numbers 47."

"Several of the schools are of recent origin, and great allowance is to be made for the deficiencies in the class of teachers first employed."

"It is a fact worthy of remark that all of the schools now in operation are, for the most part, pay schools, and at a rate of compensation averaging $10 a year for each pupil—three or four times as much as the average in the free schools of the country...

It recommends: a supt. of c'd schools be appointed, improved teachers, and the erection of a school house during the summer which will provide a free education.

J. S. Brisbin to Bramlette,

"Negro enlistment has bankrupted slavery in Kentucky, over 22,000 of the most valuable slaves having already gone into service, while the few thousands left are being rapidly gathered up by 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 seventy to one hundred enlist daily, freeing under the law of March 3d, 1865, an average of five women and children per man. Thus from 300 to 500 black people are daily made free through the instrumentality of the army...

Kentucky needs what black labor she has left to till her soil, and her slaves can now be of more service to the nation in the cornfields than the army; but if she will not free them at home, then the army must absorb them; and if Kentucky suffers it is her own fault."
"Gen. Palmer has received an order from the Secretary of War, stating that recruiting for colored regiments in this State be at once stopped. An order stopping all recruiting in this State was received a couple of weeks ago, but so much of it as referred to recruiting of colored regiments was revoked, and instructions given to fill up the colored regiments in process of organization to the maximum number. The last order stops recruiting for this purpose. Recruiting has been very brisk for the past three or four weeks. The 125th, Col. Armstrong's regiment, is about full."

"Report of poor, sick and pay patients admitted and prescribed for in the Louisville Marine Hospital during the month of April, 1865: Remaining March 31st, 78; admitted during April, 84. Total 162. Of these 87 were discharged, and 6 died. Remaining April 30th, 69. Number of children born, 2; dispensary patients prescribed for, 27." P. C. West, Resident Physician.
REPORT ON SICK TREATED AT LOU MARINE HOSP (May 1865)

Lou Daily Union Press, June 5, 1865

"Report of poor, sick and pay patients admitted and prescribed for in Louisville Marine Hospital during the month of May 1865. Remaining April 30th, 69; admitted during May, 89. Total 158. Of these were discharged 83; died, 5. Total 88. Remaining May 31st, 70; number of children born, 6; dispensary patients prescribed for, 30." West.

THE FALL OF COL JACQUES (Sept 1865)

Lou Daily Union Press, Sept 25, 1865

"The fall of such a man as Col. Jacques is sufficient to arouse the sorrow of every man who knows the form of worth of the gallant Jacques. He was one of the first and most influential of the Methodist denominations in Illinois. When that body established a female educational school in Jacksonville, he was placed in charge of it. He took the field in behalf of the nation and speedily raised one of the finest regiments in Illinois."

"During the war, Coloned Jacques had numerous conferences with Bishop Simpson, and both were well satisfied that if a Methodist of proper position in the North could get among the Southern Methodists much might be done toward crippling the rebellion. This mission Col. Jacques took with the approval of Bishop Simpson and of Mr. Lincoln. Returned in time to fight at Chichamuga."

"Col. Jacques was the companion of Mr. Gillmore in a visit to Richmond for an interview with Jeff. Davis, in which mission they succeeded. This visit was intended to bring about peace."

Employed Miller to abort a child held by a Georgia girl. Jacques was present at the abortion and was arrested with Miller, the abortionist. They are in jail in flagrante delicto. The female hemorrhaged to death 8 hours after the abortion.
The effort to screen Col. Jacques either from public censure of from merited punishment cannot be effected by the efforts of his kinsmen or particular friends through the medium of the press. We see one article announcing his acquittal and discharge, and we learn too that Judge Skinner... telegraphs that there was no evidence against him and he must be discharged."

"Mrs. Williams was a married woman and the mother of two children as we learn."

Jacques was not the active agent in the abortion.

"thousands of helpless women and children are supported by their former owners. These owners are doing more for the negro in this State than all the Freedmen's Bureaus."
"As matters now stand, the assumption of the bureau to interfere with contracts and wages of labor will induce thousands to employ white labor that would otherwise employ freedmen. They prefer to submit their contracts and their conduct to the courts of law, should there be any dispute. Hiring a freedman now is like hiring slaves of a master where the master is not responsible to the law for his engagements."

"Freedmen's Bureaus are now in full blast. The misfortune is, that these institutions do not assume that the negro is free or capable of real freedom. He is a slave to the Government. . . ."

"As matters now stand, the assumption of the bureau to interfere with contracts and wages of labor will induce thousands to employ white labor that would otherwise employ freedmen. They prefer to submit their contracts and their conduct to the courts of law, should there be any dispute. Hiring a freedman now is like hiring slaves of a master where the master is not responsible to the law for his engagements."

"Thousands of helpless women and children are supported by their former owners. These owners are doing more for the negro race in this State than all the Freedmen's Bureaus. . . ."
"At a late hour Monday night Capt. Kennedy, of the Freedmen's Bureau, was assaulted at the corner of Fourth and Jefferson streets, and badly beaten by some unknown person or persons. It appears that the Captain was present at a ball given at Masonic temple, and came out for the purpose, we are informed, of going home, when he was roughly accosted by some one, knocked down, and badly beaten. The cause of the assault, or who committed it, is unknown."

"WHAT IT COSTS TO SLAP A NEGRO" (Jan 1866)

Lou Daily Demo, Jan 11, 1866

"What it costs to slap a negro"

"Time—Yesterday morning. Scene—Butcher and darky in Fifth-street market house. Butcher hired darkey who got lazy and saucy. Butcher told darkey to do something—he refused. Butcher drove him off. He came back—butcher slapped him. Darkey said, 'dat'll cost you something,' and went off. Returned by and by with a musket and a negro attached to it—sized butcher, who dropped his cleaver, put some money into his pocket and 'fell into line.' Freedmen's Bureau—butcher before it—darkey told his wrongs—Bureau smiled—butcher looked me taxes—didn't do no (sic) good—$15 and costs—dismissed the case."
"Last evening at seven o'clock, as Mr. Bright was returning home from business, he was stopped by several negro soldiers. They demanded 'money or life.' Mr. Bright not liking the idea of being brought to a halt by the negroes drew his revolver and commenced firing at them. We learned that one of the negroes was severely wounded, when the others left in search of the Freedmen's Bureau to have their wrongs redressed."

"A white man was walking down fourth street yesterday afternoon with a cane in his hand, when he was met with one of Uncle Sam's 'preciousables'—blacker than the ace of spades—who deliberately took the cane away from the gentleman and walked down the street as coolly (sic) as if nothing had happened. If the man had cut one of the black rascal's ears off he would have been before the Freedmen's Bureau in less than twenty minutes, and come out of it a poor man."
PRICE OF SLAPPING A NEGRO (Jan 1866)

Lou Daily Demo, Jan 13, 1866

"The price for slapping a negro is coming down. A day or two ago the Freedmen's Bureau charged a butcher fifteen dollars and costs for slapping one. Yesterday they only charged Policeman Cave / fifth dist./ three dollars, without costs."

INCIDENT INVOLVING SHERIF'S ATTEMPT TO FREE WIFE OF FREEMAN (Jan 1866)

Lou Daily Demo, jan 14, 1866

"One of the 'knobs' was knocked off of one of the 'drawers' of the Bureau recently in the following manner: A darky on Friday appeared before the Bureau and stated 'dat his better haf was still held in bondage by a poor white man, who don't read the newspapers, and as he was free she was entitled to a liberal share of his freedom and lub. He wanted her out o' dat men's hands.'—The sheriff of the Bureau, . . . (no name), was dispatch ed with a possee of armed men to rescue the heroine and bring her to the city. They went, but disappointment met them at the gate. The owner of the 'fair but unfortunate Julia' shot the sheriff in the back and dispersed his troops in the latest and most approved style. The sheriff still lives, the woman is still held in bondage, and the Bureau still exists."
"We understand that there are a number of dirty negroes perambulating the streets, their forms partially hidden from view with old blankets, who have small pox badly—circulating it as they go begging house to house...."

"We learn that the Freedmen's Bureau was upset--drawers and all--yesterday, by the appearance before it of a bad case of small pox, being carried around by a negro."

"Yesterday morning a negro woman with the small pox was observed setting Cs in the jail ward pleading for some place where she could find shelter and be treated for the loathsome disease with which she was inflicted. This is not the only case of the kind, for within a week past our attention has been called to several cases of this disease. Would it not be well for the Freedmen's Bureau, which has the interest of the negro so at heart, to provide a place for these outcasts who have no home and who are dying for the want of attention."

"A negro woman went into the yard of Waters & Fox, on Main Street, yesterday afternoon with a child in her arms which seemed to be very sick. One of the firm told her to go to the Freedmen's Bureau, but she said she had applied there and that assistance had been refused. On examination the child was found to be dying of the small-pox, and it a few minutes afterwards in the mother's arms."

"The white man is brought before it (the F.B.) and finds his word placed against that of the negro, having no more weight or not, as much. If two complain, or one is a witness to the others complaint, the case goes against the white man. The employer is mulcted in damages. Of course he will not employ that negro again; none of his neighbors will. The black, therefore, finds himself driven from the neighborhood. In this way numbers will be driven away, and the tendency will be to rush them out of employment; even other negroes who are not guilty. By degrees all of the colored population will be deprived of labor through the direct agency of the Freedmen's Bureau."

"We regard the Freedmen's Bureau, therefore, as an agency calculated to deprive the negro of employment."
"This disease /small pox/ has been confined almost entirely to the blacks, and it has been ascertained that there are but two white persons in the city who have this disease."

"The government has established a dispensary for the benefit of refugees and freedmen, on the corner of Center and Green Streets, where medical advice and vaccination will be given free of charge. This is the best thing 'Uncle Sam' has done in this community for some time."

The advertisement: "Open every morning between 7 and 9 o'clock... Patients too ill to call at the dispensary will be visited at their homes."

The ad was taken out on Feb 2 for one month."
CASE AGAINST WHITE IN F B COURT (Feb 1866)

lou daily demo, feb 13, 1866

"J. B. Briscoe, Esq., a highly respectable citizen and justice of the peace, of this county, was cited before the Freedmen's Bureau. The Judge, Thomas Jones, agreed to refer the questions between him and the Squire to the County Court. Judge Jones was requested to copy his decision in writing which is in substance as follows:"

"In the matter of the estate of James Briscoe, by the freedwoman Amanda French, former slave of James Briscoe's estate, I hold that J. B. Briscoe, the administrator, is not bound to pay the claim and ought not to pay it."

"It is sufficient to say that the deceased woman, Molly, left the possession and control of the administrator in February, 1865, and died in April following. The claimant, Amanda, had her buried, and claims to have the expenses for the same refunded out of the former owner's estate. The deceased claimed freedom when she left home, and took with her $100 or more in money, of her own, and no claim for hire was made of her afterwards. The administrator had nothing to do with contracting the debt for burial."

CASE OF TWO BLACK GIRLS VS POLICEMEN BEFORE COURT (Feb 1866)

lou daily demo, feb 15, 1866

"Yesterday morning two negro girls were before the city court upon the charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. They gave their names as Jennie Bell and Mary Moore, and were each fined and held to bail in $400 for three months. Immediately after the decision of the court the two negroes were taken by Captain Kennedy, of the Freedmen's Bureau, to that institution to testify against officers Hertz and Higwell the officers who made the arrest. The facts of the case are these:

"On Sunday evening last officer Hertz and others were standing on one of the public corners in the lower part of the city, and two negroes, passing along, made use of the most profane and vulgar language. When spoken to by the officer they commenced their abuse of him, and he arrested one of them and sent to the jail with her. He arrived there during the excitement caused by the prisoners endeavoring to escape, and the girl was let off upon a gentleman becoming responsible for her appearance Monday morning, but instead of coming to the court she went to the Freedmen's Bureau, and there lodged complaint against the officers. On Tuesday officers Hertz and Higwell saw the two negro girls, all of whom, including the negro girls themselves, test arrested them and presented them to the police court, where their case was disposed of as stated above. After the officers were sworn before the Freedmen's Bureau, the testimony of a number of witnesses heard, including that of the negro girls, all of whom, including the negro girls themselves, testified to their disorderly conduct. During the examination of the case, the gentleman who presides over the bureau, with clinched fist, said, in a bullying and exciting manner, that he would make the policemen trumble in their boots. After considerable loud and excited discussion, the judge decided that if the negro girls
had to go to the workhouse, the officers who made the arrest should be
sent to the military prison for the same length of time that the girls
were in the workhouse.... The officers are ordered to report to the bureau
again to-day, and what will be the result of the affair we are unable
to say ...."

Since the Journal's correspondence with "en. Falmer "the Freedmen's Bureau
has been particulary and viciousl active. Citizens are arrested, for acts
done to negroes months ago, and fined. Officers in the city are alleged for
discharging their duty i. maintaining good order in the city. The whole object
of this is to oppress, crush and compel the State and people of Kentucky
into measures fatal to their interests, and humiliating to them both. We are
to be coerced into submission."

"We are told that if we submit these oppressions will be withdrawn. We
don't believe it. Alabama was told the same thing, and accepted the offer, but
the 'freedmen's Bureau is still in Alabama."
In reference to the Martz-Hipwell case—after the women were sentenced and fined. "At this point the freedmen's bureau interferes, but not to arrest Judge Harbeson (the illegal institution force'd upon the State dared not meet such an issue as that) but to arrest the police officers. It was thought that they being poor men, and merely subordinates, the bureau would punish them with impunity."

"The women had been condemned to give bond and pay a fine. When the police officers appear before Thomasson, the Colonel, Commissioner, or whatever title these bureau officials claim, he meets them with a most extra-ordinary denunciation. He tells them that if the police court condemns these to fine and imprisonment, they (the officers) shall be subjected to equal punishment, and that he will 'put his fist down on them.' Under what color or pretence of right could he (Thomasson) punish these men for penalties inflicted by another person, their superior, upon these women!"

"The most opprobrious character in the history of the English judiciary is Judge Jeffery. The offences he committed were to threaten prisoners brought before him... Mr. Thomasson occupies a similar position, or claims it."

"In regard to committing the parties in default of bail, he was of the opinion that the bureau had transcended its powers. It was established for the protection of the negro, and beyond that it had no jurisdiction. In view of this fact, he ordered that policemen Martz and Hipwell be released from the military prison."
lou daily demo, feb 18, 1866

"In accordance with the order from General Palmer, the policemen and Col. Thomasson ... appeared at his headquarters. The programme, yesterday, was commenced by Colone. Thomasson making a very lengthy speech in defense of the course he had pursued, and claiming for the bureau the exclusive jurisdiction over civilians that could be brought before it."

"After Col. Thomasson closed, Mr. J. H. Price, for the defense, argued from the testimony as taken down by Col. Thomasson, that the police had only done their duty in making the arrest of the two negro girls, who, even according to their own statements, were guilty of such conduct as would have caused the arrest of any person, and had not the officers done as they did, they would have been amenable to the laws they had sworn to enforce."

"Mr. Price related a little incident which occurred yesterday morning, which goes far to show the evils which will result from this interference with officers, in the discharge of their duties, by the Freedmen's Bureau. The following is the incident: Yesterday morning a negro went into the house of Mr. Harvey, took possession of the same, drawing a knife and threatening to kill anyone who interfered, stating at the time that Col. Thomasson, of the Freedmen's Bureau, would defend her in what she was doing. A policeman was called upon to interfere but he refused to do it on account of the course of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Palmer said that the bureau was a branch of the General Government, and established by orders from the War Department, that it had its jurisdiction, and that it was not his providence to inquire into the acts of the same... He said that it was a proper tribunal..." "he then read the order of Col. Thomasson committing the policemen to military prison for not paying the fines assessed, and refusing to give bonds. As the fines had been paid he had nothing...

INQUIRY INTO DEATH OF BLACK FROM FLOGGING (feb 1866)

lou daily demo, feb 27, 1866

"On the 30th of September, 1863, the coroner of the county held an inquest at the office of W. Watt, corner of Seventh and Jefferson streets, upon the body of Peter, the son of Jason Cunningham, whom it was alleged came to his death from a flogging received at the hands of his master. The jury first summoned by the coroner returned a verdict that the Negro came to his death from injuries received at the hands of his master. Subsequent facts were developed that showed that this was not the case, and the coroner called another jury, a post mortem examination was held on the body of the negro, by Drs. Knight and Seeley, when it was proven that the cause of the negro's death was a natural one, and that the whipping he had received was a very slight one, and upon this Mr. Cunningham was honorably discharged."

"An affidavit has been filed before the Freedmen's Bureau that the negro was beaten to death by Mr. Cunningham, and we learned that the case, ..., is now to be resurrected by the Freedmen's Bureau." Even though it was a civil case and was disposed of over three years ago.
"Yesterday, Chief of Police A. Gilmore, received a note requesting him to notify Amos Turner, of the city police, to appear before the Freedmen's Bureau. It appears that an affidavit was filed before that institution by a negro, stating that Turner put him in the army as a substitute, promising to pay him $400 and that he paid him only $125, leaving, $275, a balance of $275."

"Of late our attention has been called to many outrageous acts committed on the part of negroes, who seem to be running through the streets at large, knowing no law. For some time since a party of half-grown negro boys have been behaving most outrageously on Sixth Street, between Walnut and Chestnut. The negroes make their raids from McAlistier's Alley—an alley in which there are collected some of the hardest negroes to be found in the city."
Communication of Hipwell and Martz to the City Council: "We are unwilling to believe that Mr. Thomasson desires to be instrumental in superinducing a war of races, and yet such must be the logical and inevitable consequences of the manner in which he is mismanaging the bureau."

Submission of a letter given to Thomasson: "Sir, the undersigned, police officers of this city, this day cited to appear before you, as Superintendent of the freedmen's Bureau, on the complaint of Jennie Bell and Mary Moore, free women of color, and notori us prostitutes, respectively claim that your action in the premises was an assumption of judicial power not delegated to you as superintendent of the bureau. That you have interfered with the due course and execution of public justice in the particular case, and placed disorder and bad morals at premium with this class of offenders, and to the end that we may know how to discharge our duties intelligently as public officers and know whether you possess the unlimited power claimed by you, to wit: The power to nullify the laws of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and the ordinances of the city of Louisville, when offenders against said ordinances of the city of Louisville, and laws are colored prostitutes or others of said race, we would respectfully request a copy, in duplicate, of the testimony in the above case and the sentence of your court, one to be submitted to Gen. Risk, and the other to the President of the United States for their approval or disapproval." Signed Martz and Hipwell.

"This notice we served in his office of court, after the rendering of his judgement, before being marched as criminals through the streets of Louisville, in custody of five armed U. S. soldiers, to the military prison on Broadway, and received his answer that the copies would be furnished to us the next morning."
The City court appearance of Thomason on the indictments—one for interfering with the course of justice and the other for attempting to intimidate W. L. Mills from appearing in circuit court against a negro man indicted for a felony—Thomason made a notice that the indictments be quashed. He commenced his speech by saying that there was no offence sufficiently charged in the indictments to make them good, and that if he should be convicted on them, the judge would be compelled to set the judgment aside. From this he branched off into the merits of the byre in our city, and the justice and rigidity of all the decisions he had made. . . The papers were endeavoring to make mischief. The Journal and Democrat had never published a line in regard to his court, or, if they did, he did not recollect it. He said that the imagination of the writers must have been brought into use, as scenes were described which never occurred . . . Some seventeen years ago he had done the citizens of Louisville a favor, and they would never forgive him for it. In 1849 he endeavored to persuade the people to adopt a policy of emancipation. He then read an act of Congress establishing the byre. . . He said that there was a great necessity for the byre, but that it could be done away with by the Legislature passing an act repealing all acts in regard to negroes, and guaranteeing to them their rights. It was important that negro testimony should be made legal. . . In regard to officers Hertz and Bixprell, and the fines against them, they might be thankful that he did not learn that the negro girls were not allowed blankets, &c. He allowed Mary (sic Jennie) Bell $35, because he thought it was little enough for sleeping the the cold jail. He said that if another such case was brought before him they would not get off so easily.

CRITICISM OF CONDUCT OF BLACKS ON LOUISVILLE STREETS (Mar 1866)

"The course of a certain class of negroes is becoming intolerable in our city, and the present state of the case indicates that something must be done to put a stop to the increase of the outrages committed by this class of persons. Yesterday afternoon a party of some one dozen negro men got aboard of the street cars at the corner of Twelfth and Jefferson. They crowded into the car[s] and demanded seats, but as there was not room without compelling white ladies to get up, the conductor would not give these gentlemen seats, and they threatened to clean the car out. A police officer who happened to be present, and not having the fear of the freedmen's byre before him, put the dusky 'citizens' off the car."
"We heard of a case that was tried before Col. Thomasson, of the bureau, yesterday. Three negroes sued three white men for compensation for services claimed to have been rendered. The white men introduced a number of our substantial men, old citizens, as witnesses, whose evidence went strongly to disclaim the evidence of the negroes, but the judge said that, although the testimony of the white men was strong, the negroes had sworn privately to the justice of the claim, and he was compelled to render a verdict in favor of the plaintiffs."

Letter from Rowletts Kentucky Mar. 15, 1866 (Hart County): "The bureau is in a rather disassociated condition, down with ye; not having one in our town—the nearest drawer being at Glasgow, and it a one legged concern, under the supervision of one Major Martin. To show the impracticability of longer continuing it, the negroes have lost confidence in it, and say that it is not the 'simon pure' that Thad Stevens & Co. claimed for it."

"The scarcity of labor is a considerable drawback to those who have hitherto formed it largely. There are a great many 'callyd genmen' laying around loose, that have recently returned from the army, and are not disposed to 'pitch in' as long as the greenbacks last, which they received, in addition to their freedom, to help put down the rebellion."
"The Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau has issued an order requiring the places where freedmen reside in Georgetown to be cleaned and sprinkled with chloride of lime. He also exhorts them to go North, where they can get better employment."

"At the beginning of winter three or four hundred women and children were suddenly thrown out of camp. Through the efforts of Capt. T. E. Hall and Maj. Gen. Burbridge these orders were issued, and the War Department ordered that a place of shelter be provided and rations issued to them."

"It is the purpose of the Government to furnish these women and children work shops in which to labor, and lands for cultivation."

"It is the purpose of benevolent societies to furnish the destitute with clothing, and the children with teachers for institutions in reading, writing, &c."

"It is the expectation that two hundred cottages will be speedily erected. These will accommodate two thousand women and children. Every man who will enlist can thereby secure the freedom of his wife and child, and have a place for their shelter and instruction in a good school."

"It is expected that through this school many boys and young women will attain such an amount of instruction as will enable them to go back into the counties and instruct their fellows; for we assume that general emancipation must speedily take place in Kentucky."

"Capt. T. E. Hall is here general superintendent. Rev. L. Williams local superintendent. I have for a time volunteered religious instruction."

"Rev. A. Scofield, Rev. L. Williams, and myself are a committee for the selection of teachers and matrons."
"It has long been the habit of late for large crowds of negroes to congregate mightily in an old building on Broadway, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth, now used as a hospital for negro troops, for drinking, dancing, drinking, &c., generally continuing their tumultuous revels throughout the entire night. On last Saturday night a large number of negroes, of both sexes, assembled at this place, for the purpose of attending a ball given by George Woodson, the negro ward of the hospital." The melee and Claibourne does not differ in interpretation from the Journal's account. "A number of negroes were arrested by the military authorities and placed in the military prison."

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"The name of the negro woman killed on Saturday night was Amenda Trout. The name of the person who fired the fatal shot is Daniel Harrison, a member of the 112th (sic, 12th) heavy artillery colored. The case has been investigated by Lieutenant Colonel Babcock, and a number of negroes held as witnesses. We learn that the case will be turned over to the civil authorities. Several of the negroes that were arrested were broken out with the small-pox yesterday, and sent to the eruptive hospital."
"The only case worthy of note tried before the court at the bureau yesterday, was that of James Kelly and Mike Moloney, for assault and battery upon a negro." fined $10.

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"One case in particular, that of a negro woman who had washed and ironed three and a half dozen pieces, and only charged the moderate sum of $7.50, for a 'fair damsel,' a resident of Hancock street. Upon application for payment it was refused, and the negro applied to the bureau. Col. Babcock, as usual in such cases, addressed a polite note to the party, requesting her to pay the woman for her labor; but she, as the negro said, 'Heared, and snorted, and ripped, and swore that she would not pay it, and the bureau might go to -- a climate celebrated for its high temperature, for what she cared; and den I leff kase I knowed dar was one place where she could be made to pay, and dat's de byro, en I jess come right here, and I wants my money kase I ain't a gwine to loose any more of my time foolin wid dat ooman, now'."

"The case was under investigation as we left. We were much pleased with the manner of 'dispensing justice' under the administration of Col. Babcock. He advises the negroes to go to work and to make no complaints to the bureau unless they have strong grounds for so doing."

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"The bureau is again without a superintendent, Lieut. Col. Babcock having been relieved, his regiment, the 12th colored heavy artillery, having been ordered to be mustered out. He 'turned over' the bureau to his assistant, Capt. Browne, who will run the machine until an assignment can be made... We regret to lose such a courteous and gentlemanly superintendent as the Colonel."

"In each of the counties visited I found the freedmen all employed, and not more than one in ten of the contracts made while they were working had been recorded, and the whites will not consent to have the contracts made by bureau officials and agents." These counties were Marion, Barren, Warren, and Granger. They claim they can get the freedmen at much lower wages than the bureau advises them to ask. Without proper contract the employer will feel at liberty to turn the employee off at pastime, and, judging from the general feeling, without pay."
Yesterday the following negroes were turned over to the civil authorities: Alfred Claibourne, Hnery Burch, Wm. Kennedy, Eugene Lythe, and George Woodson, all implicated in Amanda Trout's death.
"Several cases of extreme destitution existing among very old and young freed people have been reported to me from different parts of the State, cases of nakedness and hunger. For all such, where former owners could be found, I have ordered that they should afford them relief. In these cases a small supply of clothing and rations, placed in the hands of judicious county superintendents, to be kept without the knowledge of the freedmen, is necessary for relief."

"For a supply of clothing, I applied directly to a personal friend, the treasurer of the Friends Association of Philadelphia for the relief of freedmen. These good Quakers were prompt in responding. Yesterday I was in receipt of a package of made up clothing... and I respectively request that a small supply of rations be furnished from your headquarters... ."
"These troops were also employed to protect the colored people in many of the counties of that subdistrict, particularly in Scott, Owen, Uliner, Harrison, Nicholas, Beth, Montgomery, Estell, and Madison, from the fiendish outrages committed by white people, who are, in many cases, banded together under the cognomen of 'Regulators,' 'Nigger Killers,' &c., operating in said counties. These scoundrels are generally returned rebel soldiers of the lowest grade of white humanity, working at no responsible employment, the graduates of the corner groceries and groggeries of the this region."

"The freedmen are in the main well employed, at fair wages, throughout the subdistrict, and were it not for the terrorism incited by the lawless bands heretofore mentioned, there would be no difficulties in finding good homes and employment for every freedman in this section. As yet, however, many white people, who reside at places remote from the stations where troops are posted, are afraid to employ Blackmen, particularly those recently mustered out of the United States military service, for fear of injury to their persons by the self styled regulators."
"The presence of a few troops under the immediate orders of the chief superintendent, was found to be absolutely essential to insure the respect of the white people for the superintendents and their agents, and the enforcement of the rules and regulations of the bureau. I accordingly made application to Major Gen. Palmer, commanding the department of Kentucky, for two companies of troops, which he furnished me from the 119th U. S. C. I. One company of this detail I posted at Lexington, and details of thirty men each, were posted at Maysville and Lexington."

"The presence of these troops produced a marked change for the better in the sentiments of the people toward the bureau, and gave confidence to many good men (white people), who accept the present condition of affairs... these troops were also employed to protect the colored people in many of the counties of that subdistrict... from the regulators."

"It is not at all improbable that agriculturists will, after experimenting with the freedman as a laborer, be compelled, by reason of his inherent vagabondism, to resort to white labor. This will imfallibly be the result if Freedmen's Bureau agents, by their conduct and official acts, impress upon the negro the idea that he is to be protected in idleness and insubordination."
"A. M. Mayo, esq., of this city, has been duly appointed and commissioned as Superintendent of the Daviess county branch of 'ye Freedmen's Bureau.' Mr. Mayo, from his well known energy of character, &c., will doubtless make a most prompt and efficient officer. While he will faithfully act in the discharge of his duties toward the employer, he will unquestionably make Sambo comply with his part of the bargain. As he understands thoroughly the character of the blacks, and what is best for them, and as active as the services of a Superintendent has to be located amongst us, we do not know as any gentleman in this community who will render greater satisfaction to 'all concerned' than Mr. M."

DENEGATING TERMS USED TO DESCRIBE BLACK MARRIAGE (1866)

"A case of more than ordinary importance was disposed of by Captian Mayo, at his Bureau, in the city, a few days ago, and which elicited great interest and trepidation amongst our charcoal complexioned Lottarios and Dulcinas, as well as relieving the Reconstruction Committee of the two houses of Congress at Washington City of a vast amount of labor and solicitude."

"It seems an unbleached Venus, hailing to the poetic name of Jennie Kay, some three years ago beam'd ensmored of a gay and dusky deceiver (sic), of killing style and seductive mien, answering to the aristocratic title of Green Booker. The result was, as not unfrequently happens in such cases of ('') courting and wooing," of passionate vows and violent protestations of love and fidelity, that Jennie, alas! 'loved not wisely but too well,' and the fruits of her misplaced confidence was a couple of raven colored little pledges—

Their father's hope,—their mother's joys,

A darling pair of nigger boys."

"Time rolled on (as it usually does,) and glided smoothly (by the usual ripples incident of the married state,) with Dinah and her sable lord, in a stream of earthly felicidity, until old Abe shivered the shackles of slavery, and which Green venously imagined released him also from the more binding ones of wedlock—leaving his disconsolate dulcina to the cold charities of a 'cruel' and unpitying world. Jennie, instead of harboring ideas of bed cords, horse ponds and cold pisen, 'to soothe her melancholy,' sensibly sought to salve her wounded honor and bruised spirit in the Bureau, and which she found—the Captian ordering the dusky Onthello to provide for his dingy Desdemona, and his double counterparts, at the rate of two dollars per week for one year."
Owensboro Monitor, May 9, 1866

A black, Aaron by name, who had threatened to kill his owner, Dr. A. C. Hill, in 1863, returned to Owensboro on May 2, 1866 after absenting himself from the city in order to participate in the 118th regiment U.S.C. On the 3d inst. Hill and Aaron became involved in an altercation, Aaron being wounded in the leg. Aaron was subsequently surrounded by a crowd who desired to hang him. An agent of the Freedmen's Bureau locked Aaron up for the night and released him the next morning whereupon the black dissappeared from town.

CAPT. A.W. LAWWILL, SUPT OWENSBORO FREED BUREAU (1866)

Owensboro Monitor, June 6, 1866

"Capt. A. W. Lawwill, of the regular army, has been appointed superintendent of ye Freedmen's Bureau in the Counties of Daviess, McLean and Muhlenburg, while 'head center' in this city. The Captain is a Kentuckian by birth and comes among us highly recommended, as he has the law and the will about him we doubt not he will give general satisfaction. It is certain Sambo will have to fill his part of the contracts when made."
SUPPER GIVEN BY OWENSBORO BLACKS TO RAISE MONEY FOR SCHOOL (1866)
Owensboro Monitor, Oct 31, 1866

"A supper was recently gotten up by the colored christians of our city (Owensboro) for the purpose of raising funds to erect a school house. Some five hundred dollars was realized, the major portion which was contributed by the patronage of our white citizens. Another instance of Southern barbarity towards the negro."

COL JACQUES INVOLVED IN ABORTION IN LOU (Sept 1865)
Louisville Daily Journal, Sept 27, 1865

"Colonel Jacques, arrested the other day and now confined in jail here charged with being a particeps criminis with a certain doctor H. G. Miller in procuring an abortion upon a woman from Georgia, is the famous Colonel Jacques of the Jacques-Gillmore mission to Richmond last year. His Colonel Jacques was a Methodist preacher in Illinois when the war broke out, one of the political persons who have done so much to alienate the different sections of this country from each other, and whose zeal in politics is superior to their zeal for anything else." Jacques is just one example of the immoral type of political preachers. "He had gone to preaching politics, and the natural result soon followed." - Col D.C. Jacques
Palmer's address to the Freedmen in Louisville, Jan. 1, 1866: "You have asked the Legislature to allow you to testify in the courts. ... Thousands of men in this country have committed crimes against colored people because they could not testify against them, and demand justice in the courts. ... That remnant of barbarism must pass away. We are all under the protection of the laws. ... The labor of the country, that which creates wealth, must, hereafter, be protected. ... The people of this state are very far ahead of the politicians on this subject."

"I am prepared to say, that in my judgement the people of Kentucky are conducting themselves with an amazing degree of kindness toward the colored people of this state."

Editorial response to the Jan. 1, 1866 speech of Palmer: "There is no question that the more intelligent and industrious among them will work; but it is feared that vagabondage and vice will make inroads upon others of them."

"The first great thing the freed people have to do, that which devolves upon them foremost, is to show that they are capable of taking care of themselves reputablely without assistance from the whites."
Lou Daily Journal, Jan 9, 1866

Opposed to apprenticeship because: "... it would violate the constitution." Any program calling for a mandatory apprenticeship program would necessarily call for involuntary servitude in conflict with the 13th amendment. "We should oppose it on the ground of humanity." The motive of self-intrest was enough to make the master feed the slave, but under an apprenticeship system, this motive would be absent. "It would open the door to endless bickerings between whites and blacks." "It would take away part of the incentives to industry in the freed people." "It would cost more than it would come to."

Lou Daily Journal, Jan 10, 1866

"One of the things to which General Palmer turned his attention when assigned to this command was the organization and encouragement of colored schools, and the success has been remarkable. Not less than four thousand dollars in cash was paid by the colored people themselves during the past year for the support of their own schools; and before the holidays... a larger per cent of colored children attended school in the city of Louisville than white children. There are schools now in all the colored churches, and numerous night schools... A free school for the education of colored children has been opened in some of the rooms of Bishop Spalding's old church, on Fifth street."
POOR OFFERED FREE VACCINATIONS AT LOU DISPENSARY (Jan 1866)

Lou Daily Journal, Jan 23, 1866

"All poor persons who go to the Louisville Dispensary will be carefully vaccinated with pure matter free of charge."

DANVILLE BLACKS ELECTING DELEGATES TO LOU CONVENTION (Jan 1866)

Lou Daily Journal, Jan 24, 1866

"Great excitement has existed among the 'freemen' of Danville for some days past in relation to the selection of a 'delegate' to represent them in a proposed convention in this city the latter part of the present month."
The Small Pox—This loathsome disease is on the increase among the negroes of the city. The Mayor (Lithgow) is still unable to consider the innumerable applications for hospital room. We trust the General Council, at its meeting tomorrow night, will devise the proper means for removing these small-pox cases from contact with the people."

(The Eruptive Hospital)

"Through the tireless exertions of Mayor Lithgow and the kind offices of Col. Eben Swift, Medical Director of this Department, the government pest-house south of the city has been filled up and is now ready for the reception of all cases of small-pox that may be sent there."
Editorial comment on Fisk's Cincinnati speech: "We emphatically deny that . . . the slaveholders of Kentucky are cruel and barbarous toward their former slaves . . . on the contrary we believe that the best friends of the freemen in the State are their old masters."

"A man named Poore, a citizen of Garrard County, shot, and instantly killed, a negro in the employ of Mr. Banford, of Boyle county, on Friday last, under circumstances not very well calculated to elicit the sympathies of the community in his behalf. We learn that he was intoxicated, and, wishing to try his pistol, selected a negro man who was employed in building a fence by the roadside, as a good mark. He did not know the negro and no words passed between them. Mr. Bradforh having given information concerning the deed, Poore was arrested by the authorities of Mercer county (the offence having committed within the boundaries of Mercer), but was subsequently taken in custody by Captain Goodloe, Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau. A preliminary trial was held in Harrodsburg on Saturday last, and the prisoner was sent to Camp Nelson to be tried by a military commission. Poore was formerly in the United States army—a member of company B, 3d Kentucky infantry."
"There are some things that certainly deserve reforming. The negroes, for example, thrust themselves into the street or railroad cars against the remonstrances of their (i.e. the car's) owners, and, if the later or their agents interfere, the agents of the bureau fine them. The civil courts in Louisville have decided, and Gen. Canby has sustained the decision, that railroad companies have the right to appropriate certain cars or seats for the freedmen, and that they must occupy them or move: that the companies have the right to establish their own rules—subject to the laws—and that freedmen have no right to violate them."

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CASE OF POORE: SHOT BLACK FOR NO CAUSE IN GARRARD CO (1866)

"Poore's Case: "The Court met at 10 o'clock February 3d, to proceed with the examination. The defendant having been committed to the care of R. James, the Sheriff of Mercer county, was brought into court by his Deputy. Just at that moment Capt. Wm. Goodloe, of the Freedmen's Bureau, made his appearance in Court, accompanied by an officer commanding a detachment of U.S. colored troops. A number of troops were left outside of the court-room as a guard. Capt. Goodloe handed to the officer commanding the detachment an order, of which the following is a copy."

"You will at once relieve the civil authorities of the person of James Poor(é), arrested by them for the murder of a colored man on the line or near the line, of this county, and place him in confinement at Camp Nelson. The charges &c, will be forwarded at the earliest moment."

By order of Major-Gen. Fisk

"Mr. Poor(é) was not in the military service of the United States, nor was the murdered man; neither had any connection with the military authorities in any way, nor was the act committed at any post, garrison, or camp, or other place under the exclusive jurisdiction of the military authorities."
lou daily journal, feb 16, 1866

"For two or three days past an interesting suit has been pending between our civil authorities and the Freedmen’s Bureau. On Sunday evening last Officers Hipwell and Martz, of the Police Department, arrested a disorderly negro woman and presented her before the Judge of the City Court. Her offence was that of running against and violently pushing aside a white man who was standing on the pavement near the corner of Sixteenth and Rowan Streets. Owing to the disturbance at the prison on Sunday, the woman was admitted to bail until Monday morning. She failed to appear for trial on Monday, and on Tuesday she was rearrested, and, with another girl who was in company with her on Sunday during the misconduct, taken before the police Court. The two wenchs were fined $10 each, and placed under bond of good conduct. On Monday, the girl first arrested complained at the Freedmen’s Bureau against the arresting officers. They were summoned to appear before Col. Thomasson, the Commissioner, on Wednesday morning, the negro woman having been sent for as witness. The case was, after a brief hearing, postponed until yesterday, Col. Thomasson telling the defendants that, if the negroes were sent to the workhouse, he would confine them (the officers) in the Military Prison. The negro plaintiffs came forward, paid their fines, gave bail for their future good behavior, and were discharged from custody. According to postponement, the case was called up again at 3 1/2 o’clock yesterday evening. The result of the examination was the imposition of a fine of $50 upon Hipwell and $10 upon Martz, in addition to the costs, about $17. Failing to give the required bail, $500, the officers were committed to the Military Prison, but they were shortly thereafter released by order of Maj. Gen. Palmer. Officers Hipwell and Martz paid the above fines, under protest. The negro females were common prostitutes." The city council was to investigate the matter.

KY WHITES' OBJECTIONS TO FREED BUREAU (Feb 1866)

lou daily journal, feb 21, 1866

Objections to the Freedmen's Bureau in lieu of Johnson's veto: it was (1) a clear violation of the constitutional provisions to grand jury indictment in trials concerning capital punishment and for trial by jury, (2) It provides for class government, (3) it creates a judiciary unknown to the constitution and confers judicial, military, and executive powers upon the bureau, (4) It violates separation of powers, (5) it provides for swarms of office holders increasing the power and patronage of the executive branch, (6) It inaugurates a multitude of petty despots, (7) it takes government of the freedmen entirely out of the hands of the states and creates a government within a government.
Letter from Woodsonville, Ky., from Citizen (Hart County)

"They [the freedmen] have been unable in many instances to get employment, a home, and something to eat and wear, because the white men were afraid to hire them, least the bureau would come along and interfere with the bargain, and probably break him up. The expectation of a general bureau all over the State has greatly demoralized its labor. The freedmen have expected that the bureau would fix them all up for living well, in which they are finding themselves somewhat disappointed. While there were some who were willing to make contracts for the year, the farmers were generally afraid to hire them on the account of the talk of the bureau. And now it is the season of the year when farmers should be ready to plant their crops, but many of them are far behind where they would have been with their work if there had been no fears of the Bureau, and if the freedman had been left alone as a freedman to make his own bargains. . .

...the result is, that the farmer is thrown back in his business, and this affects the mechanic and merchant in their business; for when the farmer fails in his crops all other occupations feel the shock. So we readily see that the fear of the Freedmen's Bureau had benumbed all branches of business, and the people suffer by it; and have been disheartened and somewhat cast down."

LOU POLICEMAN BROUGHT BEFORE THE FREED BUREAU (Mar 1866)

"Amos Turner, one of our city policemen, was yesterday summoned to appear before the Freedmen's Bureau to answer the complaint of a negro, who desposes that he was put into the army against his consent by Mr. Turner. Result uncertain."

Turner was from 1st dist, see Demo, Jan 5, 1866
"A negro riot occurred at Richmond on Friday night. The negroes fired on the police, and a military guard had to be called out, who arrested ten of the rioters, several of whom were wounded."

"Discharged negro soldiers are as thick upon our streets as oil-hunters in Petrolia."

"We learn from some of our city policemen that the white and negro soldiers on Broadway, between Tenth and Eleventh streets, are perpetually rioting and committing outrages upon passers-by in that neighborhood."
LOU BLACKS COLLECTING MONEY FOR ORPHAN HOME (Mar 1866)

lou daily journal, mar 16, 1866

"We understand that the colored population of our city are making an organized effort to collect a sufficient amount to secure an orphan's home for the destitute orphan negroes in our city. It is a notable charity, and the effort they are making is an early evidence of their sincere desire to take care of their helpless orphans. They should be encouraged. The charity should not be confined to the negroes alone. Our liberal and Christian community should, as we believe they will, aid them."

LEX WHITE FINED FOR BEATING BLACK (Mar 1866)

lou daily journal, mar 22, 1866

"The Bureau.--One of the drawers of this piece of cabinet was opened at Lexington on last Saturday, by Capt. Johnson, and the case of Charles Blanch, charged with thrashing a negro, was investigated, and a fine of $75 imposed upon the defendant, and $25 extracted from his witness, who viewed the scene and made no attempt to interfere."
"At the levee yesterday evening, a party of three white men pitched into a negro, for some slight provocation and beat him unmercifully. Capt. George A. Green, a detective, being close at hand, got after the assailters, and they ran aboard of the Wild Waroner, as she lay at the foot of fourth street. They were hotly persued by Officer Green. He came uncomfortably near one of the men, who, to escape from arrest, leaped from the boat, into the river and swam out, perferrig, we suppose, a watery grave to a lodging in t he city jail or the payment of a fine for misbehavior." He was subsequently caught and his name is Hughes.

BODIES FOUND IN POND FROM DISECTING TABLE (Apr 1867)

"The bodies found in the ponds six miles from the city some ten days or two weeks ago, and about which a city paper got up quite a sensational article, turns out to be just what we supposed them to by-the debris from some dissecting table. We yester day ascertained the fact that the bodies belonged to a physician of this city, and had been placed in the water for the purpose of slogging off the flesh. So the neighborhood of the Pond Settlement is not to be haunted by the ghosts of murdered darkys."
"Michael Mooloony, the man who, on Sunday last made such desperate efforts to avoid arrest by swimming, was taken from the city jail yesterday and confined in the Military Prison by Captian George Green, who captured him. He is to be tried before Col. Babcock, of the Freedmen's Bureau. Mooloony and two other men, who were deckhands on the steamer General Buell, made a brutal assault upon a negro man, also belonging to the crew of the Buell. Unfortunely for outraged justice Mooloony's accomplices have not been arrested."

"We have not yet learned the name of the negro woman who was killed nor the names of the black desperados who caused her death at the ball at the Colored Hospital, on Broadway, on Saturday night. The affair is under investigation by Colonel Babcock, of the Freedmen's Bureau. He intends handing the culprits over to the city authorities for trial, we are informed."
"The Freedmen's Court. Numerous cases were under advisement by the Superintendent yesterday, but they were, with one exception, of trifling importance. Michael Molley and James Riley were brought up for the provoked assault upon a negro deckhand upon the General Dyell last Sunday ... Both of the accused pleaded guilty, and were fined $10 each. Molley paid his assessment, and Riley, in default, was sent to the Military Prison."

The colored hospital was located on the south side of Broadway and west of Sixteenth street. George Woodson was placed in charge of it. A society of different colored churches of the city were owners with the preachers of the churches acting as trustees. It was not under the direction of the Freedmen's Bureau.
"General Fisk informed us yesterday that arrangements have been made in his
district, comprising the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, to prepare the
freedmen, as much as possible, for the approach of cholera. In all the cities
of these two states, the negroes will be required to white wash their dwellings
and clean up all of the alleys and backyards, sprinkle lime or some other dis-
enfect at upon all places where required &c., &c. The General says that he is
confident of receiving the assistance of the municipal authorities. The freed-
men are to be allowed from the 1st to the 10th of April to carry out these
instructions, and on the 11th of April a police force will be sent around to
see that the regulations are complied with. The General is preparing a circular
on the subject, which will be published in a day or two. This arrangement is
certainly calculated to be a very beneficial one and we are sure that it will
meet with the hearty approbation of all residents in the cities referred to."

"In addition to this, steps are being taken to raise a hospital fund, by
taxing the able-bodied colored population in all the principle towns; the fund
thereby accumulated to be used for taking care of the sick."

Quoted from the Nashville Press and Times.

INVESTIGATION INTO DEATH OF BLACK WOMAN AT HOSPITAL "BALL" (1866)

Lou daily journal, apr 4, 1866

On the killing of the black woman at the Colored Hospital dance (hospital
located on Broadway near 16th Street) "On receiving notice of the shooting and ot-
er disturbances among the concourse, Captain A. F. Dunn (officer of the day),
of the 2d United States infantry, detailed a guard to the place to surpress the
difficulty. Captain Dunn accompanied the guard. He proceeded to the old
buildings (used as negro quarters) on the south side of Broadway and west of
Sixteenth street." He found the bold in the hospital and searched. "Lavenia
Daniels, Lucida Sharp, Harriett Hethers, Minerva Mosby, and Ada Mosely, living
in the vicinity of the hospital, and Amelia Jones, who lives on Market street,
between Seventeenth and Eight streets, were arrested and retained as witnesses."

A negro man named George Woodson, who had charge of the hospital buildings,
and is to be the getter up of the balls that have been held there lately, was
also taken into custody, and will be held as a witness. He states that he was
the person fired at when the woman was killed." "Private John Bailey, of com-
pany H, of the 2d United States Infantry, was arrested in the neighborhod of
the buildings. He had in his possession a revolver from which four rounds
had been recently discharged."

"Every circumstance and the affirmation all the witnesses fix the guilt of the murder upon Alfred Claiborne, a private of
company I, 12th colored heavy artillery... he was apprehended and lodged in the Military Prison."

"TM... the whole matter... was devolved upon Col. Walter E. Babcock,
Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau for Jefferson County. He extended his
investigation of the case far enough to warrant the recommendation that the
accused Alfred Claiborne be surrendered to the civil courts for trial upon the
charge of killing the negro woman."

"During the examination into the above outrage, it was settled that the build-

LOU TO BE PREPARED FOR CHOLERA EPEDMIC BY CLEANING BLACK AREA (1866)
ings in question had been turned over, to be used as a hospital for
refugees, &c., to a society composed of the different colored churches
of this city, the preachers acting as trustees. George Woodson, ... ,
was employed by the trustees to take charge of the building. It was not
under the direction of either the military authorities or officers of
the Freedmen's Bureau."

lou daily journal, apr 5, 1866

"Alfred Claibourne, Henry Birch, William Kennedy, Eugene Lydle, and
George Woodson, negroes, who were concerned in the killing of Amanda Trout
... were turned over by the military authorities to the civil
authorities. ..."
CAPT A B BROWN, SUPT F B, JEFFERSON CO (1866)

lou daily jour, apr 10, 1866

"Captain A. B. Brown, of the Veterans Reserve Corps, has been assigned to duty as superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau for the county of Jefferson, vice Lieutenant-Colonel Walter S. Babcock, relieved for mustering out with his regiment, the 12th colored heavy artillery."
"We don't know that the Bureau can do any better in Kentucky than it does in the South. Upwards of six months ago a lady of Oldham county engaged a couple of negroes to cultivate her land on shares, they agreeing to put a specified amount of repair immediately upon the house and to sow a certain number of acres of wheat in the fall. The contract with them was made wholly through the Bureau. She supposed until spring that they were strictly fulfilling it, but she they learned that they had not spent one farthing in repairing her house and had not put in a single grain of wheat. But she had no redress, the case was one for which there was and is no remedy. Probably the Bureau would be willing to do the best it can under the circumstances, but the best it can do unfortunately happens to be nothing at all."

F B URGES THE ADMISSION OF BLACK TESTIMONY IN LOU POLICE COURT (1866)

"Yesterday morning in the Police Court, Mr. Selby Harney, Judge pro tem., (in) the case of Pat Ryan, charged with shooting with intent to kill Peter Montague, came up. Captian A. B. Brown, Assistant Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, rose and said that he had been ordered by the General commanding to request that colored testimony be admitted in the case, under the Civil Rights Bill. Judge Harney declined to act in the matter, as he was not the regularly elected Judge, and the case was postponed until Judge Harbeson's return."
"On Thursday, June 11th, the case of Pat Ryan, charged with shooting at and assailting with intent to kill Wm. Montego, free man of color, came before the court and was continued. On June 17th it came again before the court and was taken up, Colonel Selby Harney, judge pro tem., Mr. Jack Fry, assistant Commonwealth's attorney, in behalf of Captain A. Benson Brown, Assistant Superintendant of the Freedmen's Bureau, made a motion that colored testimony be admitted under the civil rights bill in this case. Col. Harney declined to take any action in the matter and the case was postponed. The same case will

BLACK SCHOOL DEDICATED IN LOU (Feb 1867)

"Yesterday the inauguration ceremonies of a new colored high school, under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Kentucky, came off at St. Mark's Mission Church, on Green street, in this city. Addresses were delivered by Rev. Mr. Atwell, Rector of St. Matthew's, Rev. Mr. Badger, Chaplain in the U. S. Army and Hon. James Speed. The school will be under the charge of Miss Cornelia A. Jennings, late of Philadelphia, who graduated from the Philadelphia Colored Institute with the highest honors of the class of 1860. She had, until called to this city to take charge of the school above mentioned, been principal of a colored school in Philadelphia. She brings the very highest recommendations, and we have no doubt the new high school, under her charge, will meet with unbounded success."
"In the United States circuit Court, yesterday, Rhodes, Stewart and Vickers, were arraigned on an indictment for robbing two negroes, Thomas and Stephen Scott, in Nelson county, sometime last summer. . . The complaints of three other negroes, Nancy and Elizabeth Talbett, and David Beeler, appeared to testify against the accused. . . Judge Ballard. . . said that he would pronounce no opinion upon the validity of or invalidity of the Congressional act (the Civil Rights act of 1866), under which the case came up for trial, until the testimony and arguments had been fully heard; that the evidence of the negroes must be submitted to the jury, and that, in their determination of the case, and that they must regard the civil rights bill as the law of the land."

"REGULATORS" ATTACK BLACKS IN LEBANON AREA (Oct 1866)

Outrage of Capt. Scaggs: "The outrage. . . was committed on the night of one 9th inst., upon the persons of nine colored families living near Lebanon--the same families that were before attacked. . . by Scaggs. "The confectionary and grocery of Edward Tucker, colored, and the eating house of Allen Drake, colored in Lebanon," were also sacked. "A gang of regulators, perhaps thirty in number, entered the house in the country at about 9½ o'clock on the night of the 19th inst., broke down doors, shot down chimneys, unrobed houses, shot at men and women, and scattered in every direction the papers and books of the Rev. Wm. Miles, a Methodist colored minister, who was absent from home. They were thus bravely occupied until twelve o'clock when they made a dash into Lebanon, fired off their pistols, broke down doors, and scattered a few of the confectioners in Edmond's store they didn't pocket over the streets. Not satisfied with destroying property one of them shot at Allen Drake for daring to expostulate with them! No effort was made to arrest any of them. After remaining in town for a while they galloped off in the direction of Bradfordsville. The negroes are among the most quiet and industrious colored men in our country. The superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau at this place is giving this affair a thorough investigation. The civil authorities pay no attention to it. We understand that about eight of the party were recognized. Those who were recognized will undoubtedly have the benefit of a trip to Louisville and a sight at the inside of the military prison. We can tell them that the United States District Court there is enforcing the Civil Rights Bill and but little attention is paid to the color of witnesses and past political status of offenders in that court."
On Saturday night, about eight o'clock, as Capt. E. D. Kennedy, ated agent of the Freedmen's Bureau in this city, was sitting in his office, No. 245 Jefferson street, some unknown party approached the window, placed the muzzle of a pistol against a pane of glass and fired. The ball entered his clothing, in a direct line with his heart, but was fortunately stopped by his watch. The Captain cannot surmise whom his would be slayer is, but is inclined to the opinion that the outrage is traceable to the fact that he is now engaged as attorney in some suits that has rendered him pecu-iliarly obnoxious to certain portions of the community. Whoever the party is, and by whatever cause or whatever party he may have been incited to attempt the commis-son of murder, we hope he may be ferreted out, and made to feel the full weight of the law.

"We noticed in Monday's Journal the assault upon Capt. E. D. D. Kennedy by Officer Tom Forman, in a magistrate's office on Saturday evening. Mr. Forman was Before Judge Craig yesterday morning on a charge of assaulting Kennedy with intent to kill. As the testimony of Squire Conley, in whose office the difficulty occurred, will fully explain the transaction..."

"Squire Conley, being duly sworn stated--Was in my office Saturday evening at 7 o'clock; Mr. Kennedy adn mr. Forman came in; was sitting with my back toward them; they were engaged in a business conversation when they entered; heard Kennedy call Forman a ruffian, or a rowdy, I don't remember exactly which; Kennedy said: 'She'd just as good as you are, or any other man;' heard a noise, and looked around; heard the rush of a stick through the air, and heard the blow fall on a chair; saw Forman striking at Kennedy; jumped up and grabbed Forman, as he said: 'Stop that, Thomas, there is no place to fight;' Forman pulled loose and tried to get at him again; saw Kennedy on the floor on his back, with his heels up in a chair."

"The testimony showed that the office acted in sudden heat and passion, under great provocation. Kennedy stated that Forman was "no better than a nigger..." and with no deliberate intention to take life, his Honor ordered that the warrant be amended to assault and battery only, and sent the case before the grand jury without requiring bail of Mr. Forman."
"Recently a white man, named Wm. J. Bowlin, was convicted, before the Circuit Court at Lexington, Kentucky, of grand larceny, and sentenced to five years imprisonment, for stealing an amount of money from a negro named George Gardner, who was the principal witness against him. Bowlin's counsel took the case to the Appellate Court, where judgement of the Circuit Court was reversed, on the ground that, under the laws of Kentucky, a negro was not competent to testify against a white man. The following is the decision of the Appellate Court in full."

"Wm. J. Bowlin, a free white man, indicted for grand larceny in Fayette Circuit Court being sentenced to the Kentucky penitentiary for five years, in the testimony of George Gardner, a free negro, appeals to this Court for reversal of the judgment of conviction on the ground that the Circuit Court erred in admitting, against the said protest, the evidence as competent."

"By the first Section of Chapter 107, Stanton's Revised Statutes of Kentucky, page 400, it is enacted that a free negro or Indian shall be a competent witness in a case of the Commonwealth for or against a slave, negro or Indian, or in a civil cause to which only negroes or Indians are parties, ut in no other case."

"And this enactment never having been repealed by Kentucky, is now the law ruling this case in this Court, unless it has been abolished by the first section of the 'Civil Rights Bill,' whereby Congress enacted 'That all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States, and citizens of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude..."

"This enactment evidently applies to all Courts, State & Federal."

"Five citizens of Kenton county, viz.: David Bagby, sr., John Bagby, sr., John Bagby, jr., Wm. k Sayres, and another man whose name we could not learn, arrested by a squad of United States soldiers, under command of Capt. Graham, of the Freedmen Bureau, were brought to this city from Covington yesterday. They are charged with beating freedmen. The arrests were made by order of General Burbank. The above parties, it is said, are a part of the gang of 'regulators' who have been committing outrages upon freedmen in Kenton, Boone and Grant counties since the close of the war."
On last Sunday, as has been stated in the Journal, five men, named James J. Bagby, Sr., George W. Bagby, Robert A. Bagby, David Y. Bagby, and William Sayers, were brought to this city under arrest for alleged outrages upon negroes in Kenton, Boone and Grant counties. They are said to have belonged to a party of twenty or thirty desperados who have for a long time been 'regulating' the darkies around Covington and vicinity. Saturday last the prisoners were transferred by the authorities of the Freedmen's Bureau to the custody of the United States District Marshall. On arraignment before Judge Ballard the accused were required to give bail in the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars each for their good conduct and for their appearance for trial at the October term of the United States District Court.

"after which the three convicts under the Civil Rights Bill above spoken of were called up and sentenced to ten years imprisonment each in the State penitentiary. The prisoners are three very fine looking young men named, respectively, John Rhodes, John Stuart, and Thos. Vickers, alias Texas. They were tried on three separate indictments for robbery of negroes in Nelson county on or about the first day of May, 1867. The first indictment had two counts. On the first count they were found guilty of robbing David Beeler, and were sentenced to five years imprisonment on that. The second count was ruled as being bad in form, and was therefore quashed. The second indictment had three counts. The were found guilty on the second of a burglary committed in the dwelling house of Mary Talbot, and were sentenced for five years each on that. The other two counts were considered bad, and were therefore thrown out quashed."

"The third indictment all the counts were adjudged bad, and the whole were quashed."
Lou daily journal, nov 29, 1867

"Such interference on the part of the Bureau between the planters and their black employees is mischievous in the extreme. . . . The military should let the labor question, if nothing else, alone--it is not a thing to be regulated by military discipline."

Lou daily journal, dec 9, 1867

"The Coal Famine. The advance of Pittsburg /sic/ coal on Saturday to sixty cents per bushel at retail, and the barometer to-day rising nearly to thirty degrees . . . make it imperative upon our people to take immediate measures to supply our citizens and especially the poorer class thereof with fuel."
Salaries paid to school teachers in Louisville:

**Male High School**
- Principal $2000
- Prof. Languages $1350
- Prof. Math. $1350
- Nat. Sciences $1350
- German French, History $1000
- Tutor $600

**Female High School**
- Principal $2000
- Prof. Physical science $1350
- Teacher Math $600
- Prof. French $600
- Asst. Teacher $600
- Prof. Music $200

140 Teachers in all and 9,108 pupils last year.

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**REPORT OF F B MONEY FOR BLACK SCHOOL IN LEBANON AREA (1868)**

The Covington Journal, Feb 22, 1868 (quoting from the Lebanon Clarion)

Quoting from the Lebanon Clarion.

"Wish I was a Nigger. We are informed that $1,500 has been placed at the disposal of our bureau, by the big bureau, for the purpose of aiding in the building of a school house for the benefit of negro children in this county, provided a suitable lot can be purchased, house built and the same put into the hands of trustees. Has anything of this sort ever been done for the benefit of the poor white children of Marion?"
"The chief item of interest at the county court last week, was the presentation of claims for taking care of negro paupers. The claims amounted to several thousand dollars; but the court allowed only about $800, rejecting the bills of those who put in claims for taking care of their old family servants, and also all claims for negroes who had come from other counties. The amount received last year from the tax on negroes in this county was $3,500. This sum meets the claims allowed, and leaves an ample fund for the erection of the negro nuts on the poor farm."

"It is unquestionably, the duty of men who have emancipated the negro to take care of him. Consistency requires that, whether they are able to do anything for him or not, they are bound to try; and whether we find fault with their experiment or not, we could not excuse them, and the world can't excuse them, if they drop the subject and leave the negro not provided for. They have deprived the negro of a home, of certain support in infancy and old age. For bread, meat and clothing, the slave has had no care; these were secured to him, but his security is taken away. His good friends have robbed him of so much, and it is yet to be seen if any system will supply what is lost. Freedmen's Bureaus are now in full blast. The misfortune is that these institutions do not assume that the negro is free or capable of real freedom. He is the slave of the Government, which has a multitude of overseers to direct and control the labor and conduct of these people. Some of the officers give very good advice to the African; but if it sounds very much like the advice of the master to his slaves after all."
Palmer's speech of the Jan. 1 black celebration: "... the darkeys were called upon for a contribution... the colored brethern seem to grow restive under the continual demands for tribute money. They can not understand how it is that freedom means a collection every time they meet, and they think that the bureau is something after the fashion of the horse-leech's daughter, continually crying 'give, give'..."

CAPT KENNEDY ASSAULTED ON STREET IN LOU (Jan 1866)

"We learn that Capt. Kennedy of the Freedmen's Bureau, was violently assaulted on New Year's night as he was coming out of the Masonic Temple, and knocked down by some person who had a pair of brass knuckles. He fell into the gutter, and while laying there some one came along and picked him up, and discovering who it was gave him a kick and dropped him down again."
"We are informed by physicians that unless some steps are taken to improve the hygienic state of the thousands of poor blacks who are now invading Louisville the most appalling consequences must ensue. Disease is rife among them. Many are literally starving . . . few are prepared to withstand the cold of the winter. Despite the king attention and thoughtful supervision of their former masters, they are suffering from all the dire evils of newly acquired freedom—from the want of bread, of clothing, and the presence of sickness. "
"Humanity requires that we do something to alleviate this woe and misery. . . . Especially since, by active and prompt measures, we may be enabled to forstall the appearance of a pestilence in our midst."

"Capt. Kennedy . . . says that he had a slight altercation with a drunken man that evening, but the Bureau sustained no damage. As of this time Thomasson was not appointed."
"Officer Cave, of the city police, the other day confiscated a pistol, which he found on the person of a negro, and brought the possessor before a magistrate. Yesterday morning the officer was summoned before the Almighty Bureau and was obliged to return the weapon and pay two dollars and a half to cover the expenses of the 'culled' gentleman."

"It is only intended that the indigent poor shall avail themselves of the offer of the Louisville Dispensary to vaccinate without charge. The Freedmen's Bureau have, we understand, made ample provisions for the vaccination of indigent negroes."
"The opponents of the bureau are sorest about the education of the negro, and I am constantly hearing the most bitter opposition to it expressed."

Reaction to Cincinnati speech: "Gen. Fisk has the right to love the negro if he desires to do so, but it does not seem necessary that he should for that reason hate and malign the whites."

"We must believe that Gen. Fisk has been deceived, and that no such things ever occurred. But even if they were true, they constitute merely exceptional cases, and Gen. Fisk well knows that they are not illustrative of the treatment the freedmen are receiving from the whites of this State."

Fisk did this deliberately to incite the north against Kentucky."
the following was dated Jan. 18, 1866.

"At a meeting of the colored population of Lexington, held on the 15th inst., a committee was appointed to draft the following address to the"

"COLORED MEN OF KENTUCKY:

"The undersigned, appointed a committee by a mass meeting of the colored citizens of Lexington, congratulate you, one and all, on your freedom. . . . The anomalous political condition of Kentucky, throughout the war, renders the necessity of action on our part much more imperative than is called for from colored men in any of the late slave states. Our freedom, thus far, is only an introduction to the sweets of Liberty."

"... that we may discuss our new relations to the State and National Governments, we cordially invite you to meet in State convention in this city, the 22d day of March, 1866, at 1 o'clock P.M., in the colored ladies hall."

Signed: Thomas De S. Tucker
John P. Clark
James Harvey

PALMER PROVIDED AN AMBULANCE FOR SMALL POX VICTIMS IN LOU (1866)

lou daily courier, feb 1, 1866

"Major-General Palmer has placed at the disposal of Mayor Lithgow a two horse ambulance and driver, for the speedy conveyance of small-pox patients to their new pest house."
LOU DAILY COURIER SAYS A FREEDMEN MUST PROVE A CONTRACT BEFORE A CLAIM IS ALLOWED (Feb 1866)

lou daily courier, feb 22, 1866

"The Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau of this place /Louisville/ decided that a negro must prove a contract with a person against whom he brings a claim for work, before the claim will be allowed."
General Order #1 creating the eastern subdistrict, dated Feb. 14, 1866, along with a letter from Fisk to Ely, dated Feb. 12, 1866, "assigning you to duty as Chief Superintendent of the affairs of this bureau for the sub-district of Armstrong, Kentucky."

"The mission of the bureau is to aid in adjustment of the new relations arising from the abolition of slavery: to promote industry, peace, good order, and education, and to secure impartial justice to all men."

"I desire that Superintendents be chosen in all cases from among the citizens of the county for which they are appointed provided faithful, capable, and honest men can be found, who are willing to serve in this bureau."

"You will find a large majority of those who formerly were large, wealthy and most intelligent slave holders, now the most ready to treat the freedmen justly and generously."

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WHITE CHARGED WITH BEATING BLACK EMPLOYEE (Feb 1866) LOU

"The proprietor of the Roma saloon, Mr. David Tindle, was arrested yesterday, charged with beating a Negro. The facts... Mr. Tindle had a negro named Daniel Johnson in his employ as bar keeper, and as of late he has suspected the negro of taking money from the bar till. Yesterday he thought he had satisfied himself as to the negro's thievishness, he having watched matters, and eight dollars having been taken from the drawer that morning, he accused the negro, but he denied it, and some words ensuing, he hit the negro a few blows. The negro accordingly laid complaint before Mr. Thomasson... (who) assessed a fine of $5 and costs, and required Tindle to give $230 bond for his good behavior for two months. Tindle refused to comply with these requirements, and was accordingly sent to the military prison."

"His friends made an effort to have him released last night. How far they succeeded we do not know."
"During the month of January twenty-three contracts to work (for thirty persons) were made, and one destitute child bound out until his eighteenth year." All of this done by the F B
"The bureau was somewhat lively last Saturday. A number of negroes—late soldiers of the 118th United States—were up, making complaints against 'city niggers' for defrauding them of their money. The complaints were mostly against females with whom the negro complaintants had been spending their surplus cash."

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Letter from Martz to Gen. Watkins, Commander of the Military Post at L'v, Feb. 18, 1866.

Martz and three others were strolling when "two colored girls came along (notorious prostitutes) and one of them made use of obscene language to one of the men and, apprehending a breach of the peace, he remonstrated with the girl, whose name is Jennie Bell, when she began to use the most offensive and insulting epithets and denunciations, when your petitioner felt it is his duty as a police officer to arrest her . . . . " (no mention of Mary Moore.)
Our readers noticed a request published in the papers of this city a few days ago, asking the negro man beaten by Mr. Thomason to report himself, and the facts in regard to his being beaten. On last Monday week the negro heard, through some friends, that he was wanted down at the 'Freedmen's Bureau.' He went down to make a complaint before the Judge against Mr. Nelson Thomason, clerk of the Freedmen's Court, who is the Judge's brother, and who had beaten him. He was refused admission by the Judge, but got a good cursing from 'Kassa Nelson.' The poor negro ... now says he will seek redress in the civil courts.

The negro spoken of above, Henry Bullitt, states to our reporter ... that some time ago Nelson Thomason, the present clerk at the Freedmen's Bureau Agency in this city ... came to his room at the house of Mrs. Lyle, Third and Jefferson, and meeting Henry's daughter, asked where her father was. She told him he was in the house. Thomason then went in and seeing Henry laying on the bed, picked up a club and commenced beating him. Henry had been drinking some and was sleeping when the attack commenced on him. As soon as he was struck he jumped up and ran out of the house, pursued by Thomason, who followed him, beating him until he broke the stick over his head, inflicting several ugly wounds, one over the eyebrow being an inch in length.

On the 26th Feb. Bullitt went to the FB accompanied by wife and daughter. Wm. Thomason refused Bullitt permission to his court stating "I suppose you have come here to make a complaint, I am sorry Nelson did not hit you much harder."

"The negroes states that the difficulty between them and Thomason originated in Thomason's wanting to put a negro woman, a particular friend, of his, to board with them, and their refusal. This made Thomason very angry and led to his beating Henry." Wm. allowed the case to be heard on Mar. 6 and did not

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THOMASSON BY BLACKS IN LOU (Mar 1866)
"Owing to the fact that this institution the Freedmen's Bureau has a very able and gentlemanly agent, at Shelbyville, in the person of Colonel Quinn Horton, matters are working well in Shelby. The negroes are going to work earnestly, and business is brisk. Vagrancy among the negroes is almost unknown, as they receive almost no encouragement to avoid working."

"Colonel Quinn Horton has no long, flowing judicial gown to put on, neither does he sit in his court all day . . . ."

"Yesterday afternoon, as the steamboat Abeona, bound for St. Louis, was about to leave the wharf, an affair took place on board that caused a great deal of excitement both on the boat and on the levee. There were several negro soldiers of one regiment lately mustered out here on board, and they were somewhat disorderly. Finally, just as everything was ready for the boat's departure, one of the negroes, who was somewhat intoxicated, went upon the cabin deck, and going to one of the lady passengers, pulled out a half-dressed picture of a negro wench she held it before the lady, at the same time making some very blackguard remarks. The lady screamed for assistance to have him taken away, and the watchman of the boat, whose name we did not learn, came to her relief and attempted to make the negro go down to the lower deck. At this time the negro pulled a revolver and fired at the watchman, driving him away, then passing down to his companions on the lower deck. The officers of the boat sent for the police, and in the meantime took charge of the negro to keep him from the infuriated mob that gathered on the boat from the shore shouting 'kill him,' 'throw him in the river,' &c. A policeman finally came, and on hearing the case, was deterred from making him arresting him, fearing the action of the Freedmen's Bureau in the matter . . . After the policeman left . . . the mob took the matter into their own hands, and seizing the negro beat him and then threw him into the river . . . He waded to the shore and started off in a full run for the Freedmen's Bureau, pursued by a crowd of young boys who made the bricks and stones fly around him thick and fast."

The black "laid a complaint before Col. Thomasson last night."
The colored hospital's buildings "were turned over some time ago by the military authorities to a society of the colored churches, to be used as a hospital and a place for refugees, the clergymen of the churches acting as trustees of the institution."

"Yesterday Colonel Babcock had before him the case of the woman, named unknown, who was murdered at the negro hospital, on Broadway, on Sunday night. The report of Captian W. F. Dennis, 2d United States Infantry, officer of the day, to Major George E. McLaughlin, Provost Marshall, was received. Upon finding Amanda Trout dead "Dr. C. C. Grey, surgeon of the 2d U. S. Infantry, was at once sent for, and made an examination of the body, ascertaining that she was shot through the head ...." These people were arrested as witnesses: Lavina Daniels, Lucinda Short, Harriet Heathers, Minerva Hosby, Jr. Moreby and Amelia Jones. "Alfred Clebourne, Company I, 19th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery, is the supposed killer. Houston Givens, Sandford Thompson, Anderson Taylor, Wm. Kennedy, Eugene Lidell and Henry Hoseby. These men all belong to the 12th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery, and were on duty detailed at the Hospital."

"The buildings in which the murder took place were turned over some time ago by the military authorities to a society of the colored churches, to be used as a hospital and a place for refugees, the clergymen of the churches acting as the trustees of the institution."
"The examining trial of James Poor, whose arrest, some weeks ago, for the killing of a negro in Boyle county, has already been mentioned in your columns, came up last Saturday before Honor Judge Mitchell, who, after reviewing the testimony, held the accused to bail in the sum of $3000 to appear for final trial in the next August term of the Boyle Circuit Court."

By Wm. H. Steward, Secretary.

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 Rev. H. Adams, pastor of Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville, as President; Brother Vincent Helm, Green Street Baptist Church, 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. Among the leaders in the meeting were: Revs. H. Adams, R. Sneethen, Chas. Edwards, W. W. Taylor, I. Slaughter, R. Martin, J. Monroe, E. W. Green. Among the laymen that were present: B. Fink, V. Helm, E. E. Hansbrough, Wm. Pendigrass, Q. B. Jones, B. Martin, Peter Smith, Thomas Lee, Henry Samuel, J. Tandy, Sam Williams, H. Washington, F. Robinson, and others. It seems there must have been an understanding among the preachers relative to establishing a Baptist College in the State before the
meeting of the convention, because certain Baptists had purchased the Hill property at Frankfort, which subsequently was transferred to the convention. From the records, this property was purchased by John H. Thomas, Robert Martin, Tabb Smith, and Henry Samuels, under deed dated, August 12, 1865, from E. A. Dudley and wife, the consideration being two thousand dollars, which was before the convention was organized. This same property was conveyed by John H. Thomas, R. Martin, Tabb Smith, and H. Samuels, to Richard Sneathen, Henry Adams, W. W. Taylor, Solomon Patterson, Peter Smith, Tabb Smith, Henry Samuels, J. H. Thomas and Jas. Monroe, trustees of the Colored Baptist Association of Kentucky. The consideration was the same that it was when they made the purchase, and the deed is dated, August 21, 1866. Among the first acts of this convention was one to begin the establishing of this school, and appoint a committee to look after the matter. The constitution was adopted, and most of the time of this first session was taken in a general discussion of the work. The committee on membership reported at this session about 5,000 members. The next session was held in the First Baptist Church of Frankfort, Ky., where several new churches were added to the number which was enrolled at the first session. At this meeting, Rev. D. A. Gaddie, Rev. Peter Johnson, Rev. C. Clark, Rev. Reuben Lee, were new members enrolled. All of

the preliminary discussion was deferred at the present session and the officers elected. The sermon was preached by Rev. J. Monroe, from the text, Hebrews, 13:4. The first report of Missionary work by Baptists in Kentucky was made at this meeting by Rev. R. Martin who collected $22.98; expenses, $13.60; balance, $9.38, which the convention let him have as his salary. One of the interesting features of this meeting was the presence of Rev. S. F. Thomas, Secretary of White Baptists, who made an interesting address to the brethren in black, and Rev. H. Adams, the president of the convention, was sent as a representative to the General Association of White Baptists in Kentucky. According to the record there was nothing on program in the afternoon and the time was used for the preparation of reports. The first trustees were elected at this session; four from Frankfort, four from Louisville, and one from Lexington; they were P. Smith, T. Smith, J. H. Thomas, H. Samuels, H. Adams, R. Sneathen, W. W. Taylor, S. Patterson, Jas. Monroe. Sunday was devoted to religious services. There was no record kept and the convention met, Monday morning at 9 o'clock. At this meeting the First Baptist Church, Frankfort, made the first payment on the Hill Property before it actually came into the possession of the convention.
The churches seem to have been as generous with their contributions as they are to this day. The Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville, $100; Green Street Baptist Church, Louisville, $100; and the First Baptist Church, Frankfort, $100. Rev. S. Patterson, who was the missionary that year, had a balance due him of $15 for service, which sum he donated to the convention. The first obituary in the history of the Association was submitted this year, when the deaths of C. H. Green and J. C. Davis of Danville, were reported.

The convention in 1868, returned to Louisville, and opened in Fifth Street Baptist Church on Friday morning, August 7th. The first statistical report of the churches appeared in the record of this year when 6,300 members were reported from the twenty-seven churches. The new churches reported this year were: Winchester, Lancaster, Bloomfield, Lebanon, Stanford, Bardstown. Rev. R. Lee preached the introductory sermon from 2 Cor., 5th chapter, 7th verse. For the first time in the history of the convention there was a visitor from the North in
the person of Rev. R. DeBaptiste, from Chicago. At this meeting it was determined to change the convention to the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky, and a committee was appointed for formulating the plan to make the change. This committee consisted of H. Adams, J. Monroe, R. T. W. James, W. J. Brown, E. W. Green, R. L. Lee, P. Johnson, I. 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.

Rev. P. Johnson acted as missionary this year and traveled 355 miles and was in the field three months and fifteen days, during which time he delivered sixteen sermons and collected $36.47. Of course, these early missionaries continued the work in connection with their pastoral work and only visited points near their homes. The deaths of Rev. E. Thomas and S. Taylor were reported at this session, and suitable resolutions were adopted. At this session of the convention the trustees were given power to locate the Normal and Ind. Institute on the Hill Property in Frankfort unless other property seemed more favorable than that. It was agreed upon as far as the opening of the school was concerned, and a building was erected for the public school a short distance up the hill. The matter of forming District Associations had been suggested at a previous meeting and at this meeting the state was divided into two districts in view of encouraging the organization of district associations.

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. There were several new churches reported: Simpsonville, Evergreen of Lexington, Washington, Mayslick, Little Flock of Louisville, Baptist Church of Athens. Membership of these churches was 12,620. The association formed, on Tuesday morning, and continued until the following Sunday. At this session of the Association the matter of corresponding with the several district associations took definite form and delegates were sent to the various associations and in addition to this, the Western Baptist Association, the American Consolidated Convention of Baptists, which were to meet in Paducah shortly. A letter of correspondence was also read by Rev. F. F. Thomas, Corresponding Secretary of the White Baptists, who had previously visited the Association. Rev. Wm. Pratt was also among the visitors and gave valuable assistance in directing the officers along proper and
systematic lines in the prosecution of the work of the Association. The idea of establishing a college for the training of ministers which was ever gaining in prominence in the minds of the leaders of the Association was always discussed when they met. There was a little discussion in this meeting as to where the college should be located, in Frankfort or in Louisville; it finally stood 25 for Louisville and 24 for Frankfort. Among the next moves of the Association was to establish a State Sunday School Convention, which was called to meet in the Baptist Church at Georgetown. This convention met and organized and after several years of effective work was disbanded. Another movement was the establishing of a Religious Paper. This was recited to the committee of which Rev. Dupee was chairman, and which reported in favor of printing such a journal. For the first year the mission work seems to have had reasonable success. R. Jones labored five months, traveled 5,285 miles, delivered ten sermons, attended nine revivals, visited twenty-six churches, baptized fifty candidates, organized three churches, collected $685.65; paid all his salary and expenses and had $169.41 to turn over to the Association.

In 1870, in the Washington St. Baptist Church, Paducah, Ky., the General Association assembled, August 9th. Rev. H. Adams, who had been a leading spirit in the convention and association since the organization, was so feeble that he was unable to attend this session. Rev. J. Monroe was Moderator pro tem. and Rev. J. F. Thomas, temporary secretary. At the regular election, Rev. Reuben Lee was made Moderator for the year. The members and new churches were reported at this meeting: Livingston, Christiansburg, Mount Vernon, Princeton, Columbia, and others, situated on the border or Tennessee. There was a disposition on the part of the brethren to protect the ministers against impostors and a resolution was adopted requesting churches not to receive ministers in their pulpits who had not come with the proper credentials, and it was also decided to hold a ministers' meeting on Tuesday, before the opening of the General Association.

The Baptist Church, Danville, Ky., was the place of meeting of the General Association, 1871. Rev. Dupee of Paducah, was elected Moderator at this session and he was re-elected for eleven years in succession. He was a man of great determination and did much during his administration to help the
work of the denomination. Rev. W. H. Butler, Lexington; R. Lee, Q. B. Jones, Louisville; F. Smith, Frankfort, were elected Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, respectively. The ministers and deacons’ meeting was held with the General Association at this meeting for the first time and discussed and brought up several interesting and helpful questions. Rev. S. L. Helm, one of the White Baptist pastors of the State, was a welcome visitor, and took a great interest in the proceedings. There were twenty-six new churches added to the association at this session, and two brethren who became prominent in denominational work were enrolled as messengers.

The General Association held its Fourth Anniversary with the Baptist Church at Georgetown, Ky., in 1872, and its Fifth Anniversary with the Baptist Church at Paris, Ky., in 1873. The additions of new churches continued at both of these meetings and showed that the work was growing in favor among the brethren. Among the white brethren who were present at the Georgetown meeting were, Rev. D. Dowden of Cloverport, H. McDonald of Georgetown, Prof. J. E. Farnum and Prof. W. Thomas, Rev. S. L. Helm, and others. A proposition was submitted at this meeting from the General Association of white Baptists, relative to cooperation in a plan of erecting a proposed Normal and Theological Institute. There was also a suggestion made as to the establishing of a religious periodical to be run under the auspices of the General Association. A proposition to incorporate the General Association was also submitted and approved and at the meeting in Paris the next year, these articles were accepted by the General Association, the same having been enacted by the Legislature of the State. The articles of incorporation were drawn by Junius Caldwell, a lawyer of Louisville, and Rev. G. Clay Smith and Rev. S. L. Helm, and the incorporators were: Andrew Heath, W. W. Taylor, P. H. Alexander, J. H. Hightower, Q. B. Jones, Ben Burbridge, W. H. Steward, B. Martin, R. Martin, J. F. Thomas, James Monroe, E. W. Green and D. A. Gaddie. These articles were approved, March 5, 1873. Of these incorporators it might be well to note that at this time there are only two survivors, J. F. Thomas and W. H. Steward.

During 1872, the Baptists of the State suffered a great loss in the death of Rev. Henry Adams, a recognized leader in denominational work, which occurred, November 3, 1872.
The Association in 1874 held its session with the First Baptist Church of Bowling Green, Ky., which was largely attended. There were 14 new churches enrolled at this session, and the old officers re-elected without contest.

The Seventh Anniversary was held in York St. Baptist Church, Louisville, August 11-14, 1875. Some few changes were made in officers this year; Rev. W. W. Taylor becoming assistant Moderator in place of Rev. James Monroe, and Peter Johnson becoming treasurer in place of Brother Peter Smith, who had served the Association from the date of its organization. Another feature of this Association was the large number of laymen who were messengers this year and took an active part in the deliberations. The Theological school which was opened, November 24, 1874, at Olivet Baptist Church, corner West and Walnut Streets, Louisville, Ky., was endorsed and authorized to continue. This was a small beginning but it indicated that the pioneers in our organized denominational work had never abandoned hope of the final success of that movement. The sale of the Hill property, which had been discussed at former meetings, now took definite shape and the trustees were ordered to sell the same. Steps were also taken at this meeting to join in the Centennial celebration in 1876, of the preaching of the first Bap...

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The First Baptist Church, Frankfort, Ky., was the place of meeting in 1877, and this, like the meeting in Harrodsburg, was a little exciting, growing out of controversy about the admission of some new churches. Prof. L. B. Tefft, of Nashville Institute; Rev. W. M. Pratt, Shelbyville; J. M. Stephenson, Stamping Ground, were among the white Baptists who attended the session and gave the force of their experience in directing affairs. There was only one change in the list of officers and that was in the selection of W. H. Stewart, who had served previously as assistant secretary to recording secretary.
Brother Steward has served continuously since that time. There were 33 new churches admitted to membership in the Association that year. Among the visitors to the Association was Rev. J. G. Fee of Berea College, who delivered an address on Education. Among the resolutions adopted at this session of the General Association was the following: There is to be held a National Baptist Convention at some place suitable to this body, one of the objects of which is to found or establish a Book Concern in the interest of our denomination, and produce harmony of action among our churches of each State in relation to Education and Mission work. The following brethren were appointed to represent this Association, when the Convention should be held: G. W. Dupee, J. F. Thomas, W. H. Butler, Allen Allensworth, W. W. Taylor, J. H. Parrish, A. Heath, I. Slaughter, R. Martin, C. Smothers, E. W. Green, P. Johnson, M. Campbell, E. M. Manuel, C. Clark, W. J. Brown, S. Grigsby. From this it will be seen that the idea of a National Baptist Convention and a publishing house was founded among Kentucky Baptists as early as 1877.

The next session of the General Association was held in Richmond, 1878. There were twenty new churches enrolled, which increased the number of churches to 184, and the membership to 32,305. The introductory sermon was preached by Rev. D. A. Gaddie and the amount raised during the session, was $53.05. Rev. G. Clay Smith, one of the white brethren in the state, who had been deeply interested in our work, was present and addressed the Association. The Board of Trustees were instructed to sell the Hill property in Frankfort, and a Committee, consisting of A. Heath, D. A. Gaddie, C. C. Stumm, Jas. Thomas, I. Slaughter, P. Johnson, G. W. Ward, J. M. Harris, Wm. Miller and J. H. Parrish, was appointed to examine the property and act with the Board before the purchase was made. At this session, the Association also appointed Brother A. O. Kennedy, Georgetown; J. Q. Wilhite, Portland; P. H. Kennedy, Greenville, as students to the Nashville Institute, and appropriated $40.00 each, toward their expenses, provided they should raise $10.00 each.

The session of the General Association in 1879, met in the First Baptist Church, Lexington, and was opened, August 13. The officers were re-elected with the exception that two assistant moderators were elected, in the person of E. W. Green, Maysville, and Allen Allensworth, Bowling Green. This session was distinguished from the fact that the Hill property of Frankfort was sold this year to Peter Smith, May 3, 1879, for $2,000, and the Zane property was purchased and deeded to the General Association.
funds proved helpful, and the amount raised was $1,406.60, nearly three times as large as the year before. The death of Brother Charles Clark, one of the pioneer ministers of the Association; Rev. Wm. Fowler, and Rev. Thomas Adams, were reported at this meeting. The American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, began its co-operation with us in the conduct of our educational work this year, and appropriated $1,500 toward the payment of teachers' salaries.

The session of the Association in 1882, was opened, August 16th, in the Baptist Church at Versailles, Ky. There had been considerable uncertainty shown during the year as to the administration of Rev. G. W. Dupee as Moderator, and in the opening of the Association, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and when the election took place, Rev. Peter Johnson was elected Moderator. The work of the Normal and Theological Institute had grown in importance, and 140 students had been enrolled during the term. The American Baptist Home Mission Society had increased its appropriations to $2,500 toward the payment of teachers' salaries, and $300.00 had been collected at the White General Association
at its session in Hopkinsville. There were present, Rev. George Hunt, Rev. G. F. Bagby, Rev. E. V. Kirtley, bearing greetings of this body. The death of Rev. W. W. Taylor, pastor of York Street Baptist Church, Louisville, which took place, April 21, 1882, was announced, and appropriate reports adopted.

The session of 1883, was held in the Baptist Church, Maysville, and the session of 1884, in the Alpha Baptist Church, Franklin. These years were devoid of any special incidents, with the exception that the women had been invited to attend the session of 1883, with the view of organizing a Women's Educational Convention, but the church was unwilling to entertain them, and the result was that the idea was abandoned. The Association appointed a committee to form the organization, which took place in the Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville, September 11, 1883. The enrollment at the Institute had increased to 192 and we had the first graduates from the Academic and Normal departments.

In 1884, the charter of the General Association had been amended, and the Institute was changed to State University under its authority. There was a gift of $500.00 made this year through the solicitation of President Simmons, from J. D. Rockefeller, which was used for special improvements. The death of Mr. H. C. Mars, who had been the leading

spirit in the establishing of the school, took place in August, and it was a source of sincere regret, and a loss to the denomination.

The session of 1885, was held in the First Baptist Church, Danville. The one of 1886, in the State St. Baptist Church, Bowling Green, and in 1887, in the First Baptist Church, Georgetown. Nothing of special interest was done at the session of 1885 except the usual routine business, the officers all being re-elected.

In 1886, however, the session was again a little stormy. Numerous reports had circulated in the State relative to the educational work, and a committee was appointed to examine into these statements. So eager were the brethren to hear these reports, that they were submitted before the letters were read. Everything being favorable and satisfactory, they were approved. Dr. E. P. Marrs was elected Treasurer at this session, and remained in that position until his death. The appointment of Rev. Allensworth as Chaplain of the 24th U. S. Infantry was approved and the thanks of the Association tendered to President Cleveland for this action.
proven, and the pastors urged to attend the meeting. The work of State University had been very satisfactory, and it had its first graduates from the college department this year.

In 1887, at Georgetown, Rev. S. P. Young, was elected Moderator and aside from the usual business there was an address from Chaplain Allensworth, and from President R. M. Dudley of Georgetown College.

The session of 1888, was held in Clay Street Baptist Church, Shelbyville, Ky. The auditing committee, which had been adopted as a policy of the Association, made a satisfactory report which was approved. The unwritten two-year rule of the election of Moderator was begun in this session, and Rev. S. P. Young of Lexington, re-elected, though there was quite a contest over the other offices.

In 1889, the session was held in Lampton Baptist Church, Louisville. Under the two-year rule, Dr. D. A. Gaddie, after an interval of two-years, was elected for another term as Moderator. The committee on grievances, which was a fixture, apparently, of the early Associational meetings, was much in evidence at this session, and reported on a number of cases. In the report of the Board of Trustees, was the very encouraging announcement that the last note, $2,800, on the property, had been paid by the American Baptist Home Mission Society in addition to their usual contribution to the work.

The 22nd annual session of the General Association was held in the First Baptist Church of Henderson, August 12-17, 1890, and the 23rd session in Main Street Baptist Church, Lexington, August 11-16, 1891. Rev. J. K. Polk was elected Moderator at the Henderson meeting, and presided at both sessions. There were seven new churches admitted at Henderson. Rev. G. H. Summers was among the corresponding messengers representing the White Baptist Association. Rev. E. M. Brawley, D.D., represented the American Baptist Publication Society. The serious illness of Rev. Wm. J. Simmons was announced, and special prayer services for his recovery were held. The report of the Board of Trustees showed that Dr. W. J. Simmons had tendered his resignation as President of the University to engage in another phase of educational work. Dr. C. S. Dinkins, who had been connected with the University, was elected President, but finally decided that he could not accept the work. Rev. R. L. Thurman was engaged in the work of raising a fund among the White Baptists for the University this year, and had met with reasonable success. At the
The Educational Work of the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky began in 1879. For several years before this the question was warmly discussed by our great leaders of that day; looking toward the formation of the very wisest plans.

At first it was proposed to establish the school at Frankfort. For said purpose, fifty acres, more or less, were purchased from Peter and Tab Smith, who were at that time prominent members of the First Baptist Church at Frankfort. This purchase went into history known as the "Hill Property at Frankfort." After much careful thought and wise deliberation with respect to a more permanent location for the school, and a location that would be more suitable in every respect, the "Hill Property" was disposed of, and a site was purchased in the city of Louisville. This property consisted of two and one-half acres with a large brick building commodious and roomy. Upon this spot, the school was opened in 1879, with Rev. E. P. Marrs as principal. In 1880, the next year, Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, who was at that time pastor of the First Baptist Church, Lexington, was elected to the presidency. President Simmons resigned his pastorate and took charge of the work under flattering prospects, but had very little financial resources from which to draw. But he started out in the work, being very optimistic and hopeful of the future. He was in a field of which he was justly proud, and for
which he felt himself fully prepared and competent, and one which he felt was the great need for the race and the denomination. The field was a new one as an experiment for the Colored Baptists of the South. The General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky, was the first to lead off in the work of establishing a high grade college for the special training of preachers and teachers. In this special line of work, President Wm. J. Simmons felt that he could master the situation and bring things to pass for Kentucky Baptists. With Simmons at the head the school began where Rev. Marrs left off. In those days it was known as the "Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute."

In 1884, the Institution was made a university—hence the name was changed to its present name, State University. The first college class was graduated in May, 1886. The class consisted of Rev. C. H. Parrish, Dr. C. F. Sneed and Miss Sarah E. Nelson. Since that time young men and young women have graduated from its courses at each annual closing. Since that time the theological, normal and college courses have been developed and enlarged, and other courses have been added so that in its curricula it ranks as one of the leading universities of this country. Hundreds of men and women in these years have finished the several courses, one or more, and have gone out to bless the world. And, too, there have been hundreds who by force of circumstances, could not finish, but were trained, helped and strengthened by the Institution; they too are now out in the world bringing things to pass.

Dr. Simmons served the institution ten years. He was followed by Dr. J. H. Garnett. Dr. Garnett served from January 1, 1891, to May, 1894. Dr. C. L. Purce succeeded Dr. Garnett and served until his death, which occurred in August, 1905.

Rev. J. E. Ford was elected to succeed Dr. Purce, but owing to the discord and lack of harmony among the brotherhood of the State, he would not serve. Dr. J. R. L. Diggs followed the resignation of Dr. Ford. Dr. Diggs served acceptably from 1906 to May, 1908. Dr. W. T. Amiger was chosen to follow Dr. Diggs. Dr. Amiger is yet in the position and fills it with honor and dignity to himself and to the State.

By constitution and charter this branch of the work of Kentucky Baptists is under the special and direct control of a Board of Trustees, consisting of twelve of the ablest and wisest men in the denomination. Brother Wm. H. Steward the efficient Recording Secretary of the General Association, is the
chairman of this board, and has held this position since the work began. Even as it is not possible to write the history of this work without the names of its presidents, so indeed is it not possible to write it without the name of Wm. H. Steward, who has been all these years of its history, and who is now the efficient Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Because of his long, close, continuous and most vital relation with the work, we believe that Bro. Steward knows more about it than any other man living. In this place, he has served the Baptists well. We pray that our brother Steward may live long and depart in the peace and hope of the faith and in the love and confidence of his brethren. Returning to the question—The Educational Work of the General Association, what can we say more? This paper must not be too long, but some other things ought to be said; and they ought to be said with emphasis. We know that it is not possible nor even a mark of wisdom to give every detail and item of the university's history. Thirty and six years of the doings and deeds of this great institution are too much to be put in a paper of this kind. Rather than attempt this, we shall state several other little items and then we shall close.

In the thirty-six years that the institution has been in operation, much of worth has been done, and much remains to be done. The grounds have been improved and renovated, the old buildings have been kept in repair and several new buildings have been constructed. There is the new chapel, which was built under the presidency of Dr. Garnett, and the new Dormitory and Domestic Science Building, which was erected by the Baptist Women’s Educational Convention. This building was perhaps planned by Dr. Diggs, but erected under the presidency of Dr. Amiger. We are not sure, but think that the idea to have this new building originated and was put into operation under the presidency of Dr. Purce. Our Baptist Women’s Convention, under the leadership of Mrs. Wm. H. Steward, deserves all praise for taking the initiative in this task and we feel that they have done themselves honor, and have brought credit to the race and denomination, and have made for themselves a name that can never die. This Convention was organized at the suggestion of Dr. Simmons to assist the General Association in this special line of work. It has been in the field now thirty-two years. How well it has done may be seen by its records and reports during these years. This Convention has raised each year for the university a sum ranging from a
The race in general is in, and very largely rests in, the well conceived principles of a Christian education. A trained leadership for the churches, and trained leadership for the race is the great need.

The Negro Baptists of Kentucky should not be satisfied nor rest until the University has a half a million dollars of endowment. This should be the next great task to claim our attention. It is such a legacy and trust committed to us, that we must now awake, arise and bestir ourselves to make the work of the fathers what it ought to be, and what the present age demands. So feeling and so praying, we hope that the Jubilee Meeting of the General Association will not adjourn without taking some steps looking toward the raising of a permanent fund for the special endowment of the Institution.

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SLAVE POPULATION AT HARROD'S FORT 1777

In the spring of 1777, Capt John Cowan completed a census, "the first census ever taken in the Western Country--a complete list of all human inhabitants of this frontier outpost--and was busily recording it in his journal:

- "Men in service" 81
- "Do, not in service" 4
- "Women" 24
- "Children above ten years old" 12
- "Children under ten years old" 58
- "Slaves over ten years old" 12
- "Negro children under ten years old" 7

Total 198"

Coleman says Harrod's Fort "constituted the principal organized settlement in /begin p 4/ Kentucky,..."
"The exact date when the first slave came over the Wilderness Road cannot now be ascertained, but it is known that, on March 25, 1775, at or near the site of 'Twetty's Fort,' in what is now Madison County, a Negro man in Boone's party, together with Captain Twetty, was fired upon by Indians and killed, and that two years before Cowan's census, Benjamin Logan had brought his 'slaves & cattle out to Caintucky,'..."

"By 1790, out of a total population of nearly seventy-five thousand, Kentucky had twelve thousand slaves. Yet slavery here came to be and remained, for the most part, quite different from what it was in Mississippi, South Carolina and other so-called 'cotton states' or, for that matter, different even from what it was in Virginia. Master and slave, in the earlier days, worked together in the fields, marched together against the Indians, and slept side by side in family cemeteries. Here, in this picturesque country, so largely endowed by nature, the patriarchal type of slavery prevailed, and it does not seem too much to say that this system of bondage was the mildest that existed anywhere in the world."
By 1800 there were fully two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants of Kentucky, of whom forty thousand were 'persons held to service' for life. Probably few of these sturdy pioneers realized, as they accepted slavery to provide the additional labor required to clear their lands, to build cabins and to aid them in wresting a livelihood from the backwoods, that they were introducing an economic and social factor that would later go far to shape and mould Kentucky's system of agriculture and to determine the texture and tendencies of her society. Even at this early date, as the pioneer period was passing, the number of slaves which a family possessed was rapidly assuming a pronounced social significance.

During the ante-bellum days the population of Kentucky was divided, generally, into slaveholders, non-slaveholders on principle, wage earners, poor whites, slaves, and free Negroes. Of the slaveholder class there were various grades, ranging all the way from the modest master of only one slave to the quality folks, who were known far and wide for their wealth and position, as well as for the number of their slaves.
Coleman says that "From impulse of humanity, as well as from motives of prudence, the black people were well fed, well clothed, well housed and, when ill, were cared for by the neighborhood doctor, usually the same, indeed, who attended the planter's own family." This is taken from the chapter "Folks in the Big House" and seems to be referring to more wealthy people.

Illustrations of Planter Care for Slaves (Ante-Bellum)

Coleman says that an examination of the records of Kentucky doctors indicates that slave owners made an effort to care for slaves' health. Examples: "Dr. James M. Bush, a prominent Lexington physician and a member of the Transylvania Medical Faculty," listed July 10, 1833, "dose pills, negro woman," July 12, 1833, a prescription for a negro woman, Sept 13, 1833, a night "visit negro boy & dressing head." Example: Well-known Lexington surgeon Dr Robert C. Holland listed July 14, 1834, "visit negro child & 3 doses Med," Aug 3, 1834, "extract tooth, negro girl"; Sept 4, 1834, "services negro woman (Charlotte) during spell of sickness"; Oct 10, 1834, "obstetrical services for Amy (black)"); Oct 19, 1834, "visit negro child, pres /cription/ 2 cathartics & worm oil"; Oct 23, 1834, "2 visits Self & two negroes & pres /cription/" EXAMPLES, ALL 1835: "three visits, negroes"; "two negroes & Med /icine/"; "2 visits negro (Sarah) & pres /cription/"; "visit negro woman (American) burn"; "visit negro woman, Bleeding & med /icine/"; "visit (night) negro, fractured skull & bruises"; "visit negro girl & consultation /with/ Dr. Hopson"; "setting & dressing arm negro (Ben)"; "Emetic pills, blisters & six powders for girl (black)"; "3 visits negro girl (Mary) & sundry med /icine/"; "extract tooth for old negro man (Joe)."

Coleman: "Most of the slave owners realized that a day's sickness meant a day's work left undone, so they prescribed in many cases where home remedies would suffice, and the ailments were not too chronic."
HEMP PRODUCTION BY BLACKS (ANTE-BELLUM)

j w coleman, slavery times in ky, 1940

p 44/

"Of all of Kentucky's crops in the ante-bellum days, hemp was believed to afford the greatest remuneration to the planter for his slave labor and lands. It was estimated that three slaves could cultivate fifteen acres, produce 35,700 pounds of fiber at an average of 700 pounds per acre."

Coleman cites 1852 report on Census for first sentence saying there were 3,520 hemp plantations.

For 2d sentences cites Kentucky Farmer, Frankfort, 1859.

COLEMAN: KY NOT SUITED FOR SLAVERY (1850)

j w coleman, slavery times in ky, 1940

p 45/ From chapter "Folks in the Big House"

"From an economic point of view, Kentucky was not suited to the development of slavery. By far the larger number of slave owners held less than five slaves each. Out of 38,456 slaveholders in Kentucky in 1850, only fifty-three owned from fifty to one hundred slaves, and only five owned more than one hundred. Holders of more than one and less than five slaves constituted the greatest number of Kentucky slaveholders, fully thirteen thousand coming within this class."

/begin p 47/

"Slavery in the Bluegrass State, ... , was much more a domestic than a commercial institution. And it was in this environment of lavish nature, prodigal outlay, ample hospitality and benevolent bondage that the folks in the big house lived and enjoyed life in those colorful and romantic days of ante-bellum Kentucky."
There is an ad on page 2 for "Insurance: Slaves Insured for any terms, From 3 Months to 3 Years! In the United States Life Ins. Co. of City of New York. Life Policies issued by the National Loan Fund Life Assurance Society of London. Thos. B. Monroe, Agent." Office on Short street.

"Regulations of the Lexington and Frankfort Railroad Company in Relation to Slaves.

Resolved, That the following regulations in regard to the transportation of persons of color upon the Lexington and Frankfort Railroad, be adopted:

1. No person of color, claiming to be free, shall be transported upon the Railroad, unless known to the Conductor or Agent to be free, or identified as free by some respectable white person known to the officers.

2. No slave will be transported on the Railroad unless accompanied by the owner, or upon the written order of the owner, which order will be retained and filed. A written order will not be regarded unless acknowledged by the owner, or the handwriting is known to the officers.

3. The Agent shall not sell any ticket to a person of color, except in accordance with the foregoing regulations. But the Conductor shall not regard a ticket as an authority to transport a person of color, unless the Agent shall have pointed out the person to the Conductor.

4. Upon the cars leaving each station, the Conductor shall as soon as possible ascertain whether there is any unauthorized person of color on them, and if there be, shall immediately put him off.

"It will be seen from the above resolutions that passes or permits will have to be in duplicate to be of any service to the slave, inasmuch as the Company require one for their own safety."
"Family Poisoned--Six Dead--The Louisville Courier of the 1st inst. says: +

"We learn that a family of the name of Stith, residents of Garnettsville, Meades county, in this State, have been poisoned, and all of them but two were dead. They consisted of Mr. Stith, his wife, and six children. Five of the children and their mother were dead, the husband and other child were not expected to survive.+

"This information is from a relative of the family in this city, and we have no doubt of its authenticity. The unfortunate persons were suddenly taken sick after partaking of their usual morning meal, and suspicions fastens /sic/ upon a negro woman, their cook."

"Death of a Good Man.--On yesterday morning, 12th instant, Rev. London Ferrill, a colored man, died in this city, suddenly, from a disease of the heart. --The deceased, at the time of his death, was pastor of the first Baptist Church of colored persons, in this city, and had labored in that capacity, with great zeal and much apparent profit to the cause of religion, for many years. He was a meek, earnest, consistent and devout follower of Christ and preacher of His word; and had been so for about forty years; being, at the time of his death, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.+

"London Ferrill was born in Virginia, a slave; but after his conversion obtained his freedom. He removed from Virginia to Lexington over thirty years since; and by his labors in the Ministry has built up one of the largest congregations, we presume, in the United States. His communicants numbered, a short time since, eighteen hundred and twenty; all, or most of whom, joined his church under his preaching. The consistency of his conduct, and his intelligent comprehension of the scriptures, attracted the attention of the Baptist church in this city, a few years after he came to Kentucky; and he was regularly ordained to preach the gospel. During his ministry, from first to last, he baptized upwards of five thousand persons.+

"But he rests from his labors, and his works do follow him. He had justly acquired an immense influence among the colored people of this city and surrounding country, and he always exercised this influence with prudence and for the furtherance of good morals and religion. It will be difficult to supply his place. --The branch of the church in which he ministered has sustained, in him, a great loss; a loss which will be severely felt in its efforts to enlighten and adapt the colored people of this city to the duties of Christianity and the demands of life."

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OBITUARY OF LONDON FERRILL (1854) (a† e† 65)
The Liederkranz was a male choral society founded in 1848. It was a participant in the founding of the North American Sängerbund which met in Louisville in 1850.

"The Liederkranz was the most prestigious of all the musical organizations of that time. Many prominent Louisville citizens supported its efforts. In 1873 Liederkranz Hall, on Market Street between First and Second streets, was dedicated to the public. It was intended to become a meeting place for all Germans as well as a musical center for the entire city. During the following years, it offered grand opera, German theater, instrumental and vocal concerts, and gala balls. These 'golden years' of the Liederkranz were crowned with yet another Sängerfest in 1877." By 1880 Liederkranz Hall was in serious financial trouble; it was sold in 1880.

The Liederkranz society continued to meet there for some time.

"We learn from the Russellville Herald, of Wednesday last, that great excitement exists in the neighborhood of Volney and Gordensville. A negro, belonging to one of the iron works of Tennessee, who knew something about their plan for liberty, died by the torture of the lash, rather than tell on his brethren who had conversed with him on the subject of their freedom. He received 750 lashes, at the hands of white savages, (too lazy to do their own work,) before he expired. How the people of America can stand by, and see such atrocity committed in this professed land of liberty, and that, too, against a people whose only crime is that of seeking liberty, is more than we can understand."
The Liberator, June 24, 1864

The article quotes from a letter from an unnamed writer to Sen. Wilson: "I don't care how loud-mouthed may be the protestation of loyalty here; the negro stands first and foremost. It seems to be the policy to keep Kentucky officers and troops in this State, and the result is that it is a hunting ground for fugitives, and the hunters are men employed and paid by the United States as soldiers. Since I have been stationed here, now something more than eleven months, it has been an almost daily occurrence for a squad of men to be employed in hunting slaves and returning them to their masters. I have seen a colonel of a regiment riding at the rear of a slave gang composed of men, women and children, tied together, and guarded by men in uniform of United States soldiers. Let me give you an instance. Last Saturday, the commandant of this post gave an order to the provost marshal to seize and deliver outside of the lines, to her master, a slave girl who was employed as cook at the convalescent camp. This girl had been away from her master, who is and always has been a noted rebel, for more than six months. She ran away on account of his cruelty."

"/\"The owner of the girl, with the guard, went to the camp, seized the girl, and, amid her cries and frantic appeals for protection, were taking her away. She fell upon her knees, and begged the guard to shoot her upon the spot, saying her master would whip her to death if he got her away. This was too much for the endurance of some of the inmates of the camp, and they interfered and took the girl away from the guard, dressed her in boy's clothes, and secreted her. In a few minutes an officer came with a mounted patrol, and exhibited an order from the commanding officer to search the camp for the girl, and return her to her owner. Thanks to the soldiers in the hospital, she was not to be found. It makes my blood boil to hear the high-sounding speeches and campaign orders published in the papers, and then witness these things daily.""
ARMS ORDER TO ARREST AND WHIP BLACKS IN CAMP NELSON AREA (May 1864)

Headquarters, Camp Nelson, Ky.,
Office Post Commandant,
May 23, 1864.

Lieutenant: --Information has reached these headquarters that three of the women which you placed beyond the lines yesterday are back again in camp; and the colonel commanding directs that you send out your patrol and arrest them, and confine them in the military prison until they are all collected by themselves, when you will tie them up and give them a few lashes, and expel them beyond the lines the distance herefore ordered. Also, any negro women here without authority will be arrested and sent beyond the lines, and informed that, if they return, the lash awaits them. +

By command of +
Col. A. H. Clark, Commanding Post +
Geo. A. Harraford, Lieut. and Post Adjt. +
"To Lieut. John McQueen, Provost Marshal, Camp Nelson, Kentucky."

KY BLACK SOLDIER TELLS OF HARSH TREATMENT, FAMILY EXPELLED FROM CAMP NELSON Nov 1864

Personally appeared before me, Edward B. W. Restieaux, Captain and Assistant Quartermaster, Joseph Miller, a man of color, who, being duly sworn, upon oath says: 'I was the slave of George Miller, Lincoln County, Kentucky. I have always resided in Kentucky, and am now a soldier in the service of the United States. I belong to Company I, 124th U.S.C. Infantry, now stationed at Camp Nelson, Ky.; when I came to camp for the purpose of enlisting, about the middle of October, 1864, my 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 then four children, aged respectively ten, nine, seven and four years. On my presenting myself as a recruit, I was told by the lieutenant in command to take my family into a tent within the limits 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, and so remained until morning. About 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, Nov. 23, a mounted guard came to my tent, and ordered my wife and children out of the camp. The morning was bitter cold. It was freezing hard /sic/ I was certain it would kill my sick child to take him /sic/ out in the cold. I told the man in charge of the guard that it would be the death of my boy. 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 no knowledge where they were taking them. At
night, I went in search of my family. I found them in Nicholasville,
about six miles from camp. 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 huddled togethered 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. Next morning I
walked to Nicholasville. I dug a grave myself, and buried my own child.
I left my family in the meeting-house, where they still remain. And
further this deponent saith not." Signed Joseph (his Mark X) Miller.

MINUTES OF THE ELKHORN BAP ASSN: SLAVE CHURCH MEMBERSHIP 1786

Minutes of the Elkhorn Baptist Association, Kentucky, 1785-1805, in
w w sweet, Religion on the Am. Frontier, The Baptists, 1931

p 421/ At a meeting of the assn on Monday, Aug 7, 1786, a question
was asked "Whether or not persons in a state of slavery may be said
to be proper gospel members? Answer A slave may be considered a proper
Gospel member."
At a meeting of the assn on Monday, Aug 7, 1786, a question was asked: "Is it lawful for a slave being an orderly member and compelled to leave his wife and move with his master about five hundred miles, then to take another wife? As an opinion can't be had at this time agreed to refer the query to the next association and in the meantime advise the churches not to receive any more members under the above circumstances mentioned in said query."

"Reference from last association. Query Whether it is lawful for a slave being an orderly member and compelled to leave his wife and move with his master about five hundred miles then to take another wife? Debated and withdrawn."

"Whether a woman slave that left a husband in the old Country and marry again here to a man that has a wife twenty miles from him who also refuses to keep said man as a husband ought her marrying in such circumstance to be a bar to her membership? Ans Debarred from Membership."
At a meeting of the Transylvania Presbytery Oct 5, 1797, "Upon motion the question was taken up, 'Is slavery a moral evil?' it was determined in the affirmative. The question was likewise considered, 'Are all persons who hold slaves guilty of a moral evil?' & it was voted in the negative. A 3d question was proposed as follows, 'Who are not guilty of moral evil in holding slaves?' Resolved that the question now before presbytery is of so much importance that the consideration of it be put off till a future day."

Meeting in Harrodsburg, April 2, 1836. "the committee of Synod on the subject of slavery laid before pby the following plan for the moral & religious instruction & future emancipation of slaves, viz: 1st we would recommend that all slaves now under 20 years of age & all those yet to be born in our possession be emancipated as they shall reach their 25th year./ 2d We recommend that deeds of emancipation be now drawn up and recorded in our respective county courts specifying the slaves whom we are about to emancipate & the age at which each is to become free. This measure is highly necessary as it will furnish to our own minds, to the world, & to our slaves satisfactory proof of our sincerity in this work & it will also secure the liberty of the slaves against all contingencies. 3. We recommend that our slaves be instructed in the common elementary branches of education." 4. Urges that blacks be encouraged in religion. The plan passed 10 for, 3 against, 6 not voting (Non liquit). To be read in churches.
p 171/ In discussing the church in Louisville Payne says: "... the church erected in the city of Louisville, Ky., is in a flourishing condition. I am fully persuaded this mission, if faithfully conducted, will, at no distant period, accomplish wonders for our people settled in these western states in their moral and religious elevation. They need nothing more than proper encouragement and proper direction in order to attain an elevated position that will be truly enviable." Payne was quoting a report of Elder Quinn

CRUEL TREATMENT OF SOLDIERS' WIVES & CHILDREN AT CAMP NELSON (Dec 1864)

The Liberator, Dec 9, 1864 (from N Y Tribune)

(Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.)

CAMP NELSON, KY., Nov. 28, 1864.

"This camp has recently been the scene of a system of deliberate cruelty, which, in ferocity of design and brutality of execution, suggests painful misgivings as to whether we, indeed, live in an enlightened age and a Christian land. At this moment, over four hundred helpless human beings—being frail women and delicate children—having been driven from their homes by United States soldiers, are now lying in barns and mule sheds, wandering through woods, languishing on the highway, and literally starving, for no other crime than their husbands and fathers having thrown aside the manacles of slavery to shoulder Union muskets! These deluded creatures, innocently supposed that freedom was better than bondage, and were presumptuous enough to believe that the plighted protection of the Government would be preserved inviolate."

"Since June last, Camp Nelson has been a recruiting rendezvous for slaves. During this period, over nine thousand colored soldiers have entered the army from this post. When these men left their masters, they assumed the responsibility of their own acts. Most of them left without their masters' permission, and knowing the nature of Southern chivalry, they had clear perceptions of the
torture to which their families would be subjected at the hands of their indignant masters. Indeed, in some instances, the wife and children were turned out of doors when the husband enlisted. Hence the recruit was frequently accompanied with his family, and received assurance that, on his entering the army, his wife and children would be provided with shelter, and allowed an opportunity to earn a livelihood by cooking, washing, etc., within the limits of the camp. Assured that his family was relieved from the vengeance of an exasperated master, and provided with a home, however humbled, he entered with a cheerful heart upon his new career; and thus the ranks of our army were replenished by men whose subsequent achievements reflected honor on their race. This arrangement, at once just and expedient, entailed little or no expense upon the Government, for these people lived in huts built by themselves from material unserviceable for other purposes.

Yet that these Kentucky slaves should thus falsify the predictions of their former masters, who delighted to dilate with horrifying amplitude upon the miseries which would inevitably overtake the families of enlisted slaves—this, was an act of unpardonable impoliteness in the eyes of certain officers who commanded the camp, and who had a kindly regard for the Southern

Moloch. These gentlemen, therefore, put forth persistent efforts to justify the prophetic wisdom of their slaveholding friends, by driving the women and children from camp, and leaving them no alternative but starvation or fetters. Through the influence of some parties who had not the fear of the Slave Oligarchy before their eyes, these benignant designs were frustrated for a time. But the furious wrath thus delayed acquired new intensity, and only awaited a favorable opportunity to burst with increased violence upon the heads of the devoted victims. This opportunity was presented last Wednesday. Diabolical malignity could have desired no better day on which to perpetrate atrocious cruelty. The air was intensely chilly; the thermometer was below the freezing point all day, and strong men wrapped their overcoats close around them, when the provost guard turned four hundred women and children from their dwellings to face the wintry blast, with light and tattered garments, no food, and no home! Here, indeed, is a picture for our American Macaulay to incorporate in his next volume of his "History of the Rebellion." Armed soldiers attack humble huts inhabited by poor negroes—helpless women and sick children—order the inmates on the pain of instant death, and complete their valorous achievements by demolishing dilapi—
CRUEL TREATMENT OF SOLDIERS" WIVES & CHILDREN AT CAMP ENLSON
(Dec 1864)

The Liberator, Dec 9, 1864 (from N Y Tribune)

dated dwellings. The men who did all this were United States soldiers, and not Sepoys, and they acted under instructions from a Union General, and not Sena Sahib. 

These are stern truths, amply corroborated by affidavits similar to the one which I have the honor to inclose. To day these children of misery are exposed to the pitiless storm. Four are already in their graves; one was frozen to death. Others will undoubtedely find speedy shelter in the tomb, and God only knows what will become of the rest! Slavery is bad; but here is an act which transcends, in deliberate depravity and cool malignity, the darkest association of the slave mart. I pass unnoticed the mental anguish, the social sufferings and the domestic sorrows-nor will I attempt to portray an amount of suffering which no language can depict, but which these people now endure. Their condition must be seen to be very approximately realized. No more efficacious plan could be devised for arresting the progress of negro enlistments than that which visits upon their families a merciless persecution, compared with which Slavery, or even death itself, would be a positive blessing. And it is no wonder that slaveholders in this State loudly applaud the course thus adopted, and point their slaves to the sad

spectacle as an illustration of what the families of negro soldiers may expect. The heart revolts at the thought that such unparalleled atrocities should be perpetrated with any prospect of impunity; and my design in writing you is to arouse the Christian and patriotic people of the North to a sense of the duty which they owe these innocent sufferers. Let the potent, irresistible voice of a just and humane public demand of the authorities at Washington, that immediate steps be taken to arrest these barbarities, and to bring the responsible agents to stern account.
p 59/ Slavery was one of the "first ethical problems" faced by South Union Shakers during these years. "Since the days of its organization, the colony had maintained its Black Family composed of the slaves owned by some of the Individual members." The issue of slavery was discussed at a meeting in July 1816, but apparently those people who brought the slaves did not feel, "as the ministry did," that slavery was wrong. "Some of these slaves were owned by the society itself. It happened that when one of the owners decided to leave the community, his four slaves expressed a desire to remain at Shakertown; so the brethren agreed to pay Judkins, the owner, two hundred dollars a year for four years. In this way Sampson, Old Molly, Lucy, and Violet came to be the property of the Shakers. Another slave whom they owned was Old Black Jacob, who, being too old and feeble to work, was taken out of slavery by the religionists for the sum of twelve dollars." Neal says that in "...1819... a general freeing of the slaves" occurred. "As each man was persuaded to give his slaves freedom, he was counseled to write a statement on parchment and to sign it." Procedures were carried out to make it legal. "... a number of the Black Family did leave to taste their new independence" upon being granted freedom. /p 61/ Some returned. After gaining their freedom,"some of the slaves remaining at South Union showed 'sauce and impertinence' to their former owners. Some slaves who 'hitherto would jerk off their hat as quick as a monkey when spoken to & listen only to obey--when now, being kindly asked to saddle a horse would reply--"No, sah, tank God do time am come for ebery man to wait on heself.'"

BIBB COMMENTS ON THE VALUE OF CHRISTIAN SLAVES

h bibb, narrative of life and adventures of h bibb, found in g. osofsky, ed, puttin on ole massa, 1969

p 169/ "The first man offered on the block was an old gray-headed slave by the name of Richard. His wife followed him up to the block, and when they had bid him up to seventy or eighty dollars one of the bidders asked Mr. Young what he could do, as he looked very old and infirm? Mr. Young replied by saying, 'he is not able to accomplish much manual labor, from his extreme age and hard labor in early life. Yet I would rather have him than many of those who are young and vigorous; who are able to perform twice as much labor--because I know him to be faithful and trustworthy, a Christian in good standing in my church. I can trust him anywhere /begin p 170/ with confidence. He has toiled many long years on my plantation and I have always found him faithful.' + 'This giving him a good Christian character caused them to run him up to near two hundred dollars. His poor old companion stood by weeping and pleading that they might not be separated. But the marriage relation was soon dissolved by the sale, and they were separated never to meet again."
In his introduction, Gilbert Osofsky says that "Bibb aptly called slavery 'the graveyard of the mind.'" Osofsky cites Henry Bibb, pp 50-51. I was unable to find this statement in Bibb's Narrative.

Far less dramatic testimony by eight Louisville women in 1863, all but one or perhaps two of them born slaves, revealed yet other dimensions of slave family life at the time of the emancipation. What these women and their husbands took for granted about their marital and parental obligations is what makes their testimony so very important. Charlotte and Lavinia Bell were still slaves. Mrs. Joseph Brady had been born free, but her husband had purchased himself and his first wife. After he purchased himself, Mrs. Dainey Page's husband purchased his wife and their children. Freed in 1846, Elizabeth Thompson lived with her slave husband. They had five children. "My husband," she said, "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." Lydia Reed and her four children had been purchased by their husband and father for $2100, money Reed had won "by a lottery ticket." Reed earned six dollars a week at the 'printing business,' and his wife nursed "sick ladies."
Mrs. L. Strawthor had purchased her freedom:

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. ... I had a husband when I got my freedom. ... 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 since I had any help from my husband. He is down South somewhere, I suppose, if he is not dead.

"I had to work mighty hard to get this far ahead," she explained.

The other Louisville women detailed the difficulties poor urban slaves and ex-slaves encountered in sustaining immediate families and keeping them together in matter-of-fact language. Asked how long she had been free, Charlotte Burriss answered:

I don't know exactly how long I have been free; about eight or nine years I reckon. My husband bought me. My people moved away and didn't want to take me, and they let him have me. He didn't pay a great deal, but it was as much as I was worth. My mistress said she favored me because I was afflicted. My husband didn't pay more than $25 for me. We have been getting along tolerably well since. My husband is as badly afflicted as I am, but still he does tolerably smart. He doesn't get no great things for wages. He has no regular work, only jobs. White washing season he does tolerably well. I was hired out just as long as I was able to be hired, and then they let my husband buy me.

**QUESTION:** How old are you?

**ANSWER:** That is what has grieved me a good deal. I can't tell my age to save my life. You know when children are separated from their parents early, they don't know how old they are.

**QUESTION:** When you were hired out, how much did they allow you out of it?
Although the slaves Lavinia Bell and her husband lived apart from two of their children, they had a deep concern for them. The Bell woman explained:

I have been hiring myself eleven years. The white people 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 two months, and I saved a piece of clothing I took off her. (Upon being requested to show it, she left the room and 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 pay them $72 a year for myself, and clothe myself, and pay my house rent and doctor’s bill, and as soon as my children grow up they take them. That one (pointing to a bright little boy about nine or ten 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 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 made the children go down to a pond, and wash themselves, just like beasts. My husband is a cook in a hotel. He is hired for $300 a year. His folks never give him anything but a five dollar note once or twice a year.

“All I make,” she said, “is by washing and ironing.”

Slave women, like Charlotte, who did not have husbands reported even greater difficulties. She hired out:

I have two boys. I pay a dollar a week to him [her owner], and support myself and children, and pay my house rent. I have been hiring myself for over fifteen years. . . . My master doesn’t supply me with anything—not even a little medicine—not 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.

If her thirteen- and seventeen-year-old sons each earned more than two dollars a week, she kept the balance. But if they earned less, she had to “make it good” to her owner, who expected payment every Saturday night. “I have not had good health,” said Charlotte. “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.”
But, indeed, any analysis based on ward data would be even less satisfactory for Louisville than for most other cities because its wards were long and narrow, stretching from the Ohio River to the city's south boundary, and cutting across diverse socioeconomic zones and concentrations.

In Louisville (see figure 6) an analysis of the very full listing of free persons of color in the 1851 directory shows almost one-sixth of the locatable free black residents living in a four-block area bounded by Ninth, Chesnut, Eleventh, and Walnut streets in what was then Louisville's West End, overlapping wards seven and eight. If the free persons of color in the five blocks lying adjacent to these four on the north and west are included, the figure rises to almost one-quarter (24.88%). While figure 6 also shows free black residences to have been widely distributed across all eight wards (and on a north-south axis within them as well), this cluster suggests that Louisville was somewhat more residually segregated by race than the index of dissimilarity indicates.

A very crude measure is the index of dissimilarity, i.e., the percentage of the white and nonwhite population that would have to be shifted to achieve a random distribution across all the geographic units within which the measurement takes place.

In the index Curry defines the index of dissimilarity as SEGREGATION.
p 90/ Curry reports of the 1820s in Louisville: "A decade earlier blacks, bond or free, who contracted smallpox in Louisville were (unlike whites) required to enter the smallpox hospital, and the authorities were authorized to use force to accomplish the transfer. To prevent concealment of black victims, the ordinance also provided that any householder who failed to report a case of smallpox contracted by a Negro should be fined fifty dollars."

source: Louisville, Acts, 1839, pp 155-56

LOUISVILLE SUBSTANTIALLY FREE OF ANTIBLACK MOB VIOLENCE (1800-50) 5254

p 111/ Curry says that Louisville, like New Orleans, St. Louis, and Baltimore, was "...largely free of antiblack mob violence...." Curry also points that each of these cities had a substantial foreign-born population, seemingly indicating that the number of foreign-born usually had something to do with the absence of riots against blacks, saying: "... the incidence of racial violence actually declined in the 1840s as the tide of immigration grew stronger."
p 159/ "black educational efforts were apparently extremely sporadic in Louisville throughout the first four decades of the nineteenth century, but in the 1840s a number of free Negro teachers (at least two of them women) opened schools that quickly attracted a substantial number of both free and slave students, the latter being received only with the written consent of the owner. Henry Adams, a Baptist minister, was first in the field in 1841, and he was quickly followed by Robert M. Lane, the Reverend Peter Booth, William H. Gibson, and others. Adams's school grew so large that it eventually required a staff of five."

p 181/ "In Louisville in 1820 almost one-third of the Methodists were black and by 1835 their proportion was well over one-half."
"Technically, free blacks were entitled to vote in Louisville between 1792 and 1799, but since the census marshals found only a single free Negro in 1800 the entitlement was clearly irrelevant, even if it could have been exercised."

"The Reverend Henry Adams occupied a similar position in the West. Born in South Carolina, he established a Baptist church in Louisiana before coming to Louisville in 1839 as the first minister of the black Fifth Street Baptist Church. He also served, for a short time, the Baker Street Baptist Church in Cincinnati."
CURRY'S PLOTTING OF FREE BLACK RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION IN LOUISVILLE IN 1851

1 p curry, free black in urban america 1800-1850, 1981

p.65/

source: Jegli, directory, 1851-52

KY GAZETTE AD FOR "NEGRO BOYS" TO WORK IN NAIL FACTORY IN LEXINGTON (1793)

v s clark, hist of mfg in us, I, 1929

p 341/ "A nail factory at Lexington, doubtless using iron from the neighboring furnace, repeatedly printed calls for 'sprightly negro boys of 14 and 15 years,' and for journeymen and apprentices."
SPYING EFFORTS OF HENRY BLAKE OF GLASGOW, WHEN LOU THREATENED IN 1862 BY CONFEDS

benj quarles, the negro in c w, 1968 (1953)

p 87/
"When Louisville was threatened in the fall of 1862, colored Henry Blake furnished valuable information to the command of Don Carlos Buell. Blake, who lived at Glasgow, nearly a hundred miles below Louisville, spent his nights spying on Confederate positions and reporting his findings to Unionists who, in turn, forwarded the information to the Union lines. One night Blake learned from a slave girl that her master was going to confer with one of Bragg's lieutenants. Blake concealed himself in the room and overheard the discussion of plans. This information he sent to the Federal Army through one of the white Unionists so numerous in Lower Kentucky. When Blake's activities became known by the Confederates, a reward of $1000 was offered for him."

no source cited

LOU JOURNAL URGES BLACK PREACHERS TO EXPLAIN TO SLAVES THAT THEY WERE NOT INCLUDED IN EMAN PROC (1864)

benj quarles, the negro in c w- 1968 (1963)

p 164/
"Unquestionably thousands of slaves got wind of Lincoln's edict. The news of the preliminary proclamation seeped so widely among Kentucky slaves held to service that one of the state's leading dailies sought to counter the general impression among them that they would be free. The Louisville Journal urged colored clergymen in the state 'to set themselves earnestly, zealously, and energetically to explain' to the slaves of Kentucky that the proclamation had no application to them since Kentucky was not one of the states in rebellion."
February 26, 1864 entry:

p 186/ "Wm. McCutcheon told George Rankin as he was passing his farm that two of his darkies had run off last Sabbath while he was at Church. One of them was so steady he was the last one he would have suspected for leaving him. He said not long since the Military pressed another one to work on the fortifications, he would have to let his farm lie idle for want of hands to work it, and then too if he should try to raise a crop the Military would come and take it and now between you and me I wish there never had been one negro brought into America-- Said he had not learned until lately that this war was brought about on account of the nigger, and he wished every Confederate officer was disposed of as they should be. At this time we hear of a great many darkies leaving their masters in Kentucky."

April 20, 1864 entry:

p 198/ "Last night a company of rowdie boys of Auburn went to Jeffersonville & entered the dwelling house of the hired hands who are employed to cut wood for the government. They frightened the negroes by telling them that they were guerrillas & was going to shoot the last one of them or hang them. They ordered Bill to catch them a good horse & saddle him immediately Bill put off & did not return and in like manner they all left the house and cleared themselves women and all. They had to hide out all night, and it was some time in the day before they all ventured back home. Those rowdies only aimed to have some sport /begin p 199/ at the expense of the poor negroes feelings; but before they all returned to their work to day some of them were pretty badly frightened; fearing they would be prosecuted one of them begged pardon of Jefferson & said he was willing to ask forgiveness of the negroes if that would satisfy rather than be prosecuted. The Engineer on the Train said he would inform Col. Maxwell of their conduct. So the matter stands."

April 25, 1864: "... two of our hired colored men left us to join the army, and last night James Copeland lost five of his men and all of his horses but one.--Winfield Hall lost three stout young men; all he had. So it seems that this part of Ky. will soon be free from negro laborers or the Masters of Servants will have none to hire out or work for them. & from present appearances negro slavery is doomed and we say AMEN!"
NEW YORK TIMES REPORT OF LYNCHINGS IN KY 1871-1873

j e cutler, lynch law, 1969 (1905)

p 150/ Cutler says that he got the following statistics from the New York Times for the three years 1871-1873, though he specifically says in a footnote that there is no claim of completeness with regard to the statistics.

"Kentucky: 2 negroes hung for rape, 1 white hung for rape, 1 negro hung for murder, 3 negroes shot by masked men, 1 negro 'murdered' by Ku-Klux." J.E. Cutler is a Ph.D. who taught at Wellesley.

DAMAGES CLAIMED IN JEFFERSON CO BY SLAVE OWNER FOR SLAVES LYNCHED (1857)

j e cutler, lynch law, 1969 (1905)

p 125/

"Damages were sometimes claimed by owners for the loss of their slaves through illegal procedure. A suit was instituted in the year 1857 in the Jefferson Circuit Court of Kentucky against the city of Louisville for the value of the slaves George, Gill, and Jack, the murders of the Joyce family. George and Bill had been hung by an infuriated mob, and Jack had cut his own throat in jail, in order to escape the fate which befell his companions. $1,500 each was claimed as damages by the owners of the negroes. The Louisville Courier in commenting upon the case said the suit would be of interest and importance, involving some delicate principles of law."

Doesn't say anything about the outcome. source Liberator, Oct 16, 1857 (27: 167)."
In 1874 another case was decided which limited even further the power of Congress to guarantee the negro his right of suffrage. Congress had undertaken to pass an act to punish whoever hindered a citizen in any way, by bribery, intimidation, or other means, from voting at any election on account of race or color. Certain election officials in Kentucky had refused to receive ballots from negroes, and the case came up for decision. The court started out with the proposition already established that the Fifteenth Amendment did not confer the right of suffrage on anyone. This particular case concerned stated elections, and the court stated that the Fifteenth Amendment was the only foundation Congress had for legislating concerning state elections. The amendment forbade discrimination only on account of certain facts—race and color. Therefore Congress could proceed to punish only the act which was forbidden—the discrimination on account of race or color. But the act of Congress undertook to do much more and sought to punish bribery and intimidation. The implication was that an election official could refuse a ballot offered by a citizen for any reason he chose except race or color, and no act of Congress could reach him. Of course it was practically impossible to prove that the refusal was on account of race or color.

Indeed the scope of congressional power was very much limited even in respect to purely federal elections. In a Kentucky case the court pointed out that the Fifteenth Amendment simply forbade state or federal action intended to restrict the right of suffrage—and not the action of private individuals not representing the state. The court held that it was the intent of the amendment to prohibit legislation discriminating on account of race or color, and that the states themselves must be left to punish private individuals who obstructed the suffrage. Naturally the state authorities took no notice of these obstructionist activities. Congress tried to prevent them, but the federal courts stood in the way.

source: James v. Bowman, 190 U.S. 127; Karem v. US, 121 Fed. 250
The glorious Fourth of July, a day celebrated for eighty-nine years as the birth of the white man's liberty in this country, was celebrated, as it was never celebrated before, in Kentucky, by the colored people.

Extensive preparations had been made; and though the heat was oppressive, everything went off in a very satisfactory manner. There was a great outpouring of the people. They came in crowds from everywhere; from the factories, from the workshop from the fields hard by, and from the deep dark dens of tyranny; and in the pure, fresh air of freedom enjoyed themselves, as alone they can enjoy a blessing who have ever before been deprived of it. For the first time in our history, we had the privilege of celebrating this day consecrated to liberty as a free people; for the war being ended, slavery is dead throughout the length and breadth of our country. We can breathe the fresh, pure air of heaven as men, now, not as chattels we have an interest in the undying legacy of our forefathers; we have a right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and by God's help, we will maintain these rights.

The procession was formed in the following order, which after marching through the designated streets, repaired to Johnson's Wood's, contiguous to the city, where there was gathered the happiest assemblage of people that ever congregated in this State.

First came the 123d U.S.C. Infantry, full eight hundred strong, marching to the stirring strain of their martial band; next, the Fifth Street Sabbath School, followed by the Asbury Chapel Sabbath School; fourth, Quinn's Chapel Sabbath School; fifth, Jackson street Sabbath School; sixth, Green street Sabbath School; pressing after then came York street Sabbath School; next came Centre street Sabbath School, with a brass band, discoursing most excellent and patriotic music; after the Sabbath School tramped the government employees, about one hundred and fifty strong, bearing aloft the banner of beauty and glory; then followed the "Sons of Union," with their chaste designs and next regalas; eleventh, "West Union Sons;" twelfth, "Independent Sons of Honor;" thirteenth, "United Brothers of Friendship;" fourteenth, "United Fellows," followed by a tastefully decorated car, drawn by four horses, filled with misses representing the "Fifth street Baptist Aid Society." This was followed by another beautifully arranged decorated car, filled with misses representing the original Aid Society in Kentucky—the "Colored Ladies" Soldier's and Freedman's Aid Society.

These young ladies made the route musical with patriotic airs. Next came a car filled with busy workmen, plying the saw, the plane, hammer, and mallet; next came the 125th U.S.C. Infantry, six hundred strong, marching with soldierly tramp to the soul-inspiring strain of national music.
"Full ten thousand persons marched in the procession, and at the ground ten thousand more were assembled to listen to the addresses of the talented orators."

"A sumptuous dinner was prepared for the soldiers, to which they did ample justice."

"After dinner the speaking commenced, David Jenkins, Esq., of Columbus, Ohio, first addressed the people in stirring strains of eloquence, interspersed with anecdotes and side-splitting yarns that made these old woods roar. Mr. John M. Langston, of Oberlin, Ohio, was then introduced, and was greeted with rounds of applause. He entertained the audience with a beautiful and finished speech, abounding with eloquence and argument. He forcibly reviewed the past history of the country, and expatiated upon the duty and responsibility of the colored people in the future."

"Mr. Langston was followed by Chaplain Collins, of the 57th Illinois Regt., who, in a short address, contrasted the difference between the first and last Fourth of July that passed during the rebellion, expressed his gratification at seeing so many colored people gathered together, and, rejoicing over the downfall of slavery. All colored men today, by God's blessing, and through the instrumentality of Mr. Lincoln, are free, acknowledging no master but God."

"Chaplain Collins was followed by Lieut. Ward of the 125th U.S.C."

"Infantry, who spoke of the colored troops with whom he is identified, complimented their bravery, intelligence, loyalty, and manhood: he claimed that they have exhibited the highest qualifications as men and soldiers, etc."

"Gens. Palmer and Brisbane arrived on the grounds about 5, P.M. As soon as they were recognized, such a shout as went up from amongst those old brown avenues was enough to call the wood sprites and all the invisible denizens of those sylvan shades from their lurking places; and when he mounted the rostrum, the rounds of applause were deafening."

"The General was visibly affected by his reception, and, after the tumult had subsided, spoke substantially as follows:

SPEECH OF GEN. PALMER

"Fellow-Citizens: I can say truly that to be welcomed by my fellow-citizens, by those who have gathered together upon this occasion to celebrate the anniversary of American independence the first time in their lives with freedom, the first time being permitted to assemble together to enjoy blessings that we have ever enjoyed, is an occasion that fills me with lively emotions. (Applause) I want your patient attention, my fellow-citizens, for the few moments that I shall address you; for I have come here expressly to give you some instruction and words of advice."

"This is the first time that you, colored people, have been allowed to assemble amongst yourselves, to celebrate in your own way,
in your own manner, the birth-day of American liberty. 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. You have been denied the privilege, heretofore, of celebrating this day; the Declaration of Independence did not apply to you; you were not included in its blessings. But I tell you here to-day, fellow-citizens standing beneath these hoary trees, fanned by this gentle breeze that comes laden with the perfume of peaceful fields, under the canopy of the deep blue heavens, the throne of the 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! In all these States there is no more slavery, unless you want it so; there is no slavery in Kentucky, unless you want to be slaves. I believe, with our fathers, that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Therefore you have been denied the privilege of enjoying these great blessings; but from now henceforth and forever, you are free! you and your children, and your broken families. +

Hon. (?) Gid. Mallory is canresing this State, stumping upon the platform for the future existence of slavery and the rights of slave-
I entered this war in the North-West, and marched down through Missouri, taking part in the operations around and siege of Island No. 10. After the fall of that stronghold, we were sent to reinforce Gen. Ballack in his advance on Corinth, after the rebels fled from there. I followed the track of war hither and thither through Tennessee until we were pressed back from the Tennessee river. On our retreat every white man we came across tried to deceive us, either by false information of the whereabouts of the enemy, or the topography of this country; whereas the "niggers" would crawl into camp at night, and give information where the rebels were located; and it got to be such a common circumstance, that when I saw a nigger crawling into my camp, I knew it boded no good to the rebels! Events tramped upon the heels of events, and were pressed back into Kentucky, took the advance again, and, after the battle of Stone River, the niggers flocked in such crowds that I took one hundred and fifty of them, and mounted them as teamsters, and took one hundred and fifty more to help them. The rebels were very active then, and every foraging party that was sent out was liable to be attacked. When I came in, Rosecrans said to me- "Palmer, they say that you have three hundred negro teamsters, and they run every time they hear a gun fired; now, what do you think of them?" "Yes," said I, "they run and hide behind stumps, in fence-corners, wherever anything presents itself; but I do not blame them. They have no arms to defend themselves nor teams, and they would be foolish.

more then men, if they did not run. Give them arms to defend themselves with, and my word for it, they will fight." 

"Palmer you are right" said Rosecrans; "any man, black or white, will run if he cannot fight-cannot protect himself." 

Not long since, I was over in Illinois, and a man said to me, "You are over there in Kentucky: what do you think about negro suffrage? I am opposed to it: the niggers have no sense enough to vote." 

I asked him if he thought it was foolish to be a rebel, and wise to be loyal.

"Oh, yes," said he. 

"Very well," said I; "all of those intelligent, wise white men were rebels-therefore foolish; and all of those senseless, ignorant niggers were loyal-therefore wise; and I am in favor of giving the right of suffrage to wise men." 

They say that you will die if you become free, but I have never known freedom to kill any one yet. Here is a man who has been free all his life, and he does not look as though he had starved to death, or been too lazy to earn a living. 

I have seen the master, oh, mother! watch day by day, month by month, year by year, the growth of the child you nourished, and calculate how much he increased in wealth as your child increased in age and strength. What do you suppose the niggers are worth in all Kentucky today? Here is a goodly number—we will say ten thousand. Now, we are going to have an old-fashioned auction sale:
The Liberator, July 21, 1865 (p 2)

How much do you offer for this crowd of fine, fat, healthy niggers? Do I hear one dollar? one dollar? one dollar? Now, my fellow-citizens, I will tell you— I would not give this cigar for all the niggers in Kentucky as slaves. (Applause) Slavery is dead—as dead as old God. Mallory who is stumping the State for the rights (?) of slaveholders! (Applause.)

"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.) If you want to hire yourself out, go and do so; and if you are arrested, and put in prison, I will turn you out. (Applause.) Not long since, a man was arrested. For what, do you think? For stealing some man's watch? No! For one's pocket-book? No! For arson? No! For murder? No! Now I will tell you he wanted to hire himself out to work, to support his wife and children! He was put in jail for desiring to work, the lazy tritling nigger! Judge Johnson put him in jail, and I turned him out (applause) as soon as I found it out, and today he is as free as Judge Johnson."

"I was in Washington city not long since, and in a conversation with the President, I remarked, "They saw that I am too radical out there in Kentucky, and they want me removed.""

"The President replied, "Gen. Palmer, you are there, and know what is needed. Go back, and do whatever you think is necessary and I WILL BACK YOU UP IN IT!" (Loud, long, and continued applause—a voice proposed three cheers for the President, which were given with a will)"

"Gen. Palmer, resuming—You may well give cheers for the President; for I am no abolitionist at all compared with ANDREW JOHNSON."

"In conclusion, let me inform you that now you are free—there is no more slavery in Kentucky; but, my fellow-citizens, you must help yourselves; you must resolve that you will be free. I may issue orders upon top of orders, and they will not be worth the paper upon which they are written, unless you act for yourselves. You must now work; you have families to support; your wives will need clothes; your children need books and an education. Freedom confers new obligations, new responsibilities; you must be industrious and economical, and save from your earnings a portion; and the day is not far distant when you will be able to buy you a little home, and gather the comforts of life about you. Do not quarrel with the low and profligate, nor spend your earnings in coffee-houses nor foolish extravagance. Be honest, industrious, and respectful, and your way is clear."
When Gen. Palmer concluded, the whole vast audience cheered, and waved banners, until the whole forest seemed alive with the spirit of freedom. The band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner," after which Gen. Brisbane, commander of all the colored troops in Kentucky addressed the audience in a few pertinent and well-timed remarks. But my letter is too long already, and I will come to a conclusion. Everything passed off in a satisfactory manner.


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Handclapping to mark rhythm was a staple element in African music, reported by European travelers with convincing frequency. In 1621 Richard Jobson wrote of the circle surrounding the dancers, 'the standers by seeme to grace the dancer, by clapping their hands together after the manner of keeping time....' The practice known as 'patting juba' was an extension and elaboration of simple handclapping, raising it to the level of a self-contained accompaniment for dancing. It seems quite likely that the prohibition of drums in the colonies contributed to the development of this less threatening rhythmic device. Says he can't find any reference to "patting" or "juba" in the Jamaica area. Also, that no one claims that "Juba" was an archaic English practice.

"From its name and its limited resources—'striking the hands on the knees, then striking the hands together, then striking the right shoulder with one hand, the left with the other—all the while keeping time with the feet, and singing'—patting might be assumed to be very old. No eighteenth-century descriptions of it have been found, however; the earliest known reference to the practice dates from the 1820/s. Henry Bibb, who was born in May, 1815, to a slave mother in Shelby County, Kentucky, deplored the encouragement by slaveholders of secular amusements, such as dancing, patting 'juber,' singing, and playing the banjo." Beverly Tucker, Edgar Allen Poe, and Sidney Lanier mention patting juba.

© Northup, 12 Yrs a Slave, p 219
p 177/ "One Thomas Shillitoe wrote of an incident he observed near Mount Vernon, Kentucky, in 1829: 'This morning we were met by a company of slaves, some of them heavily loaded with irons, singing as they passed along; this, we were informed, was an effort to drown the suffering of mind they were brought into, by leaving behind them wives, children, or other near connexions and never likely to meet them again in this world.'" Shillitoe's Journal of his travels as a minister was printed in Friends' Library 3 (1839): /74/-486.

More sophisticated, better trained musicians were the cause of a legal action filed in October, 1844, in the Chancery Court of Louisville, attaching the steamboat Pike "to recover damages for the unauthorized transportation of... three slaves, Reuben, Henry and George, on board said steamboat from Louisville to Cincinnati, whence they escaped to Canada." The slaves were described as between nineteen and twenty-three years of age, well trained as dining room servants and scientific musicians, in which capacity they had been in the habit, for some years, of playing together on various instruments, at balls and parties... each of them was worth $1500... They were taken on board the Pike, at Louisville, about the last of January, 1841, when they had with them, besides their clothes, musical instruments and books of the value of about $250; that from Cincinnati... they escaped to Canada, and... the complainant had expended from $700 to $1000 in fruitless efforts to recover them.

The defendant charged that the complainant had allowed the slaves to go to Louisville to live with one Williams, a free Negro, in order to learn music, and that afterwards he gave them written permission to accompany him to any part of the South, "even so far as New Orleans." "It appears that... Henry and Reuben... were with him once in Cincinnati, Ohio, once and perhaps twice in Madison, Indiana, and two or three times in New Albany, Indiana [i.e., in free
Fred Douglass' Explanation of the Meaning of Blacks Singing in Slavery

Douglass's impassioned interpretation of the meaning of these songs to the men who sang them far exceeds in eloquence and sensitivity any other comparable statement in the literature.

I did not, when a slave, understand the deep meaning of those rude and apparently incoherent songs. I was myself within the circle; so that I neither saw nor heard as those without might see and hear. They told a tale of woe which was then altogether beyond my feeble comprehension; they were tones loud, long and deep; they breathed the prayer and complaint of souls boiling over with the bitterest anguish. . . .

I have often been utterly astonished, since I came to the north, to find persons who could speak of the singing among slaves, as evidence of their contentment and happiness. It is impossible to conceive of a greater mistake. Slaves sing most when they are most unhappy. The songs of the slave represent the sorrows of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears. At least, such is my experience.
John Dixon Long, a Philadelphia clergyman, was less personally involved in these songs, but his interpretation complements Douglass's.

Listen to his songs while seated on his ox-cart hauling wood, or splitting rails. . . his holiday songs and his self-made hymns. His songs do not always indicate a happy state of mind. He resorts to them in order to divert his thoughts from dwelling on his condition. . . The songs of a slave are word-pictures of every thing he sees, or hears, or feels. The tunes once fixed in his memory, words descriptive of any and every thing are applied to them, as occasion requires. . . Imagine a colored man seated on the front part of an ox-cart, in an old field, unobserved by any white man, and in a clear loud voice, ringing out these words...

"William Rino sold Henry Silvers; Hilo! Hilo!
Sold him to de Georgy trader; Hilo! Hilo!
His wife she cried, and children bawled; Hilo! Hilo!
Sold him to de Georgy trader; Hilo! Hilo!"

Here is a specimen in the religious vein.

"Working all day,
And part of the night,
And up before the morning light.
Chorus.—When will Jehovah hear our cry,
   And free the sons of Africa?"

A year after Long's book was published, W. H. Venable, on his "ramble" to New Orleans, recorded from Kentucky one of the most vivid descriptions of singing on the march:

On Christmas Eve, a gang of colored hands from the 'Iron works,' came in joyfull procession to Mount Sterling. Their captain headed the line, improvising and singing in a loud voice, such couplets as:

"Oh Lord have mercy on my soul,
De hens and chickens I has stole."

At the close of each line the whole squad would join in a jubilant chorus, animating to hear. . . [They] were coming home to spend the holidays. . . After the week . . . the reluctant company returned, in slow procession, and again they sang, but now in mournful strain. The leader, improvising his solo as before, changed its tenor to suit his mood:

"Fare ye well, ye white folks all!!!"

The wild, sad chorus came swelling from the marching column, as from some melodious instrument:

Chorus.—"Wo - o - o - o - o - o!"
Solo.—"And fare ye well, ye niggers too!"
Chorus.—"Wo - o - o - o - o - o!"
Solo.—"I holler dis time, I holler no mo!"
Chorus.—"Wo - o - o - o - o - o!"

Thus went on the strange song and chorus, as the slaves filed back to their labor, tramp, tramp, tramp; and the tunes grew fainter in the distance, till at last the dying "Wo - o - o - o - o - o!" was lost in the silence of the winter night. 26

The near relation of such songs to those used in boating, loading cargo, or other kinds of group work is unmistakable. When blacks joined in a new kind of song was put to military service.
w w sweet, rel on am frontier; baptists, collection of source material, 1931

p 610/ "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman to his Sister in Philadelphia, dated Lexington, Kentucky, August 10, 1801." Describes a Camp Meeting at Cane Ridge in Bourbon County. There were two preaching stands for whites "and about 150 yards in the south course from the house was an assembly of black people, hearing the exhortation of the blacks."

d j epstein, sinful tunes and spirituals, 1977, puts it this way:

p 197/ "From the first camp meeting, contemporary accounts reported the presence of black worshippers. An extract of a letter from a gentleman to his sister in Philadelphia, dated Lexington, Kentucky, August 10, 1801," described the historic Cane Ridge meeting: 'I hasten to give you an account of the revival of religion . . . the meeting . . . took place at Kainridge, in Bourbon county . . . . [there were two preaching stands for whites] and about 150 yards in a south course from the [meeting] house was an assembly of black people, hearing the exhortations of the blacks."

PALMER ON SLAVERY IN KY (1865)'

The Liberator, Aug 11, 1865 (p 3)

General John N. Palmer, commanding the Department of Kentucky, has addressed a letter to President Johnson, in answer to the charge that the Provost Marshals of his department were in the practice of issuing "free papers" to colored persons without regard to the legal right of those receiving them to freedom. It is a forcible paper, and contains many important facts. We give it below. The orders which he refers to we do not find in our exchanges which publish the letter:

HEADQUARTERS
DEPARTMENT OF KENTUCKY
Louisville, Kentucky, July 27, 1865.

To His Excellency Andrew Johnson, President of the United States:
Sir: I have already by telegram acknowledged your dispatch of Mr. Price, which states that Provost Marshals issue "free Papers" to negroes indiscriminately. I refer you to my dispatch, in which I say no "free papers" are issued by any officers of this department, which, though literally true, does not quite meet the facts as they are.

I forward you my General Orders Nos. 32 and 49. Under these orders many passes have been issued by Provost Marshals, etc., to negroes who hold them; and, I am told, in many cases they regard and act upon them as free papers.

THOUSANDS OF NEGROES ABANDONING THE STATE
The Liberator, Aug 11, 1865 (p 3)

The reasons for issuing Order 32 will be found on the face of the order, but the reasons which influenced the Mayor and his friends to apply to me do not. Large numbers of negroes were then in Louisville, from the surrounding country, who had escaped from, or repudiated the authority of their masters.

The Mayor and others desired my approval of a plan they had arranged for the general enforcement of the laws against vagrancy, and the law which forbids slaves to go at large and hire themselves out as free persons. To have enforced these laws would have produced great misery and alarm amongst the blacks. To leave the negroes in the city would have alarmed the fears of the citizens who were beforehand taught to think their presence would cause pestilence. They sought to make me responsible for either consequence.

To avoid both, I issued Order No. 32. Under it over 5000 negroes have crossed the Ohio river at this place alone.

EXPECTED EMANCIPATION ON INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Before the 4th of July, an impression got abroad amongst the negroes throughout the State that on that day they would all be made free. Inflamed by this belief 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, Frankfort, Bowling Green, Munfordville, etc., was filled with them. They were without work or means; and the greater the number and the more destitute they were, the more the people resisted employing them. I was compelled, from these causes, to issue General Order No. 49, and the "free papers" referred to in the telegram of Mr. Price are merely the passes issued under that order.

THE 'CONSERVATIVES' MAKE THE NEGROES EXPECT THEIR FREEDOM.

I have been greatly embarrassed in respect to the colored people by the acts and declarations of politicians and presses in the anti-administration interest. They have given the negroes extraordinary ideas of the purposes of the Government, by announcing in their speeches and columns that it was the intention of the Government to free them all, furnish them with food and clothing, and put them upon an equality with the whites. Invariably a conservative gathering in a neighborhood is followed by a stampede of negroes.

ONLY SIXTY FOUR THOUSAND SLAVES IN KENTUCKY.

I think and respectfully submit that it is impossible, under the existing state of facts here, to enforce the laws of the State in reference to slaves and slavery.
The Liberator, Aug 11, 1865 (p 3)

At the beginning of the war, Kentucky had about two hundred and thirty thousand slaves—

Say 230,000

Our reports show number of negro enlistments 28,818

Estimated number of women and children freed by resolution of Congress of March 3, 1865, 21-2 for each man 72,045-100,863

Balance 120,137

One half this residue are presumed to have belonged to rebels, and are, therefore, free, 64,368

From this small number ought still to be taken a percentage for the thousands who have escaped from the State.

The Liberator, Aug 11, 1865 (p 3)

OPPRESSION OF FREE COLORED MEN—

For the sake of keeping the small number in subjection to masters, the whole race in the State are most cruelly oppressed and outraged under color of laws which render freedom to a negro in Kentucky impossible.

I have felt it my duty to give protection to this large free population as far as possible, but in doing so I have been, on occasions, compelled to do acts which in effect, greatly impair the tenure of the small number of persons who are still

THE STATUS OF NEGROES IN KENTUCKY

In short, slavery has no actual existence in Kentucky, and if the constitutional amendment is defeated at the election, the whole active colored population will fly unless I employ the troops to prevent it, and you have not, and will not be likely to order that to be done.

To illustrate the effect of any fair rule upon the status of slavery in Kentucky, I will advert to the effect of one rule which I am compelled to recognize and observe.

By the laws of Kentucky—laws once when all were slaves, just enough in their application—all negroes were presumed to be slaves. Now a large majority are certainly free. To presume slavery from color alone is contrary to justice; to presume freedom without regard to color, and give protection accordingly, is to end slavery. I am often called upon to afford protection where there is no proof at hand, and am compelled to presume one way or the other.

I submit these difficulties to meet some of the complaints
which will probably reach you from the loyal people of Kentucky. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

J. M. Palmer
Major General Commanding.

At 7 o'clock p. m. we were to leave for Bowling Green. Great crowds of people, both male and female, followed us to the train. Tramp! Tramp! Some of us thought that would be our last visit to the city where we enlisted. The girls cried and we, too, wept, for we thought that would be the last time we should ever meet.

The police, in the midst of this scene, ordered us out of the depot. My tears were dried at once, and I ordered the boys to charge bayonets. The police fled in every direction, so in the sight of my friends I gained a victory. I was then ready to take my departure, and leave them to carry the news of my victory over civil officers. Ding-dong! All aboard! We kiss each other good-bye, and are off for Bowling Green.
Soon after my arrival here I was appointed, temporarily, Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant, with my headquarters at the Commissary Department, near the depot. One day, while I was off duty, about five thousand soldiers came up from Nashville and stopped over in Bowling Green for two rations. I was out on a visit, and the soldiers missed their dinner. For this piece of negligence I was severely censured. While I held this office I had a fine time. I was allowed to occupy quarters in town and boarded with Mrs. Nealey, a worthy lady, and one who will ever be remembered by me. Her daughter, the wife of Mr. Benjamin Bibb, was an amiable lady, of rare qualities.

While stationed here the son of my old boss, A. Robinson, visited the city to see me. It was three days before he found me, and then he was preparing to leave town for home. We had a joyous time together. I took him through my department and showed him what I thought were all the places of interest. We talked freely of old slave times without a show of prejudice on either side. He bought me a box of cigars, he bade me adieu, and I have never seen him more.
While in camp, and seeing joyous times for soldiers, religion began to grow cold. One day, on the river bank, I met Bro. Swift Johnson. I had never seen him before. He said to me, "You look like a Christian." I told him I was. He grasped my hand, and we rejoiced together that we were not ashamed to own our God. We proposed to have a meeting in our barracks. He said in his company he was the only man who would own Christ. On mentioning the matter to my captain, he said he would be glad if we would hold meetings. That night we had a glorious prayer meeting. Bro. Johnson prayed, I followed, and Thomas also prayed. Bro. Johnson then talked to the sinners and the presence of the Lord was made manifest. Bless His name!

How sweet it is to think of Him!

The day of the surrender of Lee was a grand one with Company L and all the troops in Bowling Green. The war was now over, and the thoughts of going home and being free men filled all hearts with joy. Men were shouting, some crying, and others praying, "O Freedom! how I love thee! Long have I prayed for thee, and at last thou hast come! May I enter into thy joy and rest!"

Almost before we had time to stop smiling, the sad, sad news came, on Sunday morning, that Abraham Lincoln, whom we almost esteemed as a God, had been assassinated by the notorious J. Wilkes Booth. Gen. R. E. Lee surrendered to Gen. U. S. Grant on the 9th day of April and Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on the 14th of April, 1865. The morning the news reached us I had ten men and was patrolling the suburbs of the town. I marched my men out on the plain and sat...
MARRS LEARNS OF DEATH OF LINCOLN; SURRENDER LEE; WHILE IN BG 1865

down and wept. We remained there until nightfall, and then returned to town and joined with the men in camp in sorrowing over our loss. Our Moses had been slain, and we knew not what the future had in store for us. I had recourse to prayer. I threw myself on the strong arm of God, and felt that He would bring me through.

MARRS LEAVES BG, GOES THROUGH LOU TO COLUMBUS, FALL 1865

About 2 o'clock we got aboard of the boat, bound for Columbus, Ky. We started on Sunday and arrived at our destination on the following Tuesday evening at about 3 o'clock—slow traveling. It rained all the time, and I had to sleep on the hurricane roof. Lee had surrendered and Marrs was pretty near ready to do the same thing.

We remained there a part of the winter of 1865, when I was again relieved from active duty. My principal business was to look after the sick in our quarters, and march those who were able to go, up to the doctor's quarters for examination. The rest of my time was devoted to looking after matters in general. I helped to throw out of the Mississippi River the cannon balls the rebels had thrown in at that point where they had been driven from Columbus. I stood on the banks of the Mississippi and looked over into Missouri, on the little town called Belmont, where, it was said, when Gen. Grant fought and routed the enemy, they fell like heating apples from a full tree.
We were ordered, finally, to leave Columbus and go to Paducah, Ky., to relieve the Fourth U. S. Colored Artillery stationed there. We rejoiced at the change, for our men were dying off rapidly in our unhealthy locality. Here I was assigned to duty as master of a wagon train, with three horses to care for. One day, while going out to where the men were engaged in cutting wood, I met three rebels coming toward me at a sweeping gallop. I was approaching them at the same speed. They swore vengeance and passed on. It made me think the war was being renewed. I went on to the woods and ordered one-half of the men to do the chopping, while the balance stood guard.

Soon after this I was taken sick. One of the men that went away with me had been on guard duty in town, and he had by chance caught the small-pox from the citizens. He was brought to the camp, when every soldier immediately fled, and left him sitting in the yard by himself. I told the doctor I would never leave him, and took him to my own quarters, where I sat up with him all night by myself. Such a night I never experienced before or since. He was frightful, and imagined Satan had him in his clutches. He would cry out, "Oh, take him away! I see the chains in his hands! Look at him!" and to keep him in bed I was compelled to sit on him and hold him down. Death had laid his icy hands on him, and though I prayed with him it did no good. He had sinned away the day of grace, and, as the poet says, made his bed in hell. Poor J. D. Brown! I never expect to see him again. His soul is housed in hell. The next morning he was removed to the eruptive hospital, and I felt that I had played the part of a man by standing by a friend. The next day as the drum tapped for dinner a pain struck me in the head and I fell to the earth as dead. The small-pox had me. I was picked up and carried to my room, and the next morning it was found that I had a genuine case of the disease. I was removed to the hospital, there to remain and wrestle with the loathsome malady, but thank God, I was only compelled to keep my bed a few weeks. After I had sufficiently recovered to attend to business, I was solicited to remain to assist the doctor and watch over the medical department. This I refused to do, and was sent back to the camp and reassigned to duty as wagon-master.
MARRS GOT FURLOUGH HOME TO SHELBYVILLE; ATTACKED BY WHITES (1866)

I applied for a furlough to go home, which was granted. About this time the Fifth Cavalry, of which my brother, H. C. Marrs, was Sergeant Major, was mustered out of service at Helena, Arkansas, and he came by and we made the journey home together. Arriving in Louisville, we found the city and suburbs full of Gen. Sherman’s troops, there for the purpose of being mustered out.

I mounted the stage for Shelbyville, for there were no cars running to Shelbyville in those days. I started with my stripes on, and when at Gilman’s Point some of Sherman’s men, stationed there, said to me, “Oh, Sergeant, I pity your case to-night.” I went on to Shelbyville, where I met my father, mother, sisters, and brother. You may know we had a happy reunion. We talked and cried, and friends gathered from all parts of the city to greet me. In the midst of our glee a fire broke out in the upper end of the city and everybody was excited. Without thought that I was among my enemies I pulled off my weapons, kept on my uniform, and ran toward the fire with all speed. I worked with might and main to save the property. So soon, however, as the fire was subdued, my presence was noticed, and I was at once attacked by three men. One of them remarked with an oath “Yonder is a negro officer of the army,” at the same time they rushed upon me with drawn knives. Mother threw herself in between me and them, but we soon pushed her aside, when we had a desperate hand to hand conflict, I retreating and defending myself as best I could. I was armed only with a heavy stick, which I had picked up by chance when the fight first commenced, and the knowledge of the sword exercise I had acquired in the
It remained in Shelbyville three weeks, and I enjoyed myself to my heart's content. The ladies and gentlemen showed me every attention, and entertainments were almost nightly given in honor of my presence. One incident occurred during my stay at Shelbyville that will not be out of place in speaking of these entertainments. I had been in attendance at one of them, and was escorting a young lady home. She had a remarkable fair complexion, was extremely handsome, and was richly and tastefully attired. It was near midnight, and we were passing along one of the principal streets. All at once we were hailed by some one on the opposite side of the street, who started across towards us. I at once drew my pistol and leveled it at him, which, as soon as he saw, compelled him to make a hurried retreat. The young lady was speechless, for at least five minutes, from the fright occasioned by the occurrence. I had no further trouble after this while I remained in Shelbyville.
MARRS OFFERED PROMOTION; THEN MUSTERED OUT APR 24, 1866, LOU

E P Marrs, Life and History, 1885

One week before my time was out I took my departure for Paducah, to rejoin my regiment, and upon my arrival entered at once upon the duties of my office. I was thus engaged but a short time, when I was sent for by my Major and Captain, who desired to know whether I would like promotion to Quartermaster Sergeant. I expressed a desire for the office, but before my appointment was consummated, orders came for our march to Louisville to be mustered out. This was joyful news to us, and with one accord our men raised the grand old song of "Home, sweet home! There's no place like home!"

All aboard for Louisville, where we arrived on the 20th of April, 1866, and were mustered out on the 24th of the same month.

POST 1865 SEGREGATION PATTERNS IN LEXINGTON

J Kellogg, 'The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Lex, 1865-87'
JSH, Xlvii (Feb 1982)

P 40/

"The first twenty years after the Civil War saw the beginning of a meaningful level of racial residential segregation in Lexington. The pattern of antebellum dispersion was rapidly being replaced by postbellum concentration of blacks in peripheral urban clusters. The mechanism behind the rise of racial residential segregation may be discussed in terms of impersonal factors of a large black population increase, a relatively small white population increase, and the land-rent topography of a pedestrian city which forced new low-quality housing to the city's periphery. The spasmodic increase in Negro population just after the war, combined with the much smaller white population increase, created a great demand for black housing, resulting in Negro cluster formation up to 1880."

J Kellogg, 'The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Lex, 1865-87'
JSH, Xlvii (Feb 1982)
Three years later, after a warning in the Ky Legis by Geo. W. Johnston, of Shelby Co, of the possibility of slave uprisings in 1844, in Bullitt County, a certain slaveholder, Albert Stewart, was threatening to punish one of his slaves, when he was turned upon by that slave and two others and beaten to death. News of this episode spread throughout the countryside with exaggerated rumors of an insurrection, but the excitement soon died down without any outward incident.

SLAVES KILL OWNER IN BULLETT COUNTY (1844)

Patrick Doyle, a student at Centre college was said to be the leader of the Aug 5, 1848, exodus of slaves from Fayette Co. Doyle was captured in a hemp field with most of the blacks in the northern part of Bracken County. Doyle, heavily armed, was taken to Lexington. The slaves were placed in several jails. Doyle was said to have "... only the week before, escaped from the county jail in Louisville, where he was confined for attempting to sell several free Negroes whom he had induced to accompany him from Cincinnati.

Patrick Doyle, later identified as Edward J. Doyle, was indicted in the Fayette Circuit Court on seven counts and, pleading guilty to the second charge, was sentenced on October 9, 1848, to the jail and penitentiary house of this Commonwealth at hard labor for the term of twenty years.
"Judge Walker Reid called a special session of the Bracken Circuit Court, and, on August 30, seven of the slaves thought to have been the ringleaders, with forty other Negroes, were led to the bar in the custody of the jailer. These forty-odd slaves and 'several other evil disposed persons' were charged with having 'unlawfully, maliciously, rebelliously and feloniously assembled in a warlike and hostile manner' and 'armed with guns, pistols, knives and other warlike weapons' did 'most wickedly, seditiously and rebelliously prepare and make public insurrection.' Such lawless deeds, according to the indictment, were 'against the peace and public tranquility of this Commonwealth.' For three days the trial lasted, as Harrison Taylor, attorney for the commonwealth, made urgent pleas that speedy justice be administered to the 'wicked and rebellious' slaves. Largely pro-slavery, the jury, swayed in some degree by the passion and prejudice of the hour, returned a verdict of guilty, which carried the extreme penalty against three of the Negroes--Shadrack, Harry and Prestley--all runaways from Fayette County." They were publicly hanged on Oct. 28, 1848.

Word spread throughout the area around Bardstown that the slaves in the area were planning to 'rise.' On the night of the supposed rising/reported by the Thomas Speed family/ axes, scythes, pitchforks were taken inside the doors barred, etc. Nothing happened. All rumor.
"Slaves, as a rule, had a great antipathy for the patrollers, who very frequently were recruited from the ranks of that nondescript class which the Negroes called 'pore white trash.'"

"It was known for many years before the Negroes were emancipated that, notwithstanding the patrol system kept up in Kentucky, slaves would secretly travel over a large scope of country at night and manage to be back in their quarters before morning. They had a grapevine telegraph or secret system of communication never known or comprehended by their masters."
"Mr. Editor--Dear Brother: I have delayed writing to you for the want of something of interest to communicate.+

"I would just say that, before I leave this city, that is, if I can leave, for I am not sure that I can do so yet--for it is very hard for any one to leave at this time, either white or colored--I shall say a few words.+

"Our city is in a state of great excitement, and they fear an attack from the enemy, and are preparing for it. They are throwing up intrenchments all around the city. They called for one thousand negroes to work on the intrenchments. /sic/ They are taking men everywhere they can get them--on the streets or at their houses. They came to my house this morning, between 1 and 2 o'clock. They found no male about the house but myself--and, seeing that I was very lame, they let me be for the present, and said perhaps they would call for me to-day--so that, if I should get to Chester soon, you may know the reason. There is now less than ten thousand soldiers working on the fortifications, a portion of which is not more than fifty yards from my door. Things present a war appearance here now. I don't know how churches will get along, for they have all the ministers of color working on the intrenchments." /sic/

"Louisville at this time is in a state of transition. She is beginning to educate up to the proper point, as fast as any city of her size, I have ever seen. Our people here are feeling the effects of freedom considerably. We have a colored man here who has been made an assistant provost-marshal, and the military authorities have given him authority to break up all the negro traders' yards in the city, and he is doing it with a rush. He found a place, last week, which was too strongly fortified for him, but being determined to carry his point, he sent to the barracks for forty colored guards, who were armed and sent to him on the double quick. I was in the barracks when these guards left for the scene of action, and I tell you, Mr. Editor, there was no time lost. The colored assistant Provost Marshal was enabled to carry out his purpose handsomely. So you see Louisville is becoming enlightened rapidly. It is quite a common thing here now for a colored man or woman, and, sometimes, whole families, to pick up what they have a claim to, (being the relics of slavery,) and setting up for themselves; and what makes this remarkable is, that they open out right here in Louisville; they do not go outside of the city limits." Says the fact that General Palmer's hq is in Louisville helps blacks in Louisville. "Our congregations are being greatly increased. Colored people are coming in from the south very rapidly, and, taking the city all over, the spirit of religion has considerably revived, and the most of our churches are receiving large accessions to their ranks. Elder Brooks has quite a stir (?) in his charge. He has a protracted meeting under
ACTIVITIES OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE (March 1865)

The (AME) Christian Recorder, March 25, 1865, p 1 (T. Strother to the editor, dated Lou, March 19, 1865—strother is black)

way, and receives a great many converts. The Rev. Mr. Strother, a Baptist minister, has had a long series of meetings, and is still going ahead with them. Jackson Street and Centre Street Churches are having quite a time in the way of revival.

"We have had, at Quinn Chapel, a few accessions, but no revival as yet. We console ourselves with the passage of Scripture which says: 'The last shall be first, and the first shall be last.'"

"We have been blessed with speeches from editors and phrenologists for the past two weeks. The editors were Hamilton, of New York, and Sampson, of Cincinnati. We had a phrenologist in the person of Prof. Murray, of Philadelphia, who, by the way, has delivered some of the best lectures on phrenology and physiology, that I have ever heard."

PALMER'S SPEECH TO BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE MARCH 1865

The (AME) Christian Recorder, April 1, 1865, p 1 (letter from T. Strother to editor, dated Louisville, March 21, 1865)

Our Louisville Correspondence

A Great Speech by General Palmer

Mr. Editor:—Sir—We are having great times here. General Palmer, who has been placed in command of this department, has his headquarters in this city, and on last night, March 20th, 1865, he addressed the largest audience of colored people, at Centre street church, which has ever been known to collect in the city of Louisville. I went to the church at an early hour, expecting to be among the first; but contrary to my anticipations, I found the street filled with a dense crowd of people of all colors, who were unable to gain admission to the church. The house is large and roomy, but it was not uncapable of accommodating one-third of the crowd assembled. I got inside the building by the hardest exertion. The General's colored band was in attendance, and, upon his appearance int he pulpit, discoursed some very patriotic music. After the band ceased playing the General arose amidst tremendous applause.

He commenced by saying that he supposed the announcement that he would address the colored people of Louisville in the Centre street church, was what had brought so large a concourse of people together.
That is was likely he was the first major-general who had attempted to address a colored audience; that his first business was a word of advice to colored soldiers; second, to their wives; and third, to the colored people at large.

He told the colored soldiers that they were free the moment they enlisted in the Federal army, whether their masters were loyal or disloyal; that colored soldiers, too, had immortalized themselves and their race, by their heroic deeds on the battlefield since the commencement of this rebellion; and that the general government intended to protect them in their rights, as well as to see that they got their full bounty and pay. He then counselled them to be careful of their money; not to squander it away upon trifles, indrinking and gambling, but to invest it in needful and comfortable things for their wives and children.

To the wives he said: The Congress of the United States made you free by an act passed on the 3rd of March. Every one of you becomes free when your husbands enlist in the Union armies. Take all care of this blessed boon of freedom, teach it to your children, rear your little ones up to the virtue and industry, and show a willingness and determination to do your part in this great work of human elevation, and your race is saved. You have neither master nor mistress any more; you need have no fear, for the lash of the whip has been cracked for the last time over you as slaves. Now exert yourselves, and give the lie to the croakers who have so often said that "niggers can't take care of themselves." Labor, and save the proceeds of your labor. I know that some whites will try to intimidate you, and when they see you fixing up and putting on decent clothes will say, "That nigger is stuck up," but no gentleman or well-bred person will say it; nobody but a fool or a loafer would be guilty of using such ill-bred language.

To the colored people in general he said; you have reason, on account of the great amount of prejudice which exists, and which is brought to bear so fealously against you, to be patient; in a short time all these things will be corrected. You have enemies in the north as well as in the south, but you have, also, a host of friends in this country, who have been and still are laboring for you; but you must labor for yourselves; strive to become united, for without unity of action you can accomplish nothing for yourselves or your race. Do not let trifles divide you; stand and set firmly together, and by all means educate your children, for such in your position, and such aree the odds against which you will have to contend, that you will fail without education. Your owners used to assume the responsibility of taking care of you; but you will have to make your own bargains and do your own trading, and make your own living, for I do state here to-night; officially, that slavery in these United States is dead.

This is a synopsis of the strain in which the General addressed
T. Strother

us. He closed with an eloquent appeal to the people to use all their energies to advance their condition.

Louisville, Ky., March 21, 1865

T. Strother

Mr. Editor:—I have been so closely engaged for the last three weeks, in a fair held at our church, which has just closed, that I have not been able to write anything for your valuable paper.†

We are now doing well, every thing considered. Our city is better governed than I have ever known it to be heretofore. We are under military rule, and every thing pertaining to our welfare is beginning to work well. We have one of the best Generals for this place, and for these times, belonging to that rank of men. He is, in fact and in truth, the colored man's friend. He is earnest and energetic, when engaged for the oppressed race, that that race may have justice as far as possible; and such has been the course which he has pursued since he came into this department, that he has won the confidence and esteem of every colored citizen of the city of Louisville, and of all, colored and white, in the city and State, who are friends to humanity and liberty, and are enemies to traitors. Such, indeed, is our esteem for the General, that the colored citizens, male and female, have formed themselves into committees to raise means to present something handsome to him, as a proper sign of our great regard, and to show him thereby, how much we respect him for what he has done, and is still doing, for the colored people of the city of Louisville, and also, for the colored people throughout the State in general.†
I would mention the result of our fair, for the encouragement of our friends, and the connection in general. We took in $1,624.25, and our clear gain was $720.60, which, I am informed, is better than they have been in the habit of doing, which we are willing to set down to the credit of our noble women, who took so deep an interest in the whole affair. ++

The members of my charge seem to be much encouraged, especially so, since we have first cleared the church of the debt which has been resting on it since it was built. We have raised and paid out, since the commencement of the present conference year. about $1,200. We have not only cleared the church of debt this week, but the congregation have paid my room rent, and they have also paid on my salary up to date $225.00, which is paying me up some weeks ahead of time. We think this is wonderful for our congregation and membership, for we only have about one hundred members, the smallest congregation in the city. Elder Brooks has about two members to our one. Centre Street Church has about seven, and the Fifth Street Baptist Church about nine members to our one, according to their own reports, and yet, the pastor of Centre Street Church told me a short time ago, that we had raised and paid out more money than they. And I would also say, for the encouragement of our brothers and sisters at home, and for the information of those abroad, that the good brothers and sisters of my charge have given me well nigh $200.00 worth of the finest clothes since the beginning of this conference year. over and above my expense and salary, one of my members alone has given me $40, in green-backs and gold, and another gave me ten dollars in green-backs last week. ++
DEATH OF BLACK MINISTER IN DANVILLE (June 1865)

The (AME) Christian Recorder, June 3, 1865, p 2 (letter from Malcolm Ayres to editor, dated Danville, Ky, Apr 29, 1865)

"Mr. Editor:-Allow me to state in your paper that we are again in sadness and in tears, on the death of our beloved brother, Amanzer Burns, pastor of the colored M.E. church, Danville, Boyle county, Ky. He was taken ill on the 29th of March, and fell asleep in the blessed arms of Christ on the 21st of April. +

"A few days before his death he was in a very strange condition:—he lay, from two A.M. till ten the same evening, in a trance; at ten o'clock he revived, and called all his friends and brethren to his bed side, and told them he was near his Father's kingdom. Telling all to be faithful and to meet him in Heaven. Exhorted sinners to flee the wrath to come. He also called for a brother with whom he had lived six years. He told him to take care of his family, and attend to all of his business, for he was going home, and he said, "I want you to sing for me 'I would not live always,' and then I shall be gone." +

"He was about twenty-eight years of age and has been a faithful member of the M.E. church thirteen years. He was licensed about two years ago. He leaves a wife and three children, the youngest four weeks old, and many warm hearted friends and his church to mourn his loss. But we do not mourn as those who have no hope, for we hope to see him again. +

"Though I had from Monday, the 17th, given him up in the hands of the good Lord, and expected that He would soon take him to Himself, yet his departure was quite unexpected. +

"His experience of the abundant goodness of God in time past assured him, as he told me, to his mercy to eternal life. He had resigned himself to the Lord, and awaited His will with the greatest patience. The only wish he made was that his friends would take care of his wife and three little children, and from the beginning of his affliction to the end this was the ruling desire of his heart. +

"My feelings at this bereavement you can better imagine than I can express. We have known the beloved brother Burns in his Christian walk; But alas, he is gone. He was a blessing to Society, but to Him, whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, it seemed good to recall the favors he had lent. It was very hard for me to bid him a hasty adieu. We are all sad, but we will kiss the rod, bless the Lord, and live more consecrated to His name. +

"I need not tell you that his wife is greatly distressed, and that all the church are in the greatest sorrow. They bear it patiently, though they cannot but mourn the lost. +

"Pardon me, Mr. Editor, for thus indulging so long, but my heart is sad for the good brother. May the good Lord keep all of his children in that way, that our last days may be as the beloved Amanzer Burns. +

"May grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied to you and yours in the Christian hope."
MR EDITOR:-The momentous importance of the great events now taking place around us here, as well as their nature, has impressed me with the idea that some slight mention of them might prove entertaining and instructive to the mass of your readers.

"There is, at the present time, the most wonderful shifting and changing of homes going on among the colored people of this city that ever was heard of before in these parts. Old homes have been deserted to occupy new ones. The slaves are thronging the Provost Marshall's office every day, and leaving the city and State for other parts. Some go East, some West, and a great many go North. None are refused a pass. Every man, woman and child who applies for a pass, invariably receives it. A late order of Major General Palmer is to the effect that every one making application for a pass shall be accommodated, and that perfect liberty be granted all to go in any direction they please, in order to seek homes and procure an honest livelihood. This order has caused a great deal of uneasiness among the slaveholders, and especially those who are not willing to see their chattels leave their grasp.

"In some cases the absconded slave is followed to the city; but there, in most cases, the fugitive is lost sight of by his pursuers forever. He crosses the river, and sets his face northward, never again to return, at least until Kentucky is made a free State. The river crossed, the slave is FREE!"

"The colored people residing here in this city are better satisfied now than ever they were before—and well they may be; for we have the best commanding General and the best Editor; that is, we have more Editors than one. But I have yet made the acquaintance of only one, namely, the Editor of the Louisville Daily Union Press, who is a perfect gentleman in every respect, and a great and true friend of the colored man—and I would here take occasion to urge upon every colored person residing in Louisville and out of Louisville, who feels himself able to take a daily or weekly paper, to subscribe at once to the Louisville Daily Union Press, and read the rich contents for himself. The cost of subscription is but trifling, and the outlay will never be regretted. By all means, let our friends give it a fair trial.

"Business is becoming very brisk here indeed, and the demand for houses is such as has never been known before; and there is said to be twelve thousand colored persons now in this city. Our schools are doing well, every thing considered. I saw a report of the colored schools in this city, by the committee of the National Freedmen's Relief Association, who visited this city in the early part of April last, which I consider very imperfect. That report says: "There are eleven colored schools in Louisville, such as they are, taught by incompetent teachers." We would like to know how this committee could report upon the quality of the schools or the teachers without visiting them? There is a school taught by J. H. Cook, a graduate from Oberlin, Ohio, at Quinn Chapel, on Walnut street, between Eighth and Ninth streets, which now numbers over one hundred scholars, which is certainly managed splendidly by Mr. Cook and his assistants. The Rev. J.R. Walden, corresponding secretary of the Freedmen's Relief Association, visited this school one day this week, and spoke in high terms of these teachers, and of the good order with which the school was managed. Now, for the committee above mentioned to report that the eleven colored schools in Louisville, "such as they are, were being taught by incompetent teachers," and to say all this under the circumstances, is what I consider almost an outrage. And, beside this school at Quinn Chapel, conducted by J.H. Cook, as already described, the Rev. Henry Adams, who has taught in this city for
The (AME) Christian Recorder, June 3, 1865, p 2 (letter from T. Strother to editor, May 24, 1865)

for the last twenty or more years with great success, is still conducting two day-schools, which are both doing well, being conducted with good order. To be sure there may be a portion of the eleven schools referred to, which I have not seen. But I will not act as the committee referred to, and condemn those I have seen and those I have not seen, and tell the public that the teachers are incompetent, and that the order of the schools is like ancient Babel. Not having seen all the schools nor teachers, I will not pursue any such course. I would rather encourage the poor downtrodden, despised race, in their endeavors to do good, as far, at least, as I could honestly, rather than be found on the side of the oppressor. I do not pretend to say but that there may be a want of ability to teach and properly to manage, with some of the colored teachers of Louisville, but I would not presume to say that this is the case with all of them. I have had the privilege of visiting some of the best schools in this country-schools taught and managed by as competent teachers as any we have, and of course, know whereof I affirm.

T. STROther
Louisville, Ky.
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CONDITIONS IN LOUISVILLE, JULY 1865

The (AME) Christian Recorder, July 22, 1865, p 2 (Malcolm Ayres to editor, dated Danville, Ky, July 9, 1865)

"Mr. Editor:-Permit me once again to speak through the columns of your most excellent and worthy journal, in order that our people may know what a wise and bountiful Creator is doing in our behalf as a people. We have much reason to be thankful for his infinite goodness to us as a race who have been trodden down and oppressed for many long and weary years. We have been torn asunder and separated from each other by cruel and tyrannical hands—but thanks be to God, who has given us the victory through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We thank Him that the day has come when we have burst asunder the chains of Slavery and the Devil—that we are a free people—free as the playful winds on our native hills! To-day, I and my people may call our wives and children our own. Our hearts now swell with gratitude to God for such a wondrous manifestation of his love to suffering humanity; and I am ready to say, as did David of old, "Bless the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within his holy name!" We have been sitting within the region and shadow of bondage; but a light of incomparable brilliancy and grandeur is springing up as some glittering star of Bethlehem, to guide the weary wanderer to happiness and peace. Beneath its genial rays the gloom and ignorance of the Dark Ages is surely passing away. Praise be to the great God of the Universe! No more weeping and lamentation in Ramah for the absent ones; for Rachel has dried her tears, and the Comforter is nigh—no more cruel parting of mother and children, of husband and wife, and friends that are near and dear—no more stripes of blood, and no more slave-pens of misery and death. The dying moans of the mangled and dusky sufferer have ceased to issue from the old cotton-shed, and all is hushed and still. The mind utterly palsies in the flight of time as we behold this wondrous change. +
We will rally round the flag, boys,
We will rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry of Freedom!

When the last triumphant echoes of the song had died away, General Palmer arose and said: "You, as colored people, are free to-day."

Well, I do not live in Louisville myself, but I made it my business to leave Danville on the 3d inst., and arrived in Louisville at about half-past 6 o'clock. The train of cars that I went down on were crowded to their utmost capacity with the sable sons and daughters of Ham, all on their way to Louisville; and when we entered that city we found it completely overrun with our people. I thought I would be obliged to remain out of doors and take a front seat on the curb stone until morning, with nothing to eat; but the good Lord ordered that it should be otherwise.

We fortunately came across a friend—and I must say that he proved a friend indeed; for I was much in need of a place to rest my weary frame. This friend was none other than Mr. Henry Cusson. He and his dear good wife—may God bless her for her goodness—said to me:

"Mr. Ayres, we will make a pallet on the floor in one of our rooms for yourself and the gentlemen that came from Louisville in company with you."

So you may be sure we slept very soundly that night; and when the rosy beams of the morning of the good old 4th burst forth in beauty and splendor, I arose and looked out; and I tell you, Mr. Editor, we almost thought that we were in the city of Cincinnati; for the streets were all crowded with colored ladies, gentlemen and children, bearing aloft the Stars andStripes, colored bands of music, celebrating the natal day of freedom.

Now I have seen some forty-seven Fourth of July celebrations, but I never saw such a one as this held in the city of Louisville by the sable sons of Ham. Oh, it makes my heart leap with joy that the time has come when we may bless the Lord and rejoice that slavery is dead in our land.

The large concourse took up their line of march from Walnut street up Ninth, taking in all of the Sabbath Schools, from Asbery Chapel, on Ninth street, and the Quinn Chapel; marched to 5th street, and took the School of the 1st Baptist church, Elder Adams, which made the number of children about six hundred. Some of the sweet little girls sang most beautifully. Oh, it was a most imposing sight to behold the procession now move up Second street, and then veering due South-west. About three miles were included in the route. There were about thirty thousand of our people in the procession, including Masons, and Brothers and Sisters of the Aid Society.

All things are doing well and looking well, and we reached our place of destination, after resting awhile. We were called to order by the Rev. Elder Strother, pastor of Quinn Chapel, who announced that we would be addressed by Mr. David T. Jenkins, from Columbus, Ohio. He gave us some very good remarks, and then we had a very nice short speech from Rev. Thomas James, of Rochester, New York. Now I must tell you that Mr. James is a whole team. May the
good Lord prosper and bless his faithful servant. +

"It was then announced that we would have an address from the talented John M. Langston, of Oberlin, Ohio. This gentleman then arose, and I must say that never before did I hear from one of our race such a powerful argument in behalf of the colored people. He seemed to understand all things pertaining to our race, and what is best to be done for them. He seemed to know their whole history. Now here I must again say that I found in the person of Mr. Langston an illustration of the fact that, with education, the colored man can be made all that white men are—and we may thank God that we have such a noble representative. May he prove a blessing to his race in days to come; for he is a bold advocate of our rights; and I have not words to express my great regard for him. I hope the day is not far distant when we shall have many such specimens as the noble J.M. Langston. Let us hope for this. +

We then had an address from Lieut. Ward, of the colored troops, and one from Chaplain Collins, of Illinois, and were lastly addressed by Generals Palmer and Brisbin, and I tell you, Mr. Editor, we fairly shouted with joy. Oh, may the work of the Lord go on until freedom shall spread all over the land, and His cause prosper everywhere. And now I say we must be a working people. We must make money, and keep it; for with money we will have power. Oh, my dear brethren and friends, let us show ourselves to be an industrious people, and all will then be right. +

Yours truly, +

Malcolm Ayres

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LOUISVILLE BLACKS PROTEST SEGREGATED STREETCARS NOV 1870

The (AME) Christian Recorder, Nov 19, 1870, p 1 (letter to editor, unsigned)

"Mr. Editor:-Thinking that a brief outline of things here might not be
uninteresting to your readers, I claim the indulgence of a place in your colums. It may not be known to many of your readers, that the singular custom of allowing colored women to ride in the street cars and not colored men, exists in this city. This has been a matter of great inconvenience to colored men. Last Sabbath afternoon three young men, Robert and Samuel Fox and Horace Pearce, entered one of the cars on Walnut street line, and after paying their fare, were told that they must leave, as it is against the rules of the company to allow colored men to ride inside. They refused to leave, when they were forcibly ejected from the car by the driver and others. They were kicked as they left. They, however, at once returned to the car, armed with stones, but threw none of them. The driver refused to start the car. A very large crowd gathered on the sidewalks; the colored element predominating, and for a time things began to look ominous of a riot. The Superintendent of the road used every exertion to induce the colored men to leave the car, but they refused. At this point Elder H.J. Young entered the same car, and remained until the appearance of an officer, who took the three young men to the station house, where they were soon released on bail. +

At a meeting of the colored people on Monday night, 31st ult., the following resolutions were offered by Rev. J.C. Waters, pastor of Asbury chapel, and unanimously adopted: +

"Whereas, We, the colored men of Louisville, are, and have been deprived of, the right of riding in the street cars of this city for no other reason than the color of our skins. And, whereas, three respectable colored gentlemen
LOUISVILLE BLACKS PROTEST SEGREGATED STREETCARS NOV 1870

The (AME) Christian Recorder, nov 19, 1870, p 1 (unsigned letter to ed)

were recently ejected from the street cars of the 9th street line, therefore be it +

"Resolved, That we, the colored men of Louisville, believe the time has come when we should no longer tamely submit to this proscription, but should manfully, discreetly, yet firmly, demand our rights in all public conveyances in common with all other law abiding citizens. +

"Resolved, That we regard the practice of permitting our wives, sisters and daughters to occupy seats on the street cars, while we are thrust out upon the platform, as an outrage upon right and simple justice. +

"Resolved, That the time has passed when manhood should be recognized by the color of the skin and the crimp of the hair, and we hereby appeal to a dispassionate public and the unprejudiced judgment of the several passenger rail-road companies, whether it be right to compel us to pay the same fare and not give us the same accommodations. +

"Resolved, That we hereby pledge ourselves to use every lawful means in our power to break down this unjust discrimination against so many thousands of our citizens. +

"Resolved, In order to further this matter and to secure unanimity of action, we hereby call upon the colored citizens of Louisville, and all others favorable to the cause of equal and exact justice to all men, to meet in mass meeting on Tuesday night, in Quinn chapel, Walnut street, near Ninth street. +

LOU BLACKS PROTEST SEGREGATED STREET CARS NOV 1870

The (AME) Christian Recorder, nov 19, 1870, p 1 (unsigned letter to ed)

"The following I clip from the Commercial: +

"INDIGNATION MEETING. +

Action of the Colored People at Quinn Chapel Last Night—Resolutions Passed to Make the Walnut street Case a Test in Court. +

"Quinn Chapel was crowded last night with the most intelligent colored people of the city, met together to express themselves on their right to ride in the street cars of this city. A very earnest and decided feeling was manifested, and after several speeches were made, resolutions were adopted. After which a subscription was started to defray the costs of testing the suit now pending in the City Court, wherein the Fox brothers and Horace Pearce are being tried for disorderly conduct in attempting to ride on the Walnut street cars against the consent of the driver and rules of the company. Quite a large sum of money was raised, and the meeting pledged to raise all that may be needed to prosecute the case to a finality. The following are the resolutions: +

"Whereas, the colored men of Louisville are and have been debarred from the right to ride in the public conveyances of this city for no reason except a senseless prejudice which owes its origin to that foul system of human slavery which once cursed this nation; and, whereas, we regard the privilege of being heard, and thereby seeking redress for any wrong inflicted as the inalienable right of every human being, therefore be it +

"Resolved, That we hereby declare that we would be false to every lofty impulse of true manhood if we longer bore silently this injustice. +

"Resolved, That we neither ask nor demand anything beyond simple justice to which we are justly entitled in common with all other peaceful and law-abiding
citizens, and as American citizens we assert that the existence of this proscription is subversive of true republican government and at war with every principle of right. 

"Resolved, That the persistent efforts made to ignore our right to what is the common property of all, and the constant refusal to recognize manhood without regard to color, are alike unworthy the spirit of the age and the civilization of the nineteenth century."

"Resolved, That we hereby approve of the course pursued by Messrs. Fox and Pearce in their determination to make their expulsion recently from the street cars a test case, and we pledge ourselves to sustain them in all prudent legal measures which they or others may take to secure redress."

"Resolved, That we hereby pledge ourselves never to cease the agitation of this question until the cause of eternal right shall triumph over might."

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From Louisville
Prof. R. Mortimor

Mr. Editor,—Louisville has only one colored physician Mr. Henry Fitzbutler—who is a graduate of the Medical Department of the University of Michigan. Although here but a short time, he has quite an extensive practice and is regarded as one of the most skillful doctors in the city. Influenced doubtless, by the success of Dr. Fitzbutler several of our most intelligent young colored men, desirous to understand the healing art, have for some time been studying very hard with the view of applying for admission to the Louisville Medical College. This fact found its way into the Courier Journal of Sunday 16th inst. I doubted much whether the conservative doctors of Louisville would admit the young men; yet hoped that they would not be rejected. To my great regret, the first thing that met my eyes in Monday's paper was the following:

To the Editor of the Courier Journal:

Under the head of "Local Brevities" in your columns of today a paragraph occurs which requires some notice at my hands as the Dean of the Louisville Medical College. There are already established in the country five medical colleges which make no distinction as to the color of their students. The Louisville Medical College is not one of the five, but will in the future as in the past, refuse admission to all but white men.

Very respectfully,
Louisville Feb. 16th 1873

E.S. Gaillard, M.D.
Dean of Faculty

Turning from this in disgust my attention was arrested by the text of a Bill proposed in the Kentucky Legislature by Mr. Armstrong locking to the establishment of a uniform system of common schools for "children of African descent." This is the third bill of the kind that has been brought before the Legislature during its present session. Neither of them proposes to give us all what we want; yet we must take the half loaf and use it as a means whereby to get the whole.

Louisville Ky., Feb. 18th 1873

The (AME) Christian Recorder, March 6, 1873, p. 8

E. S. Gaillard, M. D.
Dean of Faculty

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General ACCT OF Henry Adams' African Bap Ch, From Long Run Assn

Minutes, 1839

h e wickenden, 'hist of churches of lou with reference to slavery,' masters' thesis, 1921

p 19/ The Long Run Association minutes for September 1839 state: "The First Baptist church in its connection and under its core a large African Church consisting of about 300 members. They are in a large new brick building put up by their own means. Elder Henry Adams, a talented colored brother, is their pastor and preaches to them every Lord's Day and receives for his support $500 a year. In 1843 this church numbered 745."

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 informant on Dr. Fitzbutler & Lou Medical College 1873

The (AME) Christian Recorder, March 6, 1873, p. 8
"Ten contrabands, all males, arrived here last night (Jan. 15) from Bowling Green. They have been several days making their escape, and compose the part of a large party, all of which left at the same time. They made their way to our pickets last evening, and, after undergoing examination at the outposts, were brought to headquarters. I had a conversation with one of them, an intelligent young mulatto. He says that for two or three weeks the Rebels have been seizing on all the colored people they can find, and that a great number is now at Bowling Green. They take whole families, without respect to age or sex.

The women are put into the hospitals as nurses and washer women. The stouter children are put to work in various ways, the best men taken as soldiers and the rest employed as servants and laborers. Nearly all of these slaves have been taken forcibly from their masters. Numbers of them have been run South, and sold for the benefit of the Southern Confederacy. He says there are fully a thousand at Bowling Green, awaiting an opportunity to escape, some to our lines, and others to their masters. On their way here, this party were frequently aided by Union men, some of whom had been robbed of their slaves. They all represent the distress and disolation at Bowling Green, and through the surrounding country, as frightful.

"Having pressed nearly all the negroes into the service, the rebels have now commenced on the white people. It was a condition of Kentucky's admission into the Southern Confederacy that she furnish 25,000 troops."

Nothing else in the letter about blacks.

ENCLAVE HOUSING OF FREE BLACKS IN LEX IN 1860

john kellogg, the evolution of black residential areas in lex, ky, 1865-1887, jsh, xlvii (Feb 1982)

A map of free Negro residences in 1860 indicates that within the broad pattern of dispersion there existed several enclaves of free blacks (Figure 3). Almost without exception the enclaves had poor residential site qualities. If not located on relatively low-lying land, an enclave might be found abutting a cemetery or factory, a red-light district, or the city jail. Many free Negroes also lived in the central business area, but the appearance of concentration there is somewhat misleading, for many whites were intermixed with blacks in this densely populated district.

Those free Negroes who did not live in enclaves or the central business area, making up just over two-thirds of the total, were intermixed with the white population, residing on virtually every street in the city. The pattern of residential locations of slaves not living with their owners was probably similar to that of free Negroes, although a larger percentage of these slaves probably lived in the enclaves. The largest of these housed ten heads of household in 1860, but the 1867 directory enumerates thirty-seven households, indicating that the area probably housed slaves prior to or during the war. Slaves were undoubtedly less financially able to buy homes and were thus more likely to live in enclaves, where 71.6 percent of the free Negroes were renters, rather than in scattered locations, where only 56.2 percent of free Negroes were renters.
In addition to free-Negro enclaves, live-in slave residences, dispersed housing, and barracks for slave workers added more variety to antebellum Lexington's Negro residential pattern. At a hemp factory northeast of town a number of slaves were housed on the premises, and Parker's Row, a row of cheap housing for Negro factory workers located in an industrial area as early as 1867, may also have housed slave labor. The barracks are shown on the 1855 map, and no residents, white or free black, were listed for that location in the 1860 census. Perusal of the 1855 city map reveals no other blocks of residences that might have housed large numbers of slaves not accounted for by listings of white or free-Negro residents. Of those slaves who "lived in" with their owners, it appears that most lived in the house rather than in quarters behind the owners' houses. Many of the larger homes advertised for sale after the war listed a "servant's room" in the house, but very few listed detached servant's quarters on the premises.

In sum, blacks, live-in and live-out slaves and free Negroes, lived in every section of the city by the end of the Civil War. They lived in small free-Negro enclaves, industrial barracks, and intermixed with the white population, but Lexington had not yet developed any Negro residential areas of sizable proportions. If residential segregation can be said to have been present, it was at such a minute scale as to be almost meaningless.
Lexington's black population, which had changed little from 1840 to 1860, jumped from 3,080 in 1860 to 7,171 in 1870, an increase of 133 percent (Figure 4). The reasons for this migration into Lexington are the same as those that caused black migration to other southern cities. Blacks fled to Kentucky cities to escape persecution by hostile rural whites and to be ministered to by Freedmen's Bureau offices located in towns.

During the late war years blacks were particularly attracted to Lexington and Louisville, where Federal army recruiting stations gave them nominal freedom. Other blacks came to towns seeking an opportunity for education for themselves or their children. The Negroes who fled to the cities were destitute. A Kentucky Freedmen's Bureau official complained of blacks leaving the countryside who, "refusing to contract for the present year where their services are required, congregate in towns and villages without any visible means of support." Newspaper accounts and Freedmen's Bureau reports from 1866 to 1868 characterized the newly arrived Negroes as idle, poor, and homeless, and in 1867 the bureau pleaded with Negroes to leave the overcrowded towns.
It was within this context of the pedestrian city that the inception of urban clusters took place. The poverty of the newly freed Negroes forced them to take whatever housing opportunities came their way. Predictably, then, the street-front settlements and urban clusters took shape on the periphery of the city. As was the case with the antebellum Negro enclaves, postbellum Negro settlements were situated on poorly drained land, along railroad tracks, or adjacent to cemeteries and stockyards. Most of the Negro clusters, especially the larger ones, were identified by place names in local usage. These place names are included on the racial residential map of 1887 (Figure 6). The largest Negro cluster, or rather group of clusters, was Goodlowtown. This area is actually an agglomeration of at least three recognized clusters (Goodlowtown, Gunntown, and Bradley Street Bottoms) but is treated in this paper as a single entity, for the clusters had by 1887 merged to form a large contiguous mass of predominantly Negro housing. Much of this bottomland had been used during the Civil War for mule stalls, probably for the Union army troops encamped nearby. Most of the streets in Goodlowtown were at least partially settled by 1871, and by 1880 it had deve-
opned into the largest Negro residential area in Lexington and was the home of 290 black families. Nearby was Kinkeadstown, a bottomland that was subdivided by George B. Kinkead in 1870. The lots in Kinkeadstown were purchased exclusively by blacks, and by 1880 approximately twenty families made their homes there.

Northeast of town hemp manufacturer and prominent Lexingtonian W. W. Bruce subdivided land adjacent to his hemp factory in 1865 to form the urban cluster named Brucetown. At the opposite end of town, Pralltown, named after lawyer John A. Prall, was created in stages from 1868 to 1877. This poorly drained bottomland abutted railroad tracks and was located an eighth of a mile southwest of the edge of the antebellum city. Lee’s Row and Davis Bottom were both located in peripheral areas in the bottom of steep valleys alongside railroad tracks, and by 1880 contained forty-five and thirty Negro households, respectively. In the 1870s Adamstown was laid out at the base of a hill on the edge of the city and housed sixty-five black families by the end of the decade. Taylortown and Smithtown were both initially settled in the late 1860s and early 1870s, and were expanded in 1877 and 1888, respectively. The

Lower Street cluster, located west of town, is classified as a Negro cluster, but its history is different from those of the other clusters. The section of the cluster located closest to the center of town was platted in 1844, but almost all the lots had remained unsold up through the Civil War. The least expensive of these lots were quickly taken up by blacks either during, or more likely, in the two years immediately following the Civil War. Although the land had been subdivided more than twenty years before it was settled, the area’s site (abutting a railroad), situation (on the city periphery), and time of settlement (the early postbellum period) all conform to the pattern of Negro urban cluster.
A smaller proportion of Negroes was dispersed throughout the city in the 1880s than in 1860. Many of the block fronts in which one or a few free Negroes had resided in 1860 had become by 1887 completely occupied by whites. In addition, the number of black servants who had lived at their owners’ residences while slaves or at their employers’ residences while freedmen declined during the postwar years, as they moved to predominantly black areas. Thus, dispersion was giving way to concentration within the antebellum extent of the city.

The Negro urban clusters located on the periphery of the city eventually absorbed most of the increase in black population. These settlements came to be located on the poorest land and the most unattractive sites in the city. Poorly drained land and land abutting railroad tracks, cemeteries, stockyards, or packinghouses were the most common sites for urban clusters, as was the case for antebellum free Negro enclaves. The newly formed clusters were also similar to the older enclaves in that they were located on side streets, for the cluster by definition is an addition in which new streets were constructed. The single exception to this is the Lower Street cluster, which has been discussed earlier. This was not the case for street-front settlements, which were strip housing developments lying alongside extant roadways. These Negro areas were either situated along block faces containing a few earlier Negro homes or were located on thoroughfares of minor importance (that is, not connecting Lexington to other towns and not running through the central business area). The street-front settlements, however, were never as significant as the urban clusters, and in 1880 they housed only about a quarter as many black families as did the latter.
Throughout town the Negro residences were hidden from view.11 Whether living in antebellum enclaves or postbellum settlements, most Negroes found themselves living on side streets, alleys, or cul-de-sacs. This pattern is especially evident in the racial residential makeup of Pralltown and Adamstown (Figure 6). The block sections facing larger roadways to which streets in the cluster connect are occupied entirely by whites. A visitor traveling the main streets through Lexington might wonder where the houses of the many blacks he saw working all over town were to be found. A house count along the three major roadways in 1887 Lexington—Main, Broadway, and Limestone streets—enumerates 543 white households but only 53 black residences.14 This is not a consequence of a white conspiracy to “hide” blacks from view but results from a combination of prevalent social attitudes and economic factors. As was noted in the discussion of residential structure, the town’s wealthy merchants and lawyers built large, fine homes on Broadway, Main, or Limestone throughout the antebellum and early postbellum periods. The high physical visibility and prestige attached to living in a house fronting on a major avenue caused housing lots facing these streets to be expensive. The poverty of most blacks prohibited them for purchasing such lots and restricted them to less visible areas in the city.
The activities of realtor James F. Drake illustrate this arrangement. On November 2, 1869, Drake advertised a one-hundred-lot development for a very active speculator named Richard deRoode. The sale terms specified a one-third cash down payment but offered the lots to blacks with a deferred down payment if they could obtain a good reference from their employers. DeRoode's strategy seems to have been to sell these poorly situated lots (probably making up the urban cluster of Lee's Row) to poor blacks who could not afford an initial down payment.

A different strategy was employed by S. N. Drake, who advertised building lots through James F. Drake on November 3, 1869. This tract offered "40 first-class residence lots ... [which] being only a short distance from the business part of the city ... are the most desirable building lots offered for sale [at this time] ... ." The advertisement continued by stating that "None of the above lots, under any circumstances, will be sold to colored persons, and no bids given by them, or by any one for them, will be received, my purpose being to give to white men who are in moderate circumstances an opportunity of purchasing a nice lot upon which they can improve, and thereby make for themselves a pleasant and desirable neighborhood."
DID BLACKS DESIRE SEGREGATED LIVING IN POST C W LEX?

j kellogg, the evolution of black residential areas in lex 1865-87, jsh, xlvii, feb 1982

The desire of at least some segments of the white population for segregation has already been discussed, but it is more difficult to determine if black residents wished to live in all-black neighborhoods. The desire of nineteenth-century immigrants to live with others of the same nationality is well known. The blacks, like the European immigrants, were a minority group that suffered discrimination at the hands of the majority, and each group possessed a distinct cultural background. Blacks may have preferred to live among others of their race, with whom they could share experiences and feel secure in a somewhat hostile environment.

SUMMARY: BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN POST C W LEX

j kellogg, the evolution of black residential areas in lex 1865-87, jsh, xlvii, feb 1982

In sum, this brief analysis of social and economic characteristics of the city's districts reveals that those Negro residential areas that formed after the Civil War were characterized by larger families, older family heads, and a much higher percentage of homeowners. The older, antebellum districts had higher percentages of young, single household heads, and homeownership was much less prevalent. The postbellum street-front settlements and especially the urban clusters thus possessed characteristics indicative of a more stable residential community. Because of their larger size and greater stability the Negro clusters seem to have been the most likely candidates for community formation in postbellum Lexington. The tendency of blacks to form self-help and benevolent societies in all southern cities after the Civil War has been widely documented, but whether discrete neighborhood communities were formed is not known. Gathering places, such as Negro stores, organizational headquarters, and especially churches, must have been present for a distinct, self-aware Negro community to emerge. It is hypothesized here that such social gathering places must have been present within the Negro clusters for neighborhood community awareness to take root there. This is not to say that the presence of such neighborhood social gathering places ensures that community feeling will emerge but rather that the presence of such places is a requisite for neighborhood community, just as a minimum size of black residential concentrations and a minimum level of social stability are necessary for community formation.
The locations of black institutions (churches, schools, Negro-owned stores, and benevolent societies) were mapped for the year 1881 (Figure 8). The dominant pattern is one of concentration of stores and benevolent institutions in the central business area, especially on the black "main street" consisting of East Vine, East Water, and two adjacent block faces on the southeast side of Mill Street. Schools, churches, and some stores are more dispersed throughout the city. Most or all of the barbershops, boardinghouses, and restaurants were located in the central business area, while boot and shoe makers and sellers were dispersed among the white population. All but three of the eleven retail grocers and blacksmiths were located in the urban clusters. The churches, which were probably the most important centers of Negro social activity, were located in all sections of the city. There were eleven black churches in Lexington in 1881. Of the four which had existed in 1860 three were located in free-Negro enclaves, and one was in the Lower Street Negro cluster. None of the churches had changed location from 1860 to 1881. Of the seven new churches that were established during this period two were located in old free-Negro enclaves, three in urban clusters, and two in predominantly white areas between centers of black residential concentration. All of the benevolent institutions (including Negro lodges of the Masons, Odd Fellows, and Good Samaritans, among others) met regularly at downtown locations.

In general, the distribution of potential gathering places for Negro main street, Negro business, Negro main street, Negro business areas and somewhat more frequently in Negro urban clusters. There was, however, none of the clustering of social centers within Negro residential areas which might have fostered community growth in the urban clusters. Black schools and churches were absent in Pralltown, Adamstown, Kinkeadtown, Taylortown, Smithtown, and Davis Bottom, and the only stores located in these clusters were two grocers. Negro community life, then, appears to have been present only on a city-wide scale and was centered on the Negro main street in the central business area.
j kellogg, the evolution of black residential areas in lex 1865-87, jsh, xlvii, feb 1982

Numerous newspaper accounts of slave runaways 1856-57

j w coleman, slavery times in ky, 1940

p 110/
"Even with the tightened restrictions progressively imposed upon the slave population, newspapers in the months that followed /the rumored slave plots/ carried accounts of 'Desperate Runaways!' in Bourbon County, 'Slave Insurrection!' in Harrison County, 'Stampede of Slaves!' in Boyle County, but these items were trivial in significance compared with the startling news which flashed across the country in the fall of 1859." Referring to John Brown's raid.

p 110n/ "In the winter of 1856-57, twenty-six leading slaveholders of Scott County met at Newtown 'to devise some plan for the better government of our slaves, in consideration of the fact of the lawless management of our slaves and the contaminating influence exerted upon them by trafficking and trading with white men.'" Taken from Georgetown Gazette, Jan. 3, 1857.
Thomas N. Allen, in his memoirs Chronicles of Oldfields, gave interesting descriptions, though they may seem a little colored by poetic license. Allen described a block used by women to mount and dismount horses near the court house. The block also served to sell slaves. Coleman quotes him as saying "...I saw a likely young negro man put up for sale. His master had died, and in settling up his estate it became necessary to sell the property, including all the slaves. Immediately preceding the sale of this boy, his mother had been sold, the purchaser being a daughter of the decedent, whose old "mammy" the woman had been, and who was greatly attached to her. But, in buying the mother, the lady had expended the only money she possessed, and when the boy was offered she was not able to bid on him, notwithstanding the all but heartbreaking appeals of the old negress, who saw several professional negro buyers standing around ready and eager to purchase, and who, as the poor woman knew quite well, bought for the New Orleans market." Allen says several "'niggh-tradahs'" bid for the lad up to $1200 when"someone in the crowd bid twelve hundred and fifty. The Negro traders quit their bidding and the boy was 'cried off' to Obadiah Crews, local tavern-keeper." Allen says that Crews had for years purchased 'butter and eggs from the boy's mother, knew that she 'was such a kindly, good old negro' that he was unable to resist her appeal when she hurried down to his tavern before the sale and implored him to save her boy." Obadiah Crews was told by Squire Israel Buckley to buy the lad and if Crews lost money Buckley would repay him rather than let him be sold down river.

TRICK OF SLAVE TO PREVENT HIS NOT BEING SOLD DOWN RIVER (AUCTION IN WINCHESTER AREA)

George, slave of Sam Anderson, known as "'a great rogue and a nuisance in the community,' was put on the block to be auctioned off in Winchester. Well knowing that his chances of securing a good home in the community were small, on account of his reputation, George, in an effort to save himself from the 'nigger traders,' put 'his wits to wor,' to prevent them from buying him.+

"As he stood on the block looking around him, he saw several 'of those cold-blooded creatures' in the crowd--the Negroes instinctively recognized the traders and shrank away from them in terror.+

"As was customary at a public auction of slaves, the auctioneer announced that Mr. Anderson, the master, would give a bill of sale for his slave with the usual 'sound in mind and body and a slave for life.' While there began a lively bidding among the Negro traders, George suddenly assumed a strange appearance--his head was thrown back, his eyes rolled wildly, his body and limbs began to twitch and jerk in an unheard-of manner. +

"'What's the matter with your boy, Mr. Anderson?' one of the traders asked the owner, who, astonished and puzzled, drew nearer the block. But Mr. Anderson did not answer the question. George was now foaming at the mouth, and the violent twitching and jerking increased precipitously. +

"'What's the matter with you, boy? gruffly demanded the trader. 'O, I'se has fits, I has,' exclaimed George, whereupon his body doubled up and rolled off the block." The auction terminated and George was taken off to jail; the doctor called, found nothing. Put to bed in the debtor's
Wm. Pratt recorded in his diary that George Du Puy, the black minister of the Pleasant Green Baptist Church, the property of the late Reverend Lewis Craig, who died in the year 1847, but whose estate was not finally settled until 1856 was put up for auction. Geo was preaching at the church when the sale was announced. "Members of George's church importuned William Pratt to buy their preacher at the forthcoming sale, the Negroes promising to pay for him in weekly installments."

"An agreement was reached between the deacons of the white and colored Baptist churches as to the conditions of the purchase of the thirty-two-year-old colored minister. It was agreed by the white deacons that they would purchase George, provided the sale price did not exceed eight hundred dollars. However, upon examination, this slave preacher was found to be worth more than the sum agreed upon. On the night before the sale, the white deacons argued for a long time with the tenacious auctioneer before they could persuade him to sacrifice George at the stipulated price. Next morning at the auction block, as the auctioneer, one Taylor, was about to terminate the sale at $800, a 'nigger-trader' stepped in and ran the bid up. At last, however, the slave preacher was 'struck off' to Mr. Pratt for eight hundred and thirty dollars."

"George's congregation was much elated over its purchase, a transaction which saved their devoted minister from the Southern trade. Every Monday morning some of his little flock made a journey to the Pratt residence to deposit the collections of the preceding Sunday's services."

COMPANIONSHIP OF MASTERS & SLAVES IN FRONTIER KY

But, in the solitudes of the wilderness and the isolations of the scattered settlements, slaves were more than property—the irrepressible longing for the society of humankind made the companionship of master and slave an essential condition to the contentment and happiness of the backwoods home.

If "Uncle Ben" or "Black Sam" felled the trees for fencing and fuel, plowed the corn ground, or hoed the garden, "Marse Tom" often bore a hand with him; and when he did not, they knew he was scouting Indians, supplying the wants of the household with the prowess of his hunt, or sharing in some other manner the arduous toil and exposures incident to the precarious existence which constantly confronted master and slave alike. If "Aunt Jenny" plied the loom, spun the yarn, or cooked the meals, "Mistis Ann" was always present to direct and aid, or was diligently occupied in the performance of other duties.

Master and slave often fought side by side in the defense of their homes and loved ones against their common enemy, the red man. A few instances will suffice to illustrate the fidelity of the slave in this respect.
On March 19, 1782, deserted rafts drifting down the Kentucky River created suspicion at Boonesborough that Indians were lurking in that vicinity. On receipt of this information, Captain James Estill left his station, which was fifteen miles from the Boonesborough fort, organized a scouting party of twenty-five men and started at once in search of the invaders.

On the following day a band of Wyandots crept through the early morning mist, surrounded Estill's Station, caught and tomahawked the daughter of a prominent settler as she milked a cow just outside the stockade walls, and captured Monk, a shrewd, stocky, powerfully-built "young negro, five feet five inches in height, weighing 200 pounds, who belonged to Captain Estill."

Since the searching party had taken every able-bodied man from the station, the remaining inhabitants, women, children and four invalid men, faced immediate massacre. Monk, however, was equal to this fearful emergency, and his captors were so impressed with his story of the forty sharp-eyed, grim-visaged men then in the station moulding bullets that they beat a hasty retreat, taking their crafty informant with them.

Two days later, Captain Estill, having received news of the occurrence, overtook the Wyandots at Little Mountain, on the outskirts of what is now the town of Mt. Sterling, and both sides, equal in number, quickly maneuvered for battle. A veteran in backwoods warfare, Captain Estill detailed Lieutenant Miller, with six men, to guard the horses and protect his flank. As the Indians were attempting the very movement which Estill sought to forestall, Monk's voice rose above the crack of rifles, shouting: "Don't give way, Massa Jim, there's only about twenty-five of the red-skins, and you can whip 'em!" The bravery and optimism of this faithful slave greatly encouraged his master and the main body of Estill's command, and the tide of battle seemed definitely
in their favor, when Lieutenant Miller and the six men of his detachment suddenly beat a retreat, allowing the horses to stampede wildly through the woods.

Greatly weakened, but undismayed by this desertion, the remainder of Estill's men, within a range of fifty yards and for three hours, fought a bloody, stubborn but losing battle until thirteen pioneers lay dead or gravely wounded on the brown, withered leaves of this forest battleground, and Estill himself had succumbed in a hand-to-hand encounter, with a hunting knife buried in his breast. In the midst of the struggle, Monk managed to escape and carried one of the survivors, whose thigh had been broken by a rifle ball, on his broad back almost the entire distance of twenty-five miles to Estill's Station.

Undoubtedly Monk was one of the finest specimens of his race in the new country. From some source he had learned the art of manufacturing powder and on many critical occasions he supplied Boonesboro and his own station with ammunition—the first ever manufactured in Kentucky—which he had made from saltpeter found in a cave in Madison County.

As the husband successively of three wives and the father of thirty children, Monk was no laggard in the propagation of his own race in Kentucky. One of his sons, the first colored child born at Boone's fort, became a Baptist preacher and lived at Shelbyville. Shortly after the engagement at Little Mountain, which has come to be known in history as "Estill's Defeat," Monk's new master, young Wallace Estill, freed him, and his old master's family as evidence of their affection provided liberally for his comfort and support as long as he lived.
Edmund Cabell was a pioneer who, at an early age, brought his family across the mountains and settled them in the wilderness. Shortly afterward he returned to Virginia for a brief visit, leaving his wife and children in the care of Mrs. Cabell’s uncle and “Black Sam,” a trusted slave.

One hot, sultry night, Black Sam, who slept on a pile of new-mown hay at the edge of the clearing, was awakened by savage shouts and the blaze of his master’s burning cabin. Crouched behind the hay, the unarmed Negro helplessly watched the massacre of the Cabell household and for a time believed that all had perished. However, as the Indians emerged from the cabin, carrying furniture, dishes and other plunder, one warrior held in his arms Cabell’s little daughter, Augusta, apparently only half conscious, and laid her down about halfway between the cabin and the spot where the slave was concealed, and then rushed back for more loot. The burning logs by this time cast a glaring light for many yards around, while Black Sam, in imminent danger of detection, wriggled and squirmed through the tall grass and weeds until he was able to seize the dazed and bewildered child and escape into the woods.

Heading for the nearest fort, carrying little Augusta upon his back, Sam traveled all night but by noon next day he found that he had completely lost his direction. Exhausted from lack of food, his exertions and the fear of being overtaken by the Indians, the slave and little child wandered through the trackless woods until they came to a spring and a patch of bushes bearing ripe berries. Refreshed, they continued their journey, but it was slow and tedious. Now and then cautious Sam, with eyes and ears alert for danger, concealed Augusta among the thick boughs of fallen trees and hid himself until every suspicious sign or sound had disappeared. After three nights the fort was reached, and weary, faithful Black Sam, leaving his little charge in safe hands, hurriedly set out again to the scene of disaster so that he might meet his master on his return and tell him that one member of his family still survived.
"Miss Gussie's saved, Mas' Edmund. Little Miss is alive," shouted Black Sam as he found Mr. Cabell bowed in anguish over the ruins of his home. And then the master had an opportunity to show the kindly and thoughtful relations which in many instances existed between master and slave. Speechless with emotion, Cabell pointed toward his travel-stained wagon, which contained Sam's mother and father and his wife, Maria, whom Cabell had brought with him from Virginia.\(^n\)

One Sunday morning, in the spring of 1782, Settler Woods, who lived near Crab Orchard, rode over to a near-by station, leaving his wife, his daughter Hannah and a lame Negro man in the cabin. Not long afterwards, Mrs. Woods, who had ventured a short distance from the house, discovered the presence of a band of Indians and she ran screaming toward the cabin, hotly pursued. As she stumbled through the front door, the foremost Indian, wearing the hunting shirt of Absalom Mount, a trapper recently killed and scalped at Station Camp Waters, forced his way into the cabin, where the crippled slave met him in a death grapple.

After a short, fierce struggle, the slave and his savage
adversary fell heavily to the floor, but the Negro, though underneath, held his assailant tightly in his sinewy arms, calling loudly to "Miss Hannah" to get the broadaxe from under the bed. Miss Hannah hastily seized this combined weapon and tool of the backwoods and promptly went into action. Her first stroke nearly severed the Indian's arm from his shoulder. The next blow killed him and, according to the journal account of a contemporary, "Whilst young Miss Woods dispatched his life, the Old Lady Barrd the Door & Kept it shut." 12

When the besiegers began splintering the clapboard door with their tomahawks, the slave suggested to his mistress that the Indians be admitted one at a time to be given individual attention by the Negro, who had now procured a gun, and by Miss Hannah, who had wielded the broadaxe with such deadly precision. However, before this strategy could be put into effect, as the pioneer journal recited, "A neighbor hearing the savage screams fired his gun & relevd the house." 18
In Kentucky, as in other slave states, the field hands were regarded as the lowest and "last link in the chain of human bondage"—confined to the seclusion of an extensive plantation, which was their only world, beyond whose horizon they knew nothing (their walks were limited to the area between the quarters and the fields), their knowledge and information gained from the rude and unreliable gossip of their fellow slaves, straggling runaways, or house servants, and most of the time without seeing any white person, except their master or overseer. To their owners they were variously known as "hands," "force," "field hands," "black people" and "niggers," but rarely ever called or spoken of as slaves.

1857 INSTRUCTIONS ON BUILDING SLAVE QUARTERS

As the group of cabins, familiarly known as the quarters, was the center of all slave life and activity, it was deemed expedient to place them some distance from the big house. One authority on recommending their layout advised that they should "be placed a convenient distance from the master's house on a dry, airy ridge—raised two feet from the ground—so they can be thoroughly ventilated underneath, and placed at distances apart of at least fifty yards to ensure health. In this construction, they should be sufficiently spacious so as not to crowd the family intended to occupy them—with brick chimneys and large fire-places to impart warmth to every part of the room."

Further stressing the need of well-designed quarters, this writer called attention to the fact that "more diseases and loss of time on plantations are engendered from crowded negro cabins than from almost any other cause. The successful planter should, therefore, have an especial eye to the comfort of his negroes, in not permitting them to be overcrowded in their sleeping quarters."
From the description of the quarters visited in Kentucky by a New England traveler, it is quite evident that most Kentucky planters were cognizant of these conditions and paid especial attention to their Negroes' houses. "On the evening of the second day of my arrival," wrote Franklin Wilmot, "we took a stroll through the 'quarters.' We passed to the front and entered the yard of the 'quarters.' Groups of negroes were scattered around in different attitudes. There were seated on a bench under the trees, some two or three older ones, whose patriarchal appearance and gray locks attracted my immediate notice. Around them was a group of younger ones, who listened to the conversation of their seniors.

"There was another set stretched at full length on the green grass—happy and contented. There was a troop of noisy children, who stopped their gambols on the velvety sward to crowd around their master, who spoke kindly to all. Bursts of laughter, as pleasant as the tinkling of a silver bell, went forth from them when they replied to his questions. They came around us—a merry, grinning group; they examined my dress, and handled my watch without fear or hesitation.

"At the doors of some of the houses were seen sitting the inmates quietly smoking their pipes, while ever and anon a snatch of a hymn, would issue from the tenements of the pious. All were free from care, and happy in the possession of enough.

"We now entered several of the houses. They were furnished very plainly, but were clean. A bed in the corner, and perhaps two; clothes hanging on pegs around the room; a pine table, and a few chairs or stools, together with a rude chest, and a plentiful supply of cooking utensils, completed the list. . . ." What Wilmot saw of slave life in Kentucky was indeed a true cross section of the system. Generally speaking, the slaves were a happy, contented and carefree race; well fed, as their looks testified, well-lodged and not over-worked.
"How do you feed them?" inquired Wilmot. "On Sunday morning," replied the master, "the overseer goes to the meat house, and there assemble the negroes; four pounds of pork are weighed out to each one, and they get a peck of meal, and a half gallon of molasses; beans, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables they raise in moderate quantities. They are allowed to raise chickens and always have a supply of eggs."

"What time do they go to work?" further asked this traveler.

"At daylight, and stop at sundown; rest two or three hours during the middle or heat of the day; but have every Saturday afternoon to wash and mend and cultivate their little truck patches."

It is true there are to be found some disparaging accounts of Kentucky bondage as it was, but these were written for the most part by Northern abolitionists who were eager to believe the worst about slavery and who used, as if they were typical, stories which had to do with highly exceptional conditions and occurrences. Anti-slavery societies in the North likewise seized, rewrote and highly colored several of the fugitive slaves' stories and circulated them for propaganda purposes; yet, these overdrawn and often distorted views can hardly be considered as affording a fair picture of the "peculiar institution" as it existed in this state.
Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose world-famous book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, gave a lurid picture of the horrors of slavery in the United States—an account that was not free from gross exaggeration—was fair enough to admit that; “perhaps, the mildest form of the system of slavery is to be seen in the State of Kentucky.”

Another case of this kind, and one which brings out more fully the benevolent side of Kentucky bondage, occurred several years later. A young Bracken County slave, in the early part of May, 1861, escaped from the Negro jail of Bolton, Dickens & Company, in Lexington. Nothing more was heard from this runaway until nearly a year later, when his former owner received a letter from Halifax, England, addressed, “Mr. George Humlong, County of Bracken, Kentucky, America,” in which this erstwhile Kentucky slave implored his old master to take him back:


I am going to deliver myself up to you. I hope you won’t flog me when I come to you. I shall leave England on the 9th of April, and arrive at New York about the 23rd. I run away May last and would rather be your slave than free. If you will write to the New York Post office to be called for, and state where I am to meet you, I will meet you anywhere you like, but I would rather meet you in New York. You can do what you like with me; sell me where you think proper. I am quite tired of being knocked about in England. I would fifty times rather be a slave than free.”
I hope you will meet me. I am 22 years old and can work [in] iron first rate. I was a slave in Lexington and escaped from Bolton & Dickens depot. . . . I will give myself up and you can do what you like with me.

Your faithful slave,
John Brown." 10

COLEMAN ON SLAVE PREACHERS

Among the black people the slave preacher was a person of great consequence. Strange, yet how true, that the more ignorant he was, the more power of influence for good or ill he carried among his fellow beings. "Uncle" Peter Cotton, an old slave preacher residing in Fayette County, filled two important vocations in his community, exhorter and wood chopper. One moment Uncle Peter might be seen chopping away at his woodpile; the next, kneeling down beside it praying. His mistress fashioned a long jeans coat for him and, at his request, embroidered various texts of scripture on the coat tails. Thus, literally clothed with righteousness, Uncle Peter went from plantation to plantation, cabin to cabin, faithfully administering to the sick, baptizing, preaching the word and marrying members of his own race, according to the slave fashion, in a kind of common-law wedlock.12

10 James Lane Allen, The Blue-Grass Region of Kentucky, p. 79. "Almost every neighborhood had its negro p. rcher, whose credentials, if his own assertion was to be taken, came directly from the Lord."—Lucius P.3

12
SLAVE MARRIAGES DESCRIBED BY EX-SLAVE IN LEX

J.W. Coleman, Slavery Times in Ky., 1940

p. 58

15. "Aunt" Addie Murphy, an old ex-slave of Lexington stated: "To get married in those days, they got a new broom and would jump over it and they were married, but they had to have a preacher."—J.C. Meadors, interview, August 15, 1938.

16. Rev. John R. Cox, ex-slave of Boyd County, Kentucky, remembered that his mother was married "by the ceremony of laying a broom on the floor and having the young Negroes step over the broomstick."—C.F. Hall, interview with Cox, at Catlettsburg, December 24, 1936.

When asked if his old aunt and uncle were married while they were in bondage, Henry Smith testified: "They said they were married in slave days and jumped over the broom stick as they called it."—Mike Cayson, et al. vs. Unknown Heirs of Henry Cayson, Barren Circuit Court, File 10,878, May 6, 1919.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE CEREMONY IN LEX AREA

J.W. Coleman, Slavery Times in Ky., 1940

In performing the marriage ceremony, the Reverend London Ferrill, a Virginia-born slave preacher residing in Lexington, united several hundred couples in wedlock "until death or distance do you part," and many were the partings by distance, when families were broken up or when the best pecuniary interests of the "nigger traders" were jeopardized. It was generally understood that when married slaves were sold to different masters and the distance between the respective places of residence of man and wife prevented their living together, the were then considered as divorced.

16. Sometimes the ceremony varied: "or as long as circumstances will permit."

17. "The custom was that if one moved off or was sold at a distance, he took up another, or if they got separated they took another mate. Distances in those days were the same as divorces."—Deposition of Lud Brooks, colored, Cayson vs. Unknown Heirs, supra.
One of the most peculiar cases of slave marriages, and one that well illustrates the insecurity of the black marital ties, occurred in Garrard County during the summer of 1856. Steve Kyler, a "free man of colour," had belonged to Joseph Kyler, a prosperous, kind-hearted farmer, who had allowed him to hire himself out, and with his earnings Steve had purchased his freedom. When the owner of Cynthia, Steve's wife, moved away from the neighborhood, the good master purchased Cynthia and assigned the bill of sale to Steve. It was a sad day for these faithful servants when they buried "Old Marster" beneath the honeysuckle in the garden.

Steve was somewhat "pestered in his mind," for with freedom came responsibility. Debts had gradually piled up. Two creditors, refusing to wait longer, had already obtained judgments against him at the last "law day" in Laneaster. It was a relief, however, to reflect that, having no property, he would not be harassed by court officials, and could thus pay his debts as it became possible for him to do so.

But the next day Constable Arnold came to his cabin and seized Cynthia under two executions which had been issued on the judgments rendered against her husband. Steve, dazed and panic-stricken, rushed to the county seat to consult Lawyer Allen Burton, later Lincoln's minister to Columbia, who hurriedly filed a petition in the Garrard Circuit Court and obtained a temporary injunction preventing Cynthia from being sold until the case could be fully heard upon its merits.

For Steve and Cynthia, Burton argued that "it being the understanding and agreement between all parties" that Steve "should take her as a wife only, he acquired no property in her aside from his right as a husband to her comfort and society."

For the creditors, the Honorable George R. McKee argued that Cynthia, being the slave of Joseph Kyler, her master, "did no act by which she would, at any future time, be entitled to freedom. He sold her as a slave; in the hands of a purchaser she is liable to sale for..."
his debts . . . it is a fraud on the creditors for him to claim her but as a wife." This, as Burton claimed, was a "barbarous and piratical doctrine" which no "enlightened and humane public sovereignty" would tolerate.

Losing their case in the circuit court, Burton appealed to the highest court of the state at Frankfort. In the winter of 1857 Chief Justice Wheat delivered the opinion for the Kentucky Court of Appeals, in which he held that the deed passed the title in Cynthia to Stephen and, by the laws of Kentucky, slaves were subject to execution for debts of their owners the same as other real and personal property. "Marriages between slaves have no legal effect," said Justice Wheat, "and marriages between free negroes and slaves are not recognized but to a very limited extent."

"Upon an attentive examination of the record," concluded the learned jurist, "we have not been able to perceive any error to the prejudice of the appellants. Wherefore, the judgment of the Circuit Court is affirmed." Thus ended one of the strangest and most tragic cases in all the history of Kentucky's "peculiar institution," a case where a home was broken up, the devoted wife seized and sold on the auction block by "merciless creditors" and "remanded back to slavery."
There was one feature of slave life which gravely and at all times concerned the master. This was the act of his bondsman’s running away. So long as a black family remained together upon one plantation, the love of its members for one another operated as the strongest bond to prevent their unceremoniously leaving. But, upon the breaking up or separation of families, with no prospect of reunion, the firmest and often the sole tie which held them together was severed. There was then little left to hold them back. In some cases, harsh treatment and severe punishment were the motives for runaways. And lastly, the fear of being sold “down the river” into the rice and cotton fields of the Far South caused many slaves to desert their Kentucky homes.

Very little attempt was made to find a runaway slave through his friends; for the Negroes almost universally aided and shielded imperiled people of their own race. If advertising failed, the next step was to hunt with dogs, and professional slave catchers advertised bloodhounds that “can take the trail twelve hours after the nigger has passed” and “catch him with ease.” The use of these “nigger dogs” was distasteful in Kentucky, but was not in itself an inhuman method of locating the fugitive, although many slaveholders looked upon it as a barbarous practice. It was often the fury of the pursuers and the desperation of the quarry that led to resistance and even to shooting.
Runaway Negroes were a source of great worry to their owners and somewhat of terror to the community. In some instances, when the master did not feel disposed to go after his slave, he "sold his nigger running"—that is, transferred the title to a purchaser who took the risk of finding the slave. Sometimes, such a "chancing bargain" was made with a professional slave catcher who had never seen the Negro, and had no other interest than to get him back and sell him for a profit."

On October 13, 1834, John Reed, of Mason County, purchased a twenty-two-year-old slave, Elizabeth, and her two-year-old child, Rachel, for four hundred and fifty dollars from John D. Morford, of Bracken County. Curiously enough, this slave had run away at the time of the transaction, and there was written on the reverse side of the bill of sale: "The said negro has run away and the said Reed runs the risk of finding her. John Reed. October 13, 1834." 28

Ordinarily the runaway took nothing with him in his hazardous excursion into the broad world except the clothes on his back. Slaves' clothing was of a large
Fairly accurate descriptions of slave clothing can be found in the advertisements of fugitive slaves that jailers and sheriffs prepared and published in the Kentucky newspapers. Among the materials frequently listed were: blue and brown Attakapas, plaid and striped osnaburgs, plantation twills, Kentucky jeans, cassimere, plain linsey, “gay calicoe,” duffels, kerseys, cassimette, blue linen, check linen, “hard time” cotton, tow linen, linsey-woolsey, cottonade, fustian, duck, bombazette, French drilling and Lowell-cotton. Numerous arrays of colors were added to this assortment. There were surtouts, roundabouts, round-coats, frock-coats, waistcoats and several other kinds, differing in color, weave and fabric almost as much as the trousers or pantaloons.

Campeachy hats, fur hats and woolen caps, coarse socks and russet brogans, together with mixed jeans, cotton flannels and linseys seem to have been the stock in trade for many Kentucky merchants who catered to the slaveholding planters’ and farmers. In practically

24. “Our clothes were made of jeans and linsey in winter, and in the summer we wore cotton clothes.”—Statement of “Uncle” George Henderson, ex-slave of Garrard County, to the author, summer, 1934.
TYPES OF WORK DONE BY KY SLAVES

coleman, slavery times in ky, 1940

It is evident, from the runaway advertisements, that Kentucky slaves, whether domestic, town or agricultural laborers, performed many different kinds of work. These notices reveal that slaves were employed as laborers in the iron works of Bath County, at the salt works of Clay County, worked in the iron and lead mines of Caldwell and Crittenden counties, served as guides in Mammoth Cave, in Edmonson County, and were employed in building many of the limestone fences throughout central Kentucky.

CLOTHES WORN BY SLAVES

coleman, slavery times in ky, 1940

Homespun was largely worn on many plantations or farms, especially those in the more remote parts of the state. When bad weather interrupted work in the fields, the hands, both men and women, were required to spin or weave and, in the winter months, many of the slave garments were thus made. Many slaves who were old or unfit for field work regularly labored in the loom-house carding wool, spinning cotton and wool, weaving, dyeing and making clothes. Homespun was often dyed with sassafras bark or the juice of berries, although indigo was sometimes used, when available to the slave owner.
Among the more specialized occupations listed were: a man "with considerable mechanical genius," "a superior blacksmith and engineer," "a first rate boot and shoe maker," "an excellent waggoner," "a good post & railer," "a first rate blacksmith," "an experienced weaver and chair spinner," "a skilled rope spinner," "a good hand for a rope-walk," "an excellent carpen- ter," "a very valuable Ostler," "a good race-horse rubber," and a "good groom for a stallion." Besides these specialties, there were the common notices for "first-rate field hands," experienced carriage drivers, house servants, seamstresses, dairy-maids, nurses, gardeners, stable boys and the like.

While slave labor executed in a fairly satisfactory manner most all of the menial tasks, both in the field, factory and the home, chattel slavery, on the whole, did not pay in Kentucky. Agricultural conditions and the climate of Kentucky were not suited to the profitable all-the-year-round employment of slave labor. Then, too, the slave owner had to look after every interest and need of his slave—his food, clothing, shelter, health, habits and discipline, and not for the working slave alone, but also for those who were incapacitated for work by sickness, old age or infancy. And this watch-care and upkeep had to be maintained by the master in hard times as well as in "flush," for the worthy as well as the unworthy slave.
Warner L. Underwood, a prominent slaveholder of Warren County, after giving agricultural labor in Kentucky a fair trial, was thoroughly convinced, as were hundreds of others, that it did not pay. "I may as well, here as elsewhere, record the fact," wrote Underwood, "that never have my slaves been a source of profit to me. That it has taken all that the profitable ones could produce to support the old, the young, and the unproductive, so that I have supported my negroes and not they me." 28

In view of these adverse conditions, many Kentuckians maintained that it was cheaper to rent or hire slaves than to own them. 29 To further substantiate this contention, one Louisville newspaper presented figures for the annual use and upkeep of a "likely field hand," valued at six hundred dollars:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest on the cost of the slave</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average insurance</td>
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<td>Diet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lodging</td>
<td>5.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses in sickness</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of time</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilfering</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect of business</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste and destruction</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$169.90</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was one thing that the slaves could not bear, the thought that their dead should be put away without a suitable funeral. Very few masters ever denied them this privilege. Such a funeral, with mournful manners and sorrowful outcries, had all the earmarks of an elaborate social function with festive accompaniments. It was characterized by the gathering of the kindred and friends from far and near. Usually an all-day meeting, often in a grove, it drew white and black alike, sometimes in equal numbers. There was much staked on the fame of the officiating brother, who was always one of their color and a man of celebrity. They needed just such a man "to plow up their emotional depths," with plenty of freedom to indulge in the extravagances of their sorrow. These demonstrations were their invariable tribute to the dead and were expected to be fully adequate to do honor to the surviving family of the deceased. Often the slaves' burial ground was near or adjacent to the white folks' family cemetery.

Besides funerals, there were other occasions when the slaves were given an opportunity to celebrate and enjoy social intercourse. Usually their holidays followed the "laying by" or the finishing of the plantation crops. Christmas was a much-longed-for season of rest and respite from work, and was eagerly awaited by both young and old. How greatly the slaves enjoyed the merry yuletide is related by an Ohio traveler, W. H. Venable, who was visiting in Montgomery County, Kentucky, during the winter of 1858:

"On Christmas day, the streets of Mt. Sterling were thronged with colored folks, dressed in their Sunday apparel, and bent on pleasure. We were told that it had long been the custom in Kentucky to grant the slaves absolute freedom from duty on Christmas and, indeed, to allow them large liberty during the entire holiday week."
Another traveler, the Englishman, James S. Bucking-ham, has recorded a characteristic picture of the Ken-tucky slave at rest and in gala attire:

"We remained at Henderson the greater part of the day, it being a holiday with the negro slaves on the estate . . . some of the female slaves were gaily dressed, and many of them in good taste, with white muslin gowns, blue and pink waists, ribbons, silk handkerchiefs or scarfs, straw bonnets and a reticule for the pocket handkerchief held on the arm. In talking with them and inquiring the reason for the holiday, one said she believed it was Easter, another said it was Whitsuntide and a third thought it was midsummer. They were chiefly the household slaves, who are always better treated, better dressed and more indulged than the field laborers."

Of the men slaves seen at Henderson on this occasion, this traveler reported that they appeared "to be more cheerful in their general aspect and behavior than the field slaves" he had seen in the South, and there was no doubt that "in Kentucky their condition is much better than in most other [slave] states, their work lighter, their food and clothing better, and their treatment more kind and humane."

ACTIVITIES OF SLAVES DURING CORN SHUCKING

Corn shuckings assumed during the ante-bellum era. During these years they were chiefly the means by which a large part of the social life of the community, both for master and slave, was carried on. These corn shuckings and their attendant gatherings were the one big event of the farming season, and their arrivals were eagerly awaited by the inhabitants of all ages.

In many sections of Kentucky there were a number of small farmers or planters who had but a few slaves, or field hands. These farmers generally raised large crops of corn and could, with their limited force, do all their work in due season, except the shucking.

"Unless corn is gathered promptly after it is dry enough to crib," explained an old farmer of Madison County, "there is likely to be considerable loss—in fact, the longer the corn remains in the shock the greater the loss." It was the custom, in many parts of the Bluegrass, to send someone around the neighborhood on a horse and pass the word about that there would be a corn shucking on a certain night at some neighbor's plantation, and those notified would be expected to come and
shuck out the corn on that night. All the neighbors were invited to be on hand with as many of their slaves as would volunteer or might be persuaded to come. If an invited neighbor could not attend, he was expected to send as many men as he could, for the crop had to be shucked out that night, or not at all.

On Walter Norris' farm, in Madison County, neighboring planters and their slaves were eager to attend the corn shucking, which had been set for a certain moonlight night in the fall of the year. "Our negroes are fond of going to corn shuckings," wrote Judge Cabell Chenault in his diary. "I understand that tomorrow night they will set a night to shuck out Colby McKinney's crop, and on that night they will arrange for another crop, and so on until every man who is short of hands will have his corn shucked." Mr. Norris, the host, was expected to be at a little expense, but that was trivial. He would have several gallons of whiskey on hand, costing him but fifty cents per gallon, and would prepare a good supper for the shuckers and his neighbors who might come.

Everything was ready on the appointed night for the big event of the neighborhood. Presently, the host, Mr. Norris, upon hearing a great volume of song several hundred yards off, remarked as he entered the yard: "Those singers are my welcome guests tonight, and I must be out to greet them." Nearer and nearer the singers approached, and the harmony was beautiful. "At first I believed that all the negroes in the community had gotten together, for it seemed to me that there were a hundred voices or more; but on the arrival of the singers, I learned that they were only the men from the Chenault plantation." After a friendly greeting from Mr. Norris, they passed on towards the residence.

"The night was pleasant," continued Judge Chen-
auge, "and the moon by this time was shining brightly. The negroes began to drop around on the grass and joke one another, first about one thing and then another, but all in the best of humor."

Presently there came the sound of voices that appeared to be a half mile or so away. The Negroes sprang to their feet as if by the order of a commander. There was much speculation as to who the Negroes were. Then, one of them, straining his ears, exclaimed: "I catch de voice ov one ov 'em, it's Lariemore's Pleas."

At this moment off to the northwest, but much closer, other voices were heard. Nearly everyone present recognized the voice of Noland's Allen. Still farther to the northwest, more singers were heard, and someone said: "That bunch mus' be Marse Jack Martin's niggers."

Other groups on their way to the shucking were heard from a distance. One of the slaves ventured: "All ov 'em niggers '11 git togedder out yonder at de forks ov de road; den you'll heah some singin' sho' 'nough."

When the singers had all reached the yard, Mr. Norris greeted them with a friendly "howdy" and then returned to the front porch, rapped for order and said: "Men, you have done me the kindness to come here tonight to shuck my corn. I have only three hundred shocks. I am unable to tell how many there are of you, but I imagine you will not have to shuck over three shocks each if you finish my crop." Upon being asked if they would like something to drink first: "Yas, sah; yas, sah; we all's mighty thursty," came the replies from all over the yard, and, as soon as served, they filed off to the field. It was agreed that the shucking was to be done in pairs; two men to a shock, and the best workers, according to custom, were to receive special mention at the supper.

As the pairs were shortly arranged, the leader gave the command to "start your song," and a hundred voices answered from all parts of the field as each man grabbed a stalk for shucking. As they worked away, their favorite Negro melodies filled the air. Such songs as Foster's
Massa's in the Cold, Cold, Ground and Old Black Joe were the most popular.

About nine o'clock, word came to the white folks that the slaves had completed their task. "The field is finished," reported a small boy, "and they'll be here in a few minutes." Soon the corn shuckers began filing into the yard, as merry and cheerful as when they started to work.

Mr. Norris, leaving his guests and neighbors, went to the front of his portico and addressed them: "Boys, I must thank you again for helping me. I know you are not here by order of your masters." "No, sah; no, sah. We cum 'cause we wanted to he'p you all," came from many voices.

"My wife," further explained Norris, "and her good neighbors have prepared a good supper for you—plenty of chickens, turkey, shoat, and mutton, with a washing tub of custard and enough pound cake for each of you to get a big slice to eat with it; so file around to the rear of the house where you can be served."

Drinks were served from stone jugs, and there was plenty to eat for all; but "the food vanished like dew before the sunshine." Soon the Negroes began to say, "Good night, Marse Norris," and "Thank you, Miss Norris, fur de good supper. Call on us 'gin w'en yo' all got mo' corn to shuck," and off they went towards their homes singing as merrily as when they came."
Not all corn shuckings, however, ended as pleasantly as the one in Madison County, so vividly described by Judge Chenault. Late in the fall of 1850 about forty slaves from neighboring farms assembled for a nighttime corn shucking on the farm of John Runyon, in the northern section of Fayette County. As was the custom, Runyon provided “about 2½ gallons of whiskey for the occasion,” and the men in high spirits began shucking around his long corncrib, about nine o’clock, as he stated, working “entirely by star light.”

For about an hour the Negroes went about their work, cheerfully vying with one another to see who could turn out the most work within a given time. They were lively and gay and all seemed to enjoy the work, having consumed by this time about a gallon and a half of the liquor. None of the slaves were drunk, as the overseer noted, but in the midst of their merriment, a “rumpus broke out” between Martin and Jim, two of the slaves working side by side.

Martin, after “some abusive quarreling,” knocked Jim to the ground, and then, with a fierce thrust of his knife, inflicted “a mortal wound in the left side of his belly to the depth of five inches” and “of the length of two inches,” from which wound Jim soon afterwards died. Martin fled through the woods, but, in a few hours, was captured. He was brought to trial and, upon being proven guilty of murder, was duly executed according to the laws of the commonwealth.

All slaves executed by law were valued by commissioners appointed, and their owners were reimbursed by the state. For Martin his owner received six hundred and fifty dollars; but Jim, described as one of the “best field niggers” on the farm, was a total loss to his master.
Sometimes at these corn shuckings the Negro songs were gay and rollicking and contributed much to the rhythm and flow of the work:

"Ole Dan Tucker he got drunk,
Fell in de fiah an' kicked up a chunk,
A red-hot coal got in his shoe,
An' oh, Lawd a-Mussy, how de ashes flu."

Another well-known and popular song was often heard:

"I started home, but I did not pray,
An' I met ole Satan on de way;
Ole Satan made one grab at me,
But he missed my soul, an' I went free."

In some of the slaves' refrains, there is a marked resemblance to the modern "swing" songs:

"Shoo, shoo, sugar rag roo—
Show me the hole where the hog went through."

Often in these old melodies, the Negroes delighted in mentioning their white folks:

"Massa an' Missus hab gone far away,
Gone on dey honeymoon a long time to stay,
An' while dey's gone on dat little spree,
I'se gwine down to Charles-Town a purty gal to see."

And another:

"Ole Massa take dat new brown coat,
An' hang it on de wall;
Dat darkey take dat same ole coat,
An' wear it to de ball,
Oh, don't you hear my true love sing?"

Many of the slave songs were more or less local in their origin and use, and in the Bluegrass region these were popular:
SONGS SUNG BY SLAVES AT CORN SHUCKINGS

coleman, slavery times in KY, 1940

"Heave away! Heave away!
I'd radder co't a yaller gal,
Dan work for Henry Clay,
Heave away, yaller gal, I want to go."

"Eliza Jane" was a favorite song with field hands:

"You go down de big road
An' I'll go down de lane,
Ef you gits dar befo' I does,
Good bye, Liza Jane!"

LIFE OF SLAVES AROUND THE SLAVE QUARTERS:

coleman, slavery times in KY, 1940

The slaves in the quarters had a life of their own. It was peculiar in its own distinctive way. There was much hospitality and sociability, much dancing, laughing, singing and banjo-strumming when the day's work was done. This was the native home of the plantation melody and clog dance. There was little that was morose or gloomy about the slave, either at work or at rest. He was, under reasonable conditions and treatment, almost invariably happy and contented, polite and respectful to his superiors and visiting strangers.

They loved to dance and often performed without music or other accompaniment except "patting"—that is, patting the hands on the knees or clapping them together, and this they did to perfection, giving and keeping perfect time to the dance. These dances consisted of shuffling of the feet, swinging of arms and shoulders, and swaying of the body in a peculiar rhythm known as the "Double Shuffle," "Heel and Toe," "Buck and Wing" and "Juba." To "pat Juba" and "dance Jim Crow" were truly inspiring:

"Once upon the heel tap,
And then upon the toe,
An' ev'ry time I turn around
I jump Jim Crow."

While the cheerful and fun-provoking exercises at the “quarters” reveal a brighter side of the slave’s life, the more serious side is brought out in their religious songs, which furnished an outlet for aching hearts and anguished souls. Nothing tells more truly what the Negroes’ life in slavery was than the dirge-like songs, in which they succeeded, sometimes, in expressing their deepest emotions and feelings. As for example:

“Nobody knows the trouble I've seen,
Nobody knows but Jesus,
Nobody knows the trouble I've seen,
Glory Hallelujah!”

Hope of future life and eternal pleasure often permeated the Negro spirituals:

“We'll walk dem golden streets,
We'll walk dem golden streets,
We'll walk dem golden streets,
Whar pleasure nebber dies.”

or:

“I looked over Jordan and what did I see,
Comin' fo' to carry me home,
A band of angels comin' after me,
Comin' fo' to carry me home,
Swing low sweet chariot, comin' fo' to carry me home,
Swing low sweet chariot, comin' fo' to carry me home.”
Public opinion was not adverse to the religious training of Negroes, and slaves were given religious instruction on many plantations and farms. Domestic slaves often attended the same services as their masters or mistresses, and on the minute books of many of the churches of Kentucky appear the names of slaves who were faithful and devout members. The churches usually had a gallery for the black people, and if not, then in some cases, certain rear sections were reserved for their use, where they enjoyed the preached gospel in common with the whites.

Benjamin F. Van Meter, who was reared in a well-to-do slaveholding family in Clark County, related that their old carriage driver, Riddle, had his place in the gallery of the local church with scores of other slaves, "and after the sacramental elements had been dispensed on the lower floor," recounted this observer, "they were taken without fail to the gallery, to be received in the same manner by the faithful Christian slaves."

Although there was never any law passed in Kentucky which prohibited teaching slaves to read and write, public sentiment operated strongly against it. Many of the slave owners were willing that their slaves be taught to read the Bible; yet there was the constant dread of their reading "filthy abolition literature," tending to promote insubordination, an overt uprising, or make them thoroughly dissatisfied with their lot. Also, it was believed that, by the slaves becoming able to read or write, it would be easy for them to forge "free papers" or passes for themselves, and others of their kind. There were, nevertheless, numerous cases of faithful and trusted family servants being privately instructed in the rudiments of reading and writing by their master, his wife or some member of his family. Professor Ivan Mc-

Dougle, in analyzing the runaway advertisements of Bluegrass slaves, estimated that at least ten per cent of them could read and write "tolerably well."
"On Sunday night last /June 21, 1857/ three slaves, belonging to Mr. John Sanford and one to Mr. John Berry, made tracks from Henry County, Kentucky . . . they were tracked to the Ohio River, where the negroes, being armed made a desperate resistance, and one of them, while in the act of shooting one of the pursuers, was shot and instantly killed. The second escaped, while the third was arrested and taken back to Kentucky." source: Cincinnati Commercial, June 24, 1857

"Indeed, some of the stations / on the underground railroad/ were elaborate and sensational affairs, with their secret walls, false attics and hidden chambers. The Rothier house in Covington, built in 1815, had an ingenious secret tunnel leading from the cellar to the river, large enough to hide dozens of refugees. Fugitive slaves harbored in this house used the passage to get down to the water's edge and thence across the river into Ohio." Coleman offers no source for this.
Acct of Slaves Drowning Crossing the Ohio During Escape (1855)

P 230n/ "Runaways Drowned! On Friday night last, a part of slaves, six in number, ran away from the neighborhood of Millersburg. One belonging to Mrs. Emily Taylor, of Bourbon, one to Mr. Miller, of Irish Station, in Nicholas County, and the others to persons in the latter county. They crossed the country on foot to East Maysville, where the negroes attempted to cross the river in a skiff about daylight. There was a dense fog upon the river and by some means the skiff was overturned and the three women and child drowned."
Source: Kentucky State Flag, Paris, Dec 17, 1855.

HORACE MORRIS RECOMMENDS WM H STEWARD TO B H BRISTOW (1876)

Horace Morris to B. H. Bristow, Jan 24, 1876, Washington, in B. H. Bristow Papers, lib of cong.

"Dear Sir; +

"The name of a first class young colored man presents itself to me, in the person of Wm. H. Steward. He has just been discharged from the L & N. R. R. by Dr. Standiford for advocating the election of Hon Chas. D. Jacob. He can fill the bill in every particular." Horace Morris.
The gauge of any church is its missionary spirit and activity. The study of missions is the study of the life, spirit, activity, method, and object of the church, and the means for the establishment of the kingdom. If we would pray "Thy kingdom come" with sympathetic intelligence we must have a knowledge of what the petition implies.

We are patriotic and manly when we love our country, but we are God-like when we love the world, for "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

The study of God's plan and purpose to extend His kingdom, as revealed in the Bible should be illustrated, supplemented and enforced by the study of the development of God's Kingdom, as it is being wrought out through Christian missions.

Our church members, especially the young people, should receive definite instruction in systematic and proportionate giving as they do in any of the other exact sciences. Christ said "Give and it shall be given unto you, for with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

We should be led to recognize that we are called of God for service, commissioned to be evangels of Jesus Christ as opportunity offers. Serviceableness is the divine idea and measure of true culture. Opportunity is obligation. Sympathy is the motive power of ministry. If, therefore, our church members, young and old, are to have the true education for Christian service, they must be brought to the knowledge of God's revealed will through study of the Bible, to the vision of human need and to personal sympathy through the study of Christian missions, and to efficient personal ministry through the study and practice of systematic and proportionate giving to the missionary activity of the church.

The early Christian Church was a witness-bearing church. Its marvelous success was largely due to the fact that every Christian was a missionary. The church of today strongly demands personal Christian service in the community and the dedication of the life to the various forms of missionary work. In order to realize this there must be an enlistment and training of leaders and workers for all the departments of the local church. This lies at the foundation of all missionary endeavor and Christian activity. A presentation of the call to Christian service as a life-work must be made to the young people, emphasizing the ministry and the work of missions. The first appointment of missionaries by the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky was made in 1868. Since that time, with the exception of '78, '82, '83, and '85, missionary work has been continually done under the auspices of the Association, as may be easily seen from the following table:
For twenty years this Convention worked faithfully trying to discharge the duty assigned it by the General Association, turning over into the hands of the Board of Trustees thousands of dollars to assist in the prosecution of the educational work. In 1901, when Rev. John H. Frank, D.D., then Moderator of the General Association, marshaled his forces to such great success, that the old debt known as the Floating Debt was removed, the sisters decided that after all the Convention’s expenses had been paid, the remaining amount be placed in the bank as the beginning of a fund to erect a Girl’s Dormitory. Directly after the adjournment of the Convention, the Board of Trustees met the Board of Managers and said, “If you will let us have the money raised for the dormitory, it will pay the last dollar of all indebtedness on the University.” It was given under conditions, that if it failed to be enough to wipe out the debt, they would consider it a loan. After five years hard work, with much prayer and many sacrifices through the influence of Dr. H. I. Morehouse and G. Sale, the General Educational Board appropriated $5,000 for the erection of and equipment of a Woman’s Industrial Building. This gift was secured through the direct instrumentality of the representatives of the Home Mission Society on condition that we raise $10,000 in stead of $5,000.

After a conference with President J. R. L. Diggs and the Trustees, they decided to begin at once to formulate plans for the erection of the Girls’ Dormitory and Domestic Science Building. The ground breaking took place, Tuesday, April 14, 1886, when Mrs. Mamie E. Steward, President of the Convention, t0Whot had been given, raised the first spade of dirt, followed by the members of the B. W. E. Convention.

Amounts raised by the B. W. E. Convention.

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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1879-1880—Dr. Wm. J. Simmons, President; Prof. W. R. Granger, Rev. Charles S. Dinkins, Miss Lulu C. Osbourne, Miss Mary V. Cook, Miss Florence L. Birney, Miss Lucy W. Smith, Miss Ione E. Wood, Miss Sarah E. Nelson, Mrs. James Burley, Mr. Chas. Hensler, Mrs. Mamie E. Steward, Mr. Harvey Husbands, Rev. G. W. Ward, Miss S. Gertie Waters, Mrs. Anna Sterrett, Miss Emma F. Adams, Rev. C. H. Parrish.

1885-1886—Dr. Wm. J. Simmons, President; Prof. W. R. Granger, Rev. Charles S. Dinkins, Miss Lulu C. Osbourne, Miss Mary V. Cook, Miss Florence L. Birney, Miss Lucy W. Smith, Miss S. Gertie Waters, Mrs. Anna M. Sterrett, Miss Emma F. Adams, Rev. C. H. Parrish.

1886-1887—Dr. Wm. J. Simmons, President; Rev. Charles S. Dinkins, Prof. W. R. Granger, Miss Lulu C. Osbourne, Miss Mary V. Cook, Miss Ione E. Wood, Miss Lucy W. Smith, Miss Emily B. Swindler, Rev. C. H. Parrish, Rev. R. S. Thurman, Mr. W. L. Gibson.

1887-1888—Dr. Wm. J. Simmons, President; Prof. Charles F. Sneed, Rev. C. H. Parrish, Miss Lulu C. Osbourne, Miss Mary V. Cook, Miss Ione E. Wood, Miss Lavinia B. Elliott, Miss Lucy W. Smith, Mrs. Mamie E. Steward, Mrs. Jane E. McKamey, Mr. Frank Smith, Mr. James M. Burley.
parrish, ed, golden jubilee, 1915

Graded from Academic Department

1883—Benoni Tinker, Tillie S. Waters (Lillie), A. H. Payne and H. C. Marrs.

Normals.

1883—William E. Brown, Timie Miller, Hattie P. Marks, Ella T. Smith (Walker), Blanche Brown (Hughes), Lavinia B. Elliott (Sneed), E. J. Anderson, T. C. William, Mary V. Cobb (Parrish), James Lyons, Katie Scott.
1884—Ione E. Wood (Gibbs), S. E. Smith, L. W. Hughes, P. H. Gary, T. C. Buford, Peter Morton, Tillie Thrift (McQuerontor), Eliza Heath (Bibb), T. C. Brown, W. H. Nelson, Mary Burrell.

The Normal Department is continued; the Academic Department ceased with the inauguration of the University. Since that time hundreds have finished the Normal Department.

Grades Conferred in Course A.B.

Class 1886
Chas. H. Parrish .............. Lexington, Ky.
Chas. F. Sneed .............. Lexington, Ky.
Sarah E. Nelson (Warfield), Lexington, Ky.

Class 1887
Lavinia B. Elliott (Sneed), Louisville, Ky.
Kate C. Scott .............. Louisville, Ky.
Mary V. Cook (Parrish) .......... Bowling Green, Ky.

Class 1888
Eliza T. Heath (Bibb) ...... Louisville, Ky.
Ione E. Wood .......... Atlantic City, N. J.

Class 1889
Artishia G. Gilbert (Wilkinson), Louisville Ky.
Alice P. Kelly ........ Mobile, Ala.
Horace W. Conrad .......... Louisville, Ky.

Class 1890
Rice B. Butler .......... Paris, Ky.
Thomas I. Bryant .......... Couchville, Tenn.

Class 1891
Patterson T. Frazier .......... Allensville, Ky.
Eva B. Frazier .......... Glasgow, Ky.

BIOGRAPHY OF WM. J. SIMMONS

parrish, ed, golden jubilee, 1915

1872/William J. Simmons, A.B., A.M., D.D.

In the introductory remarks of the "Men of Mark" written by Dr. Simmons are these words by Bishop Turner: "It is a historic fact that Virginia has been rife with Presidents, but truly South Carolina has given to the world more men of note than any other State in the Union." In Charleston, S. C., June 29, 1849, William J. Simmons was born. His parents—Edward and Esther Simmons. In his early life his parents moved to Philadelphia. These were the days of slavery and they were compelled to remain in hiding. Many days his only food was milk and mush. He never attended a public school, but was taught privately by his uncle who was a very good scholar, and laying a foundation so broad and exact that college studies were comparatively easy. In 1862, he was apprenticed to Dr. Leo. H. DeLange, a dentist in Bordentown, N. J. He learned the profession so thoroughly that in the absence of the Dentist he operated on some of the best families in the city. He tried to enter a dental school at Philadelphia, but was refused on account of color. Being ill-treated by the doctor, he ran away, September 16, 1864, and enlisted in the 41st United States Colored troops. He took part in the battles around Petersburg, Hatches Run, Appomattox Court House and was present at Lee's surrender. He was converted in 1867, and joined the white Baptist Church in Bordentown, N. J., being the only colored member of the church. When he made known his call support and paid his schooling for three years. The New Jersey State Educational Society aided him to attend Madison University of New York from which he graduated in 1868. September, 1868, he entered Rochester University. On account of trouble with his eyes brought on by hard study he was compelled to stop school until 1871, when he entered Howard University, Washington, D. C., graduating, 1873, with the title of A.B. By his frugality he had saved $300. He taught school at a place called Bunker Hill and his success as a teacher was so great that he was given the principalship of the Hillsdale Public School, D. C. He went to Arkansas with the idea of making it his home, but returned to Washington and again taught at Hillsdale until June, 1871. He married Josephine Silence at Washington, D. C., August 12, 1874. He then went to Florida in September, 1874. He invested in lands and oranges but found it was not a paying investment. He was ordained, 1875, in which year he was called to the pastorate of First Baptist Church, Lexington, Ky. September, 1880, he was called to the Presidency of the Normal and Theological Institution, as State University was then called. At that time the school had 13 pupils, two teachers and an empty treasury. September 29, 1882, he was elected editor American Baptist. Dr. Simmons has been honored by winning many honors in journalism. He wrote a pamphlet on "Industrial Education" which had a wide circu-
BIOGRAPHY OF WM J SIMMONS

Rev. WM J. Simmons was born in Rhett, Ala., April 14, 1832, a son of the late William and Mary Simmons. He was educated in the schools of his native county, and at the Wesleyan University, in Manchester, Tenn., at the age of sixteen he was appointed a teacher in the institution. He became a member of the National Convention of Colored Men held at Louisville, September, 1883. He delivered many addresses before the American Baptist Home Mission Society. At the fiftieth anniversary held in New York, May 24, 1872, his oration "What Are the Colored People Doing?" was published in the Jubilee Volume. In 1883, Dr. Simmons called together and organized the Baptist women in a convention, for the purpose of raising money for the educational work of the denomination in the State. This body is known as the "Baptist Women's Educational Convention." The title of D.D. was conferred on him by Wilberforce University. On August 25, 1886, in St. Louis, Mo., Dr. Simmons organized the American National Baptist Convention and was unanimously elected as its first President. In 1881 he received the degree of A.M. from Howard University. Dr. Simmons has delivered some of the most able addresses before prominent audiences of both color. Many literary works are attributed to his pen. He was a friend to the poor student and infused inspiration in many. His name will ever live among Negro Baptists. He died, October 30, 1890. Just before his death he organized Eckstein-Norton Institute at Cane Spring, Ky., which has since been connected with Lincoln.

BIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES LEE PURCE


Charles Lee Purce was born at Charleston, S. C., 1856, of slave parentage, William and Ellen Purce. He attended the schools of Charleston, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C., and Richmond Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.; also taking a post-course in Hebrew through the Correspondence Bureau. He was baptized in 1875, by Rev. Jacob Legare, the first licensed colored minister in the State of South Carolina. In 1883 he was called to the Baptist Church at Society Hill, S. C., a church having eleven hundred members. He resigned this church to take the chair of Greek and Latin at Selma University, Selma, Ala. In June, 1884, he delivered the Bacca-

laureate Sermon at Lincoln Normal University, State Normal, at Marion, Ala. It was the best ever delivered there. The chairman of the Board complimented him by saying it was "Bullion's Grammar," meaning that it was a specimen of grammatical and literary excellence. He was married to Miss Charlotte Cooper Sinkler, Charleston, S. C., in Philadelphia, by Rev. William C. Dennis, January 7, 1885. On the resignation of Rev. E. M. Brawley, he was unanimously elected to the presidency of Selma University, where he served ten years. Resigning the presidency he traveled one year under the American Baptist Mission Board. He was then elected as president of the Langrige School, Montgomery, Ala., from which school he was called to take the presidency of State University, Louisiay, Ky., 1894. He served the Baptists of Kentucky as president of State University until his death which occurred, August, 1905. The life of this great man has been exemplary. Many are the men and women who bless his name and memory. He was a man of strictly temperate habits, very quiet in his demeanor, earnest in his purposes and devoted to the causes which were just and right. He had good influence over the students who admired him for his many good qualities. There are many useful men and women in the State of Kentucky who followed Dr. Purce from the Southern States whose influences are being felt throughout this and other states. Though cut off in the prime of life he still lives in the heart and memory of thousands. His wife, Mrs. C. C. Purce, who was also connected with State University, died November, 1912. There are three children living, William J., Paris Sinkler, and Phoebe Ellen Purce.
Rev. George W. Dupee was born, July 24, 1826, Gallatin County, Kentucky, of slave parents—Cuthbert and Rachael Dupee. His mother died when he was two weeks old. She asked the people to raise him right, for he was for God's own purpose and that he would be useful and live to an old age. In early days he worked at a bagging and rope factory. In 1841, he worked on the court house in Versailles, and was brought under the preaching of old "Father David Woods" a Baptist preacher. He was converted, August, 1842. He was baptized by Pastor Kenny in South Elkhorn Creek. He felt that he was called to preach but refused to answer the call. He learned the alphabet, 1844. The first thing he read was the Third Chapter of John. It was a mystery how he learned to read it, for at that time he could not spell a word. He went to Frankfort, 1848, and in November of the same year he married Mrs. Matilda Green at the Governor's Palace. He accepted a call to the Georgetown Baptist Church, January, 1851. He was assisted in a protracted meeting by Elder James Monroe. The second Sunday in March, 1851, he was ordained by Rev. Reynolds, D.D., president of Georgetown College, and Rev. J. M. Frost, pastor white Baptist Church. The next Sunday he baptized 28 persons. In 1853, he organized a church at the Old Big Spring, Woodford County. 1855, he organized one at Paris, Ky., and preached at many other places. Being called to the Pleasant Green Church, Lexington, he divided his time between the two churches. He received a second call in December at the same time he was advertised for sale, he therefore reconsidered his call not knowing what would be his fate. He was not sold and reconsidering his declination he accepted the call to Pleasant Green Church and remained there until 1864. In 1858, he was called to Paducah Washington Street Church, as visiting pastor and baptized 81 persons in 14 minutes. 1867, he organized a church at Cynthiana. 1861, organized first Ministers and Deacons meeting ever held by Colored people in the South or Southwestern states at Versailles, in Elder Armisted Steele's church. 1862, was called to the Versailles church. The same year he baptized Rev. Reuben Lee, who had been a Presbyterian, and, together with others, ordained him. He organized a church in Covington also erecting a building. 1864, he declined the eleventh call as pastor of Pleasant Green Church and accepted the call to Paducah in 1865.
BIOGRAPHY OF LONDON FERRILL

Born in Hanover Co., Va. In "Men of Mark" Rev. Ferrill is mentioned as one of the most wonderful men who ever lived on the soil of Kentucky. He was a slave, and in early life became a Christian and was baptized. He felt that he was called to preach the gospel, but was disobedient to the promptings of his heart. As no slaves were ordained then the brethren permitted him "To go forth and preach the gospel wherever the Lord might cast his lot, and the door should be opened to him." Fifty persons were soon converts. When his Master died he became free and he and his wife moved to Kentucky. He located at Lexington. At the death of the preacher called "Old Captain" the people called Rev. Ferrill to take charge. He refused as the organization was not in fellowship with the Baptist denomination, although they held the faith and general practice of Baptists. The colored people applied to the white church for his services. The church being in doubt as to what to do, proposed to the Elkhorn Association in 1821, the following queries: "First—Can persons baptized on a confession of faith by an administrator not ordained be received into our churches under any circumstances whatever without being baptized? Second—Is it admissible for the Association to ordain free men of color ministers of the gospel? The queries were taken up by the following men: Jeremiah Vardeman, James Fishback, John Edwards, Edmund Waler and Jacob Creath, who reported as follows: First—That it is not regular to receive such members. Second—That they knew no reason why free men of color could not be ordained as ministers of the gospel, the gospel qualification being possessed by them. Rev. Ferrill was ordained, being the second pastor of the First Baptist Church, Lexington, and serving it thirty-two years, during which time the membership was increased from 280 to 1,820 and became the largest church in Kentucky. His wife died in 1833, during the time the cholera was raging in Lexington. It is stated that he baptized 220 persons in 85 minutes at one time and at another, 60 in 45 minutes. Rev. Ferrill died, October 12, 1854. He was a remarkable man. His influence was so great that the "Kentucky Gazette" as late as 1878 referred to his life. He left as a legacy for Kentucky a prayer which will be found in "Men of Mark."

BIOGRAPHY OF ANDREW HEATH

Born in Henderson Co., Kentucky, February 20, 1832. Died, February 19, 1887, at the age of fifty-five years. Forty years of his life was spent in service for his Master. 1851, he married Miss Lucy Hamilton, who worked bravely by his side. 1867, he was ordained; 1868 he became assistant pastor of Fifth Street Baptist Church, Louisville. On the death of Rev. Henry Adams, 1872, Rev. Heath became the pastor. He was a member of the First Baptist Convention held in the State, 1863. Served the General Association as chairman of executive board 16 years. He baptized about 1,500 persons. No minister in the State held a higher place in the estimation of the people. His character was pure; his reputation never received a blur in all the years of his ministry.
BIOGRAPHY OF ELIJAH P. MARRS

Born in Shelby Co., Kentucky, January, 1840. His mother and father were Virginians by birth. His father was given his freedom when he was twenty years old. When quite young he portrayed such qualities that he was called a "little preacher." Although an education was denied a negro, Mr. Robinson, his owner, being a Christian, secretly taught him so that he could read the Scriptures. At eleven he was converted and baptized at Simpsonville by Rev. Charles Wells. Sunday night, September 25, 1864, he with others, walked a distance of 22 miles to Louisville and enlisted in the United States Army. He was made sergeant of Company L, Twelfth U. S. Heavy Artillery. August 3, 1871, he married Miss Julia Gray, Shelbyville, who died in 1876. He taught successfully in Shelbyville, LaGrange, Louisville, Beargrass and other places. 1873, he was licensed to preach at New Castle Baptist Church and was ordained, August 22, 1875. He has served several times as delegate to both educational and political conventions. He was a member of the Executive Board of the Central District Association, 6 years; a member and secretary of the Executive Board of the Central District Association, and treasurer of the General Association. 1879 to 1880, he was business manager of State University. March 16, 1880, he was called to the pastorate of Beargrass Church which position he held until his death, August 30, 1910. His funeral was preached by Dr. D. H. Gaddie, his pastor and friend, at the Green St. Church. The Board of Trustees of State University, the Executive Board of the General Association and other bodies attended the funeral in a body. Hundreds assembled in the church to pay the last tribute of respect to his memory. Dr. Marrs was the first President of State University.

Rev. Daniel Abraham Gaddie, D.D.

Rev. Daniel Abraham Gaddie was born, May 21, 1836. Rising from a blacksmith he became one of the strongest ministers in Kentucky. He was a great temperance advocate. Converted at the age of 23, he commenced in earnest to serve Him who ruleth the hearts of all men. He was ordained, 1865, being then a member of Green St. Church. Revs. Henry Adams, Richard Snee and Charles Edwards and Solomon Patterson taking part in his ordination. He pastored several churches in the State, among them may be mentioned Elizabeth town, Greensburg, Campbellsville, Rude's Creek, Glendale and Green St. Baptist Church, having pastored the latter to the time of his death. He has been honored by the Baptists of the State in holding various offices in the General Association. He was assistant Moderator for years. At the meeting in Bowling Green, August 11, 1886, he was elected Moderator. He was elected treasurer of the National American Baptist Convention, August 25, 1886. He was vice-president of what was known as the American Consolidated Baptist Convention. He was a member of the Trustee Board of State University; member of the Executive Board; secre-
BIOGRAPHY OF HENRY ADAMS

Rev. Henry Adams was a native of Franklin Co., Georgia, and was born, December 17, 1802. Being early converted, about the age of eighteen, he was permitted to exercise his gifts as a preacher within the bounds of his church. In 1825, he was ordained. After preaching a few years in Georgia and South Carolina, he came to Kentucky and settled as pastor of First Baptist Church in Louisville in 1829. He was very proficient, not only in the English branches, but even in the dead languages. In 1842, the First Church, which was a branch, was set apart with 475 members as a separate organization. Out of this church many churches in Louisville have grown. In the first 20 years of his pastorate he baptized over 1,300 people, and through his influence the conversion of over 10,000 souls during his life. After freedom, he was very zealous in educational work in the State. Through his instrumentality the General Association was organized, August 3, 1879, in Lexington, in the First Baptist Church. From its organization, August 15, 1865, it was known as the Baptist Convention, Rev. Adams having served from its organization as president and being elected first moderator of the Association. At that time the Association numbered fifty-five churches and 12,620 members. To him is largely due the credit for establishing State University. While others may have been instrumental in suggesting the beginning and promoting its progress, yet no one can doubt that Rev. Henry Adams contributed very largely to the ultimate success of the work. He did not live to see his object fully accomplished. He died, November 3, 1879. A tablet to his memory is placed in the Fifth St. Baptist Church. He was a man who was beloved by all who knew him. His name is a constant reminder of his faithfulness. A very fitting tribute of respect was paid to Rev. Adams at one of the exercises of State University by Dr. C. H. Parrish, who was the first college graduate of the University. Said he:

Verily he was a lover of his people; deeply impressed with the worth of souls; an earnest and humble man. A man of faith and prayer, and above all, a man of pure life. No ministerial defection ever stained his garment; a true leader of his people in practice as well as doctrine, his own bright life illumined the path in which he would have the people to walk.

BIOGRAPHY OF REV. JOHN JOHNSON

Rev. John Johnson, D.D.

Was born in Clark County, Ky., March 10, 1837. April 12, 1855, he was married, to which union three children were born. April 10, 1867, Rev. Johnson came to take charge of the Cynthiana Baptist Church. To 1903, the record gives Rev. Johnson as having built three churches, baptized 1,415 persons; married 345 couples, and ordained 7 preachers to the work of the Gospel ministry. Rev. Johnson pastored the church four years longer, or to the time of his death, which makes him 40 years as the pastor of the Baptist Church at Cynthiana.
Rev. Allen Allensworth, A.M.

Born, April 3, 1843, Louisville, Ky., of slave parents, Levi and Phyllis Allensworth. He attributes most of his success in life to the training of his mother, who took special pains to send him to Sunday School. He had a great thirst for knowledge and his advancement was so rapid that his owners became alarmed and thought, in order to quench his thirst he should be sent to work on a tobacco farm in Henderson, Ky. His mother belonging to another family, knew nothing of this contemplated change until he was sent to bid her good-bye. She was sick at the time, but in her feebleness she arose and asked God's blessing to rest upon him. He parted from his mother in 1853 and they did not meet again until 1861. Finding that the tobacco farm did not quench his thirst he was sold South. In 1861 he was in a negro mart in New Orleans and was sold for $4,000 to ride race-horses. In the summer of 1861 he was brought to Kentucky by his new owner, where he met his mother. In the fall of 1862 he left Louisville with the soldiers and obtained his freedom in 1863. After the battle of Stone River he went to Ohio. April 3, 1863, he entered the United States Navy and was soon advanced from a seaman to a petty officer, serving till April 3, 1865. He returned to Louisville where he was converted and joined Fifth Street Baptist Church, of which Rev. Henry Adams was pastor. When the Ely Normal School was established in Louisville, he was its junior and among its first pupils, it being the first regular school he ever entered to study. He was selected by the principal to teach under the Freedman Bureau. Finding that the more he taught the less he knew, he entered the Nashville Institute, now known as Roger Williams University. After pursuing the Normal and preachers' courses he stopped and went to teaching in Georgetown, Ky., and taught there until appointed by the General Association as its financial agent, from which he was called to the pastorate of the Elizabethtown church. Being very successful as a pastor, his leadership was courted by the churches and he served at Franklin, Louisville and Bowling Green. Being a successful Sunday School worker, he was appointed State Superintendent of the Sunday Schools by the State Baptist Sunday School Convention, and field missionary by the American Baptist Missionary Society. He was known everywhere as the "Great Children's Preacher." After four years' service in this field, he was called to the pastorate of the Union Baptist Church, Cincinnati, where he met with great success. While pastor he was appointed by President Grover Cleveland to the chaplaincy of the Twenty-fourth United States infantry. During his service in Kentucky he held the position of State Secretary of the Sunday School Convention for years, Moderator State Ministers' Meeting, secretary for several years of the General Association, and, besides, filled many offices of trust and honor. He had some success as a lecturer. Among some of his lecture subjects are, "Masters of the Situation" and "Humbly." His ability as a speaker was recognized by the Republicans of Kentucky, who selected him as an elector for the State-at-large on the Garfield and Arthur ticket. He was the first colored man in Kentucky sent to the Presidential nominating convention. Recognizing his success in life, and appreciating his course as a Christian gentleman and a man of scholastic habits Roger Williams University conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. As chaplain of the 24th Infantry he had the highest esteem and respect of both white
and colored. He served in the Spanish-American War. He organized first Christian Endeavor Society in the Philippines. Upon advice of Judge Advocate General Davis, Chaplain Allensworth was given the title of major and his name being the first on the list making him senior chaplain. He was retired also with the title of Lieutenant-Colonel. After his retirement Colonel Allensworth moved to California, where a settlement was made and named in his honor. There he spent the last days of his life, being highly thought of and esteemed for his sterling worth and character. He died, 1914. A life well crowded with usefulness.

REV. MATTHEW CAMPBELL.

Born, September 1, 1823, in Madison Co., Ky. He was converted, September 16, 1841, under Rev. Edmund Martin, the first colored pastor of the Baptist church at Richmond. At the time of his conversion he wanted to join the Baptist church, but his Master, being a Methodist, would not permit him to do so. He began preaching in August, 1842. January 21, 1843, he married Polly Woods Ballard. 1844, he was licensed to preach in the Methodist Church. His Master died, 1851, and in 1856, he joined the Baptist Church, and was baptized by Rev. Jacob Bush, second pastor of the Richmond Baptist Church. August, 1857, he was ordained in Lincoln County, Ky., in the Tates Creek Association of white Baptists. The council consisted of Rev. G. W. Broadus, and the Rev. Andrew Broadus of Louisville, Rev. John Higgins of Lincoln, and others all of whom were white. In June, 1868, he was called to the pastorate of Richmond Baptist Church holding that charge to the time of his death. He organized the following churches: New Liberty Baptist Church in 1869, and preached there seven years. The Mount Pleasant church, 1875; the Church at Otter Creek and one at Mt. Nebo. When he was converted, he knew nothing but his alphabet; he learned from an elementary speller, getting the white children to teach him. He never attended school until freedom and he was then a man 40 years old. He died in 1903.
REV. CHARLES C. BATES, D.D.

Was born at Midway, Ky., April 11, 1848. Died, June 3, 1914. He became a Christian in 1872, and was baptized into the fellowship of the Pilgrim Baptist Church by Rev. James K. Polk, D.D. He was the first person baptized by Rev. Polk into the fellowship of Pilgrim Church, having been instrumental in its organization. He served in every office of the church and in 1873 made known to the church his call to the gospel ministry. In 1874, he was licensed to preach and in October of the same year was united in marriage to Miss Lizzie Green. Shortly after he was ordained and immediately was called to the pastorates of the churches at Watkinsville, Clifton and White Sulphur. He continued to pastor these churches until in September, 1881, when he was called to the pastorate of Lampton St. Baptist Church. He remained pastor of this church until his death, and during his pastorate paid off a debt of $2,800 that was hanging over it when he was called; repaired and rebuilt the old church and in 1904 purchased the present site on Hancock St. at a cost of $9,700. In about two years this building was destroyed by a storm and had to be repaired at a cost of more than $8,000. All of which was paid in less than six years.

During his ministry he baptized over 3,000, married over 600 couples, preached over 2,000 funerals, caused 19 persons to be liberated from state prison, saved four from the gallows and helped as many as came to him for help which was a great number. He was a great man for his race and a true and devoted husband, father, pastor and friend.

E. F. Metcalf, Church Clerk.

Rev. Green was ordained two years after this, 1851; the friendship of Rev. Geo. W. Dupee was formed and lasted during the life of these two men. 1855, begun preaching in Paris. Very interesting are the accounts of Rev. Green's ministerial work during the trying days of slavery. When freedom was declared it was by his business tact that fifty or sixty lots were purchased by colored families at Paris. Rev. Green was very prominent among the denomination. His first associates were: Revs. Charles Threlkeld, Maysville; London Ferrell, Lexington; Henry Adams, Louisville; George W. Dupee, Paducah; Henry Green, Danville; Matthew Campbell, Richmond; Henry Evans, Lexington; R. Lee, Georgetown; Isaac Slaughter, Danville; R. Martin, Frankfort; Tobias Smith, Stamping Ground; Garrett Reid, Paris. September, 1880, his wife died. Rev. Green successfully pastored the churches at Maysville and Paris until his death and
was held in high esteem by both races. He was honored by the following positions: One of the founders of the Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute, now State University; eleven years Moderator of the Mount Zion Baptist Association; five years Moderator of the Consolidated Baptist Educational Association and over forty years pastor of the Maysville and Paris churches. He died, 1895, fully confident that he had lived to realize his youthful aspiration of doing something for his Heavenly Master.

Rev. R. B. Butler was born in Paris, Bourbon county, Ky., and received his early training in the public school of that place. He was converted under the preaching of Rev. Geo. W. Dupee in March, 1881, and united with the High St. Baptist Church, which was under the pastorate of Rev. E. G. Green of Maysville, Ky.

He was called and licensed to preach the same year. Rev. J. Thomas was assistant pastor and clerk of the church at that time. But Rev. Thomas being called to another field, Bro. Butler was elected to succeed him. He served the church as clerk for several years and also as deacon and a teacher in the Sunday School. In October, 1882, he entered State University under the presidency of Dr. W. J. Simmons. At that time the school was known as the Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute. He spent eight years of study in this school, graduating from the theological and normal courses in 1886, and from the college classical course in 1890.

He received his first call to the pastorate in August of 1888, from the church at Junction City, Ky., and was ordained for that church in September of the same year at Paris, Ky. Upon recommendation of President Simmons, he was elected to the Chair of Latin and Greek by Trustees of Natchez Baptist College, Natchez, Miss., in 1890. He resigned this position, however, after five months to give himself to the pastorate at Junction City, his first church. But upon returning to Kentucky, he

at State University. Rev. Butler has served the First Baptist Church at Winchester, and also a second time at the University.

He has taught several years in the public schools of the State. In 1898, he was elected as District Missionary for Eastern Kentucky, in which place he served for ten years. In 1908, he took charge of the First Baptist Church of Versailles, which was left vacant by the death of Rev. C. Smothers.

Rev. Butler is still serving this church and is also instructing a class of young preachers at Lexington. In recognition of his ability and worth, State University conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.D., in 1914. Rev. Butler has been married twice; the first time to Miss Amelia Clay Hughes at Paris in 1891. Four children were born of this union. Delphia C., Rice B., Anna Amelia and Geo. W. All are living but Anna Amelia, who died in infancy.

His first wife died the 18th of May, 1907, and in April, 1909, he was married to Mrs. Fannie E. Campbell of Peektontown, Madison county, Kentucky. Rev. Butler has been in the service of the denomination for 30 years and has served the Consolidated Association, as Secretary, since 1894.
THE FIRST COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH OF VERSAILLES, KY.

The present house of worship was erected under Rev. R. Lee (deceased), of Georgetown, Ky. This church and the church at Georgetown were under his care at the same time, but it is said the church had two pastors before Rev. Lee. They were Rev. Almsted Steel and Rev. Geo. W. Dupee. But probably the church as an organized force, began to be felt under the pastorate of Rev. Lee. Bro. Lee preached at Versailles two Sundays and at Georgetown two Sundays. This method was kept up until his death, which occurred in February of 1876. Upon the death of Rev. Lee, Rev. Cary Smothers took charge and continued in the service until his death in 1907. So, under the 31 or 32 years' service of Rev. Smothers, the church prospered and increased to a membership of nearly twelve hundred. Its present membership is approximately estimated at about one thousand. Rev. R. B. Butler succeeded Dr. Smothers, and is getting things well in hand and striving to develop the forces upon all lines of denominational work. 300 added to the church under Rev. Butler's pastorate, several new church auxiliaries have been effected, and upon the whole the old church is moving steadily forward. The church has a live Sunday School and B. Y. P. U., and contributes directly and through all her auxiliaries regularly to missions and to Christian education and to benevolence and charity. Under the leadership of the present pastor, Rev. R. B. Butler, the church has purchased and paid for a nice parsonage house and lot worth $3,000. The next great task that will claim their attention is the purchase of a site for the erection of a new church building.

BIOGRAPHY OF MRS LUCY REED

Mrs. Lucy Reed, better known as Mother Reed, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, and was sold by Negro traders to one Noah Reed of Graves county, Ky., over 60 years ago. She professed hope in Christ when but a small girl in Virginia. After the years of slavery she was baptized by Rev. George Dupee and joined the Washington St. Baptist Church, of which she has been a faithful and consistent member.

She is alive and active in her home doing all her work. She is just as willing to work for the church as in her young days. The doors are seldom opened and finds her not there. She is near a hundred years of age and keeps up every obligation of her church.
MRS. MAGGIE M. STEED

Mrs. Maggie M. Steed was born in the state of Tennessee, in the year of 1877. She came to Paducah, Ky., in the year of 1893. Being economical and having a business mind she saw the need of a modern hotel in the city to accommodate her people. She is now owner and operator of the Hotel Metropolitan. It is the leading colored hotel of the city, and doing a prosperous business. 724 Jackson St., Paducah, Ky.

WM. STEWART NELSON

Son of Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Nelson, was born, October 15, 1895, at Paris, Ky. When he was 10 months old his parents moved to Paducah where his father established a flourishing and lucrative practice as surgeon and physician. He attended the Garfield Public and Lincoln High Schools, Paducah, graduating with first honors as valedictorian of his class. Possessing oratorical ability, he won many oratorical honors in the contests he entered. At the age of twelve he professed Christ and united with the Washington St. Baptist Church. He has served his church as Assistant Superintendent of Sunday School, as teacher and as clerk. He represented his Sunday School at the Congress at Tuskegee, Ala., June, 1912, delivering an oration on "The Relation of Home and Church." He entered Howard University, September 29, 1914. His life has been exemplary and has won the respect and admiration of teachers and pupils.
In August, 1894, A. W. Watkins, seeing the need of a colored undertaker for his people in Paducah, established such a firm at 221 So. 7th Street. Success was instantaneous. The honest and efficient service which had characterized his carriage and express business previously, was made a potent factor in the undertaking effort; and the confidence of the people was manifested strongly even in the days of later competition. Mr. Walker’s success enabled him to place his business in a first class condition, second to none in the State, and also purchase a two-story brick building at 701 Washington St. for the business, with an office, funeral chapel, morgue, store and trimming room. Mr. Watkins died, June 5, 1915, after many years of useful and serviceable endeavor among his people. He left a nephew, G. D. P. Rucker, whose life has been spent in gaining experimental knowledge of this profession. His working co-operatively with his uncle these many years, fits him admirably for taking up the work of the business which he has managed for nine years. His inclination and intention is to strictly carry out the policies of his deceased uncle in honest dealing, courteous treatment and efficient service.

REV. CHARLES P. M. BIGBEE, D.D.

Born at Crossplains, Robertson Co., Tenn., June 24, 1866. Attended school at Springfield, Tenn., and Roger Williams, Nashville, Tenn. Was ordained in 1888. Pastored nine churches, erected five and baptized 1,275 souls. Wrote two annual addresses in pamphlet form. He has been successful as a school teacher, having taught in many of the schools of Tennessee. He served as Missionary for the Middle Fork District Association of Tennessee for two years, during which time he built the First Baptist Church at Greenbrier, Tenn. He came to Kentucky in 1892. He has served as Moderator of the Consolidated Association, as Vice Moderator of the General Association of Kentucky, has served on the Executive Board of General Association since 1900; been serving as President of State B. Y. P. U. for five years. Rev. Bigbee is now pastoring First Baptist Church, Russellville, Ky., to which he was called, January 2, 1914.
First Baptist Church, Russellville, was organized, 1866, in the basement of the white church by Rev. William Gardener (white). Services were held after the white congregation was dismissed and Rev. Gardener would come down and assist Rev. Gilbert Graham, the first pastor. They continued to worship in the white church for quite awhile until they bought the ground where the present building now stands. Sister Bettie Myers, the only one of its first members who is now living, is one of the active members of the church. Two houses of worship have been built on the same spot of ground. Fourteen pastors have served this church who are the leading ministers of the State. The excavation for a new building was begun, May 10, 1915. The building is in erection and is hoped to be occupied by the members for worship by winter.

Biography of Rev. George William Hampton

REV. WILLIAM JAMES MONROE PRICE, D.D., LL.D.

Born in Nicholasville, Ky., October 8, 1867. Attended the public schools of Nicholasville. Painter and barber by trade. Ordained, March 9, 1893. Pastored nine churches and baptized about 1,000 souls. The First Baptist Church, Henderson, Ky., of which Rev. Price is pastor was organized about sixty-five years ago in the basement of the First Baptist Church (white), and worshipped there for some time. The present location was purchased after freedom and a frame building erected which, in 1879, was replaced by a brick edifice. It is the oldest colored congregation in Henderson county, and may properly be styled the "Mother Church." The following churches have been the outgrowth of this church: Corydon, St. John, Race Creek, Zion, Robbins, Walnut Hills, Basket and Lick Creek. The following have served as pastors: Revs. Chas. Jenkins, Chessware, Louis Norris, H. H. White, P. H. Kennedy, R. H. C. Mitchell, N. E. Clark, S. L. M. Francis and W. J. M. Price. The church has a membership of about 700. Rev. Price also enjoys the distinction of being the first President of the State Baptist Sunday School Convention, a newly organized body.

HISTORY OF FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, GEORGETOWN, KY.

This church was established during the days of slavery. Rev. Reuben Lee, its first pastor, rebuilt it in 1870. He pastored until his death, February 26, 1876, having served as pastor 18 years. The following have served as pastor: Rev. R. T. Huffman, two years one month; Rev. J. L. Dudley, five years; Rev. E. J. Anderson, 12 years, 9 months; Rev. G. M. Moore, five years, one month; Rev. R. H. Porter, six years, two months, dying at his post; Rev. T. L. Ballou, two years, and Rev. A. W. Nix, present pastor, took charge, April 10, 1914, and is leading this people by the help of God. This church has a membership of 550 with property valued at $10,000.
BIOGRAPHY OF WM. BRADFORD HALL

parrish, ed, golden jubilee, 1915

REV. WILLIAM BRADFORD HALL, B.D.

Born near Georgetown, Scott Co., Ky. Attended school at Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn. Ordained, 1883. Pastored eight churches, erected two and baptized over 800 souls. Rev. Hall has two charges, Ghent and New Liberty. The New Liberty church was established, 1875. Rev. Hall has pastored the church eight years, having increased its membership to 205, the church now being in a healthy condition spiritually and financially.

BIOGRAPHY OF WM. REUBEN RICHARDSON, PHYSICIAN

parrish, ed, golden jubilee, 1915

REV. WILLIAM REUBEN RICHARDSON, M.D., B.D.

Born at Athens, Alabama, Limestone Co. Attended school at Eastern School, State University and National Medical College, Louisville, Ky. Was ordained, June 20, 1890. Has pastored six churches and baptized 1,000 souls. Wrote "Negroes' attitude Toward Civic Righteousness and Religion." Rev. Richardson is pastoring First Baptist Church at Winchester, Ky., which church is making progress.
REV. GEORGE REDD.

Born in Versailles, Ky. Attended school at State University, Louisville. Ordained, 1898. Pastored six churches and baptized 120 souls. Rev. Redd is now pastoring the first Baptist Church at Lancaster which was organized in 1858. From which time they worshipped with the old Union Church until 1870. This church was organized by Mr. Tom Reid, a white man, together with T. J. Moore, Mat Baker, Henry Salter, Alex Simpson, John Jennings and Jeff Barlow. 1871, a lot was bought in Duncan Town and the present edifice erected. The following have pastored: Revs. Orange Tinsley, John Reid, Sidney Shirrer, G. M. Fisher, E. W. Richey, G. W. Lackey, Isaac Miller, Straus, Wm. Price, J. B. Miller, C. C. Goins, G. W. Ward, Robt. T. Bailey, Joseph Burnes and the present pastor, Rev. G. R. Redd.

REV. HENRY BATTLE WEBSTER, D.D.

Born in Woodford Co., Ky. Attended the public schools of Woodford, Fayette and Jessamine Counties. Blacksmith by trade. Was ordained in 1882. Pastored the following churches: South Elk Horn, Nicholasville and Paris. Baptized 1050. Wrote "Principles and Practices of Baptists" and pamphlets. The African Baptist Church, Paris, of which Rev. Webster is pastor was organized out of the First (white) Baptist Church of Paris, in 1855, by Revs. E. W. Green and G. W. Dupee. Rev. Green pastored from 1855 to 1863. Rev. John Fisher pastored one year. Rev. Webster was called in 1896 and is the present pastor. The present house of worship was erected in 1858 and is about 60 years old. The present membership is about 500. Rev. Webster has been in the ministry 31 years.
REV. THOMAS HOWARD BROADDUS, D.D.

Born in Madison County, Ky. Attended school at Camp Nelson, Ky. Was ordained in 1873. Pastored five churches, erected three and baptized 3,000 souls. The Baptist Church at Richmond, of which Rev. Broaddus is pastor, was organized in 1844. The following pastors have served: Revs. Edward Martin, Jacob Bush, John Land, M. Campbell and the present pastor who has served for nineteen years. The church property is valued at $10,000.

REV. RICHARD REYNOLDS, D.D.

Born in Jefferson Co., Ky. Attended public schools at Louisville. Broom maker and barber by trade. Ordained in 1879. Pastored seven churches, erected four and baptized 1200 souls. The church of which he is pastor at Jeffersontown, Ky., has the distinction of being the oldest one out in Jefferson Co. It was organized in 1830 by Rev. Henry Adams who was pastor of Fifth St. Church, Louisville. The first pastor was Rev. Summerfield, a slave who bought his freedom that he might preach the Gospel. The church has had about 8 pastors. Rev. Reynolds, the present pastor, has been serving 27 years. Is Trustee of State University and Ex-Moderator of The Central District Association.
REV. H. D. COLERANE.

Born in Jessamine Co., December 23, 1857. Attended the common schools of Lexington and Harrodsburg. Was licensed, October, 1895, and ordained, November, 1898. Served in the First Baptist Church, Winchester, for twenty-five years as chorister and Superintendent of the Sunday School. He is now pastoring the Baptist Church at Falmouth, Ky., which church he has served three different times as pastor. In 1900, he erected a new edifice at Falmouth and remained with the church until the whole debt was paid. He was called for the third time in 1914. He has baptized 37 souls. He has served on the Executive Board of the General Association and is serving on the Executive Board of the Consolidated Educational District Association.

REV. WILLIAM TAYLOR.

Born in Woodford Co., Ky., October 22, 1872. Attended school at State University, Louisville, Ky. Was licensed, April 9, 1896, and ordained, April 19, 1900. Pastored eight churches, erected two and baptized 1,000 souls. Has been pastoring twenty years. Had been missionary for the Howard Creek Educational District Association four years. Now pastoring Ninth St. Baptist Church, Covington, Ky., where he has been for four years. This church was organized in 1869, the first pastor being Rev. Randolph Campbell. The membership of the church is 350. In 1914, a new edifice was erected at a cost of $8,000 (eight thousand dollars).
REV. JAS. L. ALLENWORTH, D.D.

Born in Hopkinsville, Ky., August 2, 1845. Attended the common schools of Christian Co. Painter and paperhanger by trade. Ordained, October, 1870. Pastored seven churches, organized ten churches, built five, and baptized 1500 souls. Now pastoring Forston Hill Baptist Church, which he organized in 1899. He is one of the pioneer preachers of Western Kentucky. He joined the General Association in 1869 at Paducah and has been honored by that body in being appointed to serve in different ways. He has served as first president of First District Sunday School Convention; as Coroner of Christian County for four years; as trustee of M. & F. College since its organization; as Moderator of the M. and D. meeting of the General Association and as a member of the Executive Board of the General Association.

CLAY ST. BAPTIST CHURCH, SHELBYVILLE, KY.

The Clay Street Baptist Church was organized by Rev. W. J. Brown, 1859, who served two years. Rev. Grigsby preached to this body before its organization. The following have pastored this congregation: Revs. Clark, 10 years; M. Allen, 12 years, by whom the present building was erected; A. A. Russell, six years; T. Huffman, a very short time; H. W. Jones, three years. Rev. Wm. Brown, the present pastor was called to this charge, 1907. He remodeled the church, making it quite attractive. Members added since his pastorate, 215. The church is well organized and doing a great work; is wide-awake to education and mission work. Rev. Brown has been in the ministry twenty-three years and pastoring for twenty years.
SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH, LAGRANGE, KENTUCKY

Was organized about the year 1870, by Rev. Warren Lewis. Rev. Lewis was succeeded by Rev. James Motin, under whose administration the church was divided. After his resignation, Rev. N. Caldwell took charge and succeeded in bringing the factions together and moved to the present location. Others who have served are: Revs. R. Reynolds, E. T. Offutt, J. R. Riddles, H. W. Snowden, Edward Brown and the present pastor, Rev. W. P. Offutt.

GREEN ST. CHURCH, LOUISVILLE, KY.

Green St. Baptist Church was organized in 1842. The following have pastored the church: Revs. George Wells, Richard Sneethen, D. A. Gaddie, and H. W. Jones, present pastor. Some of the leading ministers of the State and country have been ordained here. It has enrolled 3,000 members since its organization. In the past three years has taken in $12,000. Has always stood in the front rank in educational, missionary and benevolent work. Has a large and increasing Sunday School; three excellent choirs; an enthusiastic Brotherhood; a Boys' Band; a College Society; a Sewing Circle; a Willing Workers' Society; three Benevolent Organizations, and a strong B. Y. P. U. Strangers and visitors always find a cordial welcome here.
THE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH,
GREENVILLE, KY.

Was organized at Needmore, Ky., February 27, 1872. It was removed from Needmore to Greenville, its present location. It was organized with 56 members, by Rev. Ben Rogers, assisted by Rev. Musel, Secretary G. W. Stark. Rev. Rogers pastored the church from its organization to 1897. Rev. C. Davidson pastored ten years. Revs. G. R. Ford is the present pastor.

HISTORY OF MAIN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH, LEXINGTON, KY.

In the year of 1854, the Rev. F. Braxton took charge of First Baptist Church on Deweese and Short Streets and built the present house of worship and remained with them until 1862. There was a dissension growing out of their political views and Rev. Braxton with 500 persons took letters in a coffee sack and with Samuel Johnson brought them to the present site on Main and Locust Streets. The Independent Baptist Church was organized. Rev. Braxton was its first pastor. This property having been owned by Miss Todd. She married Abraham Lincoln in the adjoining building. He conveyed the property through John D. Garis and his wife to F. Braxton, Trustee of the Independent Congregation. This was in 1863. The following constituted the Deacon Board: Nelson Maxwell (till the rest came from the war), John Graham, Paul Lewis, Jack Jonson, Geo. Lewis, Charles Oldham, John Ethic Brown. At the age of 19 Willis Coles joined the church and at the age of 24 years was added to the Board. The church prospered and many were added; he often boasted of having baptized 3,000 persons and adding a membership of 2,000 to this one church.

It was here the first Colored school was organized and conducted by a man by the name of Rogers. During the funeral of Brother Benjamin Taylor the building fell in. This was in 1869, and in 1870, he built the present house of worship, which stands to bless his memory with the coming years. He pastored them until his death, or 13 years.

Rev. Wm. Gray was the next pastor for six years. Under his administration it seemed for a while that new light had come with this intellectual giant, but after a short time internal dissensions began and Lansomboro Baptist, now known as Liberty Baptist Church, was born; this church also gave birth to Mt. Gilead, Houston, Braxtown, Madoxtown, Ft. Springs, Shiloh.

Rev. Eugene Evans was the next pastor and remained two years. He was indeed an organizer; he at once restored order and did much good.

Rev. G. M. Moore was the next pastor; he remained with them twelve years, paid the debt and made another improvement. Was very successful.
Rev. Robt. Mitchell was the next pastor for two years. About the time he might have been of great service he was called to another charge. Rev. A. E. Edwards, succeeded him and remained two years. Rev. C. D. Douglas followed him and remained four years; was a good pastor. Rev. R. T. Frye was the next pastor for six years. This was his first charge. He did much constructive work and paid on the old debts, etc. Rev. N. L. Cheek was the next pastor, three years. He did a great work in reconstructing the church and paid on the old debt. On account of his invincible stand he was not so much admired, but he will stand out in history as one of the great pastors of this church.

Rev. J. J. McCutchen, D.D., the present pastor was born in Logan Co., at Shakertown. Brought up on the farm, enjoyed the common schools and converted at the age of 15 years. Began teaching at the age of sixteen or before he had reached his 17th year. Attended the academy at Bowling Green and graduated in 1891, with honors. Took a post course. Also Scientific Course from the Correspondence School in Danville, N. Y. Shorthand and typewriting, etc. First charge, Bristow, Ky., from there to Mt. Zion, Russellville, Ky., to Fairview, Mayfield, remained in charge ten years; resigned to take up Mission work in Western Kentucky, 1905. On the Field till October, 1913. During these years he demonstrated unusual ability as an evangelist and church builder and financier. Received the degree of D.D. at Eckstein Norton Institute, 1909.

Was called from the field to the Main Street Baptist Church and has been pastor about 18 months, during which time 183 persons have been added to the membership and $5,000 improvement has been made on the property.

Present officers: B. C. Green, R. C. Speed, H. Davis, H. C. Porter, J. W. Miller, Sam Burde, John Rankins, Deacons; J. C. Snowden, B. C. Green and V. G. Drake, Trustees; B. E. Smith, Financial Clerk; Annie B. Jackson, Corresponding Clerk; Marie S. Blackburn, Superintendent Sunday School; Estella Burdette, President B. Y. P. U.; Miss F. B. Jewett, President College Society; Mrs. L. D. Jackson, President Missionary Society; Mrs. Annie Boswell, President Choir.

BIOGRAPHY OF REV. WALLACE FISHER; JUNCTION CITY BAPTIST CHURCH

REV. WALLACE FISHER.

Born at Danville, Boyle Co., Ky. A slave and owned by the late John Craig. He remained a slave up to the age of sixteen when he joined the Union Army to fight for his freedom. He served three years during which time he was converted. Rev. Fisher preached 47 years, during which time he pastored the following churches: Perryville, 7 years; Junction City, 2 years; Mount Salem, 4 years, and New Mission, Danville, 16 years. Baptized and added to different churches nearly 3500 souls. He also served as an evangelist. Taught school eleven years.

JUNCTION CITY BAPTIST CHURCH

Was organized by Rev. Wallace Fisher, 1872, with a few members, among whom were Brother Joe Ball and wife and Rosie Ball Carpenter. Sister Rosie Carpenter is the only living member of this organization. She is the wife of Rev. S. Carpenter, who is the present pastor. Rev. Wallace Fisher became the pastor and served several years. Services were conducted under trees. The first building being a log cabin too dark to see how to read or write. Others in the organization were: Jack May Owen and wife, Peter Douglas, Lewis Harris and wife, Wm. McFarren, Jordan Wallace and wife, Amanda Able.
BRIEF HIST SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH BLOOMFIELD

parrish, ed, golden jubilee, 1915

SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH, BLOOMFIELD

Was organized, 1859, by Rev. Simon Grigsby. There were about ninety members who drew out from the white Baptist Church. Rev. Grigsby held a revival meeting the same year and added about 68 converts. He pastored this church, with the exception of one year, until his death, 1887.

HIST OF PLEASANT GREEN BAPTIST CHURCH

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When the African Baptist Church, which was organized in the year of 1801, was split under the pastorate of its organizer, Rev. Captain, the Rev. London Ferrill took a part of the congregation, which is now known as the First Baptist Church of Lexington, Ky., and the other part of the congregation, which is now the Pleasant Green Church, remained loyal to its pastor, who at the time was close to ninety years of age, a spirit which has characterized the church until the present time. The church continued to worship at Maxwell and South Lime-stone for some time afterward, when the church is said to have moved its place of worship to Speigll's Hill, and from thence to a point near Second and North Upper Sts., where it seems to have remained until it removed to its present place of worship at Maxwell and Patterson Streets. Brother Captain died in the year 1823, with the happy distinction of being the organizer of the first Baptist church on this side of the Alleghenies, which according to the claims of this pioneer of Kentucky Baptists and host of his followers, both dead and living, is now the Pleasant Green Baptist Church of Lexington, Ky. The church believing its claim to be well founded, dates its organization from the year of our Lord, 1801, yet it is thought by some to have been organized in the year of 1799. The records of the Fayette County Court show that the church continued to wear the name of African Church until about the year of 1829. The present property was bought from Dr. Frederick Ridgeley, August the 27, 1822; one month from the date (July, 1822), when Rev. Ferrill's congregation was received in the fellowship of the white Baptist church of this city. The deed is made to Harry Quills, Benjamin Admon and Solomon Walker, trustees of the African Church of Fayette County, Lexington, Ky. Because of an error in describing the property, Dr. Ridgeley, made a second deed, May 28, 1823, in which the names of Harry Quills, Joseph Preston, Thomas Christian and William McDowell are mentioned as trustees. Since that time the church has erected three church houses. The first being a small frame house, which in order to erect and to make last payment on church lot, the church was forced to sell one-half of said property to Harry Quills, one of the trustees.
of the church. This building is said to have been destroyed by fire; then a small brick building was built in its stead which remained until the present house was erected under the pastorate of the Rev. Morris Bell, in 1822. It has since been remodeled and enlarged until it is now one of the most handsome buildings in the State.

The church has played a large part in saving and developing the city of Lexington for God and His Christ. As an evidence of her interest in the education of the race, she points with pride to the fact that the city school was for a long time conducted within her walls. She has been no less active in the spread of the gospel and points with equal pride to the fact that she is the foster mother of the Ever-Green Baptist Church of the city, and has done and is doing much to encourage the smaller churches in the community.

The following is a list of succeeding pastors since its organization: First, Rev. Captain, from the year 1801 to 1823, who according to Spencer's history of Kentucky Baptists, was born in Caroline County, Virginia, about 1733. He came to Lexington between the years 1790 and 1797, where he soon began to exhort from house to house among his own people, which in short resulted in fifty or more conversions, who applied to him for baptism. Not being ordained, he refused their request until he could visit the South Kentucky Association accompanied by his converts, where he applied for ordination. The Association did not consider it proper to ordain him, since he was limited in his scholastic attainments, but gave the right hand of Christian affection, and directed him to go in the name of their common Master. Returning home, Brother Captain immersed this little band of believers and organized them into a church about the year of 1801. He continued to pastor this church with a great degree of success until the day of his death. After the death of Brother Captain, a Rev. Brother January was elected as his successor, the nature of which work and the length of his pastorate we are unable to give at this time. The same may be said of the Rev. George Brents, who is said to be a possible successor of Rev. January. In the year of 1855, the church called the immortal, George W. Dupee, as its pastor, who at that time was a slave. On January 1, 1856, he was sold at public auction at the court house door to Rev. Wm. Pratt and some others who allowed him to purchase his freedom. A large part of the money needed for this purpose was given by the Pleasant Green Baptist Church, an act to which the older members of the church often point with pride. Rev. Dupee resigned in 1864, and was succeeded by Rev. Morris Bell. The other pastors since the days of Bell are, Jacobs, J. M. Parrish, Lyons, Manuel, Howard, O. Durrett, J. B. Anderson, E. W. Hawthorne, H. W. Jones, and the present pastor, E. T. Offutt, who accepted the church, August 6, 1912, and since that time 200 or more members have been added to the church, and a collection of about $10,000 has been raised and expended. The church building has been renovated and one of the best pipe organs in the city has been installed. It has recently purchased two houses and lots adjacent to the church property. The church has a splendid Sunday School, B. Y. P. U., and a Missionary and Educational Society. It has a membership of about one thousand which consists of some of the leading citizens of Lexington.
The First Baptist Church, Danville, one of the strongest and most influential churches in the State, was organized the first Saturday in August, 1846, with one hundred and twenty-three members. It was set apart by the white Baptists of Danville as an independent church, and the recognition services were held the following Sunday.

The Rev. Jordan Meaux was its first pastor. He was noted for his piety, godliness and deep spiritual life. He was succeeded as pastor by the Rev. Henry Green. Rev. Green was never a slave and was well educated for a man of his day. He was recognized as an able preacher and was a leader among his people.

The Rev. Isaac Slaughter was the third pastor of this historic church and for twenty-six years stood as a cedar of Lebanon among his people. He was a great Bible student and a fearless defender of the faith.

At his death Rev. Wallace Fisher, a young man who had been trained in the church under the pastorate of Rev. Slaughter, supplied the pulpit for five months. He added over two hundred to its membership.

In August, 1892, Rev. David S. Slaughter assumed the pastorate of the church and served the same until the spring of 1898. He was succeeded by Rev. J. E. Wood, D.D., the present pastor.

The church has had marked success under the pastorate of Rev. Wood. One of the most modern and attractive church edifices in the State has been erected and paid for. Over seven hundred members have been added to the church and its contributions to missions, Christian education and benevolences have been doubled.

This church operated a school in Danville for a number of years, known as the Baptist Academy. Mrs. Mary Bell Wallace was the teacher in this institution and many of the foremost citizens of Boyle county owe their training and intellectual acquirements to her tutorage.

The church has a present membership of over nine hundred, a live Sunday School, Missionary Society and B. Y. P. U. Society. Its present edifice is located at the corner of Second and Walnut streets; and this property and furniture are easily worth $30,000.00. Its membership is composed of intelligent, progressive and spiritual men and women and exerts a strong influence for good in the community.

This church was organized, 1866, under the leadership of Rev. Spencer Caldwell. It was then situated on Caldwell Street between Preston and Jackson and was called Caldwell Street Baptist Church. Rev. Spencer served six years before his death. Rev. P. Simco succeeded him and served 6 months. Rev. J. M. Harris was the next pastor under whose administration the church moved to Caldwell and Chestnut and from there to Hancock and Roselane, and then to Third between Breckinridge and Kentucky—then from there to Lampton St. While worshipping on Third Street in a carriage shop, they purchased the church on Lampton Street and called it Lampton Street Church. In 1881, Rev. Harris resigned and Rev. C. C. Bates was called. The church's membership increased so rapidly it became necessary to have a larger building; therefore, an addition was made to the church.

Again in 1904, the membership had increased to such proportions that more room was needed and the present commodious building, on Hancock between Madison and Chestnut was purchased at a cost of $9,000.00 and the name changed to Lampton Baptist Church. In 1907, the building was damaged by a storm. There was no tornado insurance on the building, but by December of the same year repairs were completed at a cost of $8,000. Rev. Bates pastored successfully until his death, June 3, 1914, having given 33 years of service to this congregation, finishing a brilliant career for the Lord. Rev. J. M. Williams, the present pastor, was called, December, 1914. He is one of Lampton's own sons. May success crown his labors.
REV. P. H. KENNEDY

Rev. P. H. Kennedy, D.D., was born September 1st, 1848, in Hardin county, Kentucky, two miles from Elizabethtown, Ky. Was converted in the year 1873, and was baptized in the fellowship of the First Baptist church by Rev. G. W. Seales, Clarksville, Tenn., and, in a way, entered the ministry at once—the same day. His first call was to the Baptist church at Leitchfield, Ky., jointly with the Baptist church, Greenville, Ky. He was next appointed Missionary for the First District Association jointly with the then State Sunday School Convention.

He also enjoyed the following calls and appointments but did not serve: Baptist churches, Newport, Ky., and South Carrollton; Missionary for the what is known now as the Consolidated Educational Association at Covington, Ky. He afterward accepted an appointment as State Missionary. Back to the pastorate, Poplar Street Baptist church, Paducah, Ky.; First Baptist church, Henderson, Ky.; Morgan Street Baptist church, Boonville, Mo.; Corinthian Baptist church, Indianapolis, Ind.

Back to the Missionary work, for the last twenty-seven years he has served the State of Kentucky as General Missionary. He has entered upon his twenty-eighth year's service. A systematic history of the Missionary work can be had by getting one of Dr. Kennedy's late charts.

HISTORY OF THE FIRST COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH, OF LEXINGTON, KY.

Organized in 1791.

BROTHER CAPTAIN, ITS FOUNDER.

(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, in Lexington, Ky. 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 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."

Brother Captain was born in Carolina County, Virginia, in 1723, the slave of a gentleman named Darritt. In 1758 he was converted, baptized and received into membership of a white Baptist Church near his home, and he immediately began to exhort among the people of his own race from house to house. He was taken to Kentucky as a slave in 1785, and was one of the "Charter Members" of a small white Baptist Church which was constituted as "Head of Boone's Creek Church," in Fayette County. "A few years later this little church dissolved, and then Brother Captain hired the time of himself and his wife from his owner and settled in Lexington.

Mr. John Maxwell, one of the pioneers of Lexington, gave Brother Captain a building site, helped him to erect a cabin upon it, and was his kind and generous friend as long as they both did live. Brother Captain immediately began to hold meetings in his little house, and soon had made quite a number of converts. These desired to be baptized by him, but he at first declined to perform the rite, because he had not been ordained as a minister of the gospel; but he finally went to a meeting of the South Kentucky Baptist 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 their common 'Master.'"

The giving him the right hand of fellowship and directing him to go on in the name of the Master was considered by Brother Captain as a sufficient ordination; or, at least, as sufficient as one could be
HIST OF THE FIRST COL BAP CH OF LEX
parrish, ed, golden jubilee, 1915

A colored man at that time; so he began to examine such penitents as applied to him, and, if satisfied of their conversion, he baptized them. It is not known that he was ever regularly ordained.

These converts were constituted into the first colored Church that was ever organized in Kentucky. They met at first, and for some years, from house to house, and had no regular Church building in which to meet until 1801 when they erected one in Lexington.

Although Brother Captain appears to have considered that he was sufficiently ordained, it seems that his white brethren did not think so, for the South Kentucky Baptist Association, at its meeting, held in 1801, passed the following order: "Brother 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."

He continued to watch over the Church he had gathered—"The First African Baptist Church," of Lexington—and to labor in the gospel until his strength failed. He died in his little cabin, near Lexington, in the summer of 1823, at the ripe old age of ninety years. As the first colored man who ever labored as a minister of the Gospel in Kentucky, the colored people of the State, regardless of creed, or denomination, owe to themselves and to him to erect in Lexington a monument to his memory, even though it be not a costly one.

Brother Captain built the First African Baptist Church up to a membership of more than three hundred. After his death he was succeeded in the pastorate by Rev. London Ferrill, a remarkable colored man, who took regular charge of the Church in 1824, and served it until his death in 1854. Under his care its membership increased to more than eighteen hundred, making it the largest Church congregation in Kentucky.

London Ferrill was born a slave in Hanover Co., Virginia, about 1789, and he was the grandson of...
"The Calvary Baptist Church, near York on Fifth street, is built on a lot deeded, May 7, 1833, deed book KK., pp. 33, 37, by Benjamin Stansberry, Louisville, Ky., to Henry Smith (a free man of color), in consideration of grantor's good opinion of said Henry's piety and usefulness as a Baptist preacher, and one dollar cash; and the better to enable said Henry to devote a sufficient portion of his time from his domestic labors to the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ to his black brethren, and for the purpose of erecting a house of worship for the regular Negro Baptist association.

The purpose of helping said Smith and securing a church for the regular Negro Baptist association at the same time, was carried out by said Smith in consideration of $150.00 cash paid him, deeding said ground, August 1, 1834, to Benjamin Duke, the elder and Jere Sample, free persons of color, to have and hold as trustees for Baptist congregation of persons of color in and near the city of Louisville, for the purpose of building a church thereon."

Calvary is the "Mother Church Lot." The Fifth Street Baptist Church worshipped on this spot till 1845, when they moved to their present site.

The members refusing to leave the old spot in 1845 were known as the York Street Baptist Church. They were pastored by Rev. W. W. Taylor until his death in 1882. During the end of his pastorate the Zion Church was organized by members who withdrew from York Street Church. Under Dr. C. S. Dinkins the York Street Church was dissolved in 1883.

On Thursday night, October 11, 1883, at the Fifth Street Baptist Church, at 8:00 o'clock, the members of the York Street Baptist Church, having called a Council, met for the purpose of reorganization. After the Moderator of the Council, Dr. T. T. Eaton, declared the meeting organized for business, a motion was then made that letters of dismission be granted all the members of York Street Baptist Church. It was unanimously carried. On motion, it was unanimously voted that the York Street Baptist Church disband. One hundred and eleven members then expressed their willingness to go into the new organization. It was then voted that the new organization adopt the name of Calvary Baptist Church. Rev. C. S. Dinkins, A.B., was unanimously called as pastor. Ben Burbridge, Warfield Carpenter, Henry Prior, Elias Palmer, and Charles Smith, were elected as Deacons; E. J. Jackson, Clerk; Chas. Smith, Treasurer; Tobie Bostic, Wm. Starrs, Steven Williamson, Israel Smith, and John Parris, Trustees. The Council then voted to recognize the organization as a regularly organized Baptist Church.

The following were among the members of the Council: Dr. T. T. Eaton, Dr. Wm. J. Simmons, Rev. Jas. H. Wright, Rev. C. H. Parrish, Rev. J. W. Smith, Rev. A. Heath, Brethren L. P. Garrett, S. Wells, Henry Wilson.

At the time of the organization the property at the corner of Fifth and York streets was in debt $5,200, and the membership was 311. Elder C. S. Dinkins' resignation took effect, September 27, 1885. Rev. C. H. Parrish was called and took charge of the pastorate, September 27, 1885, the same night. The church now owns the valuable property on the north and south side of it, and Mission property at 28th and Walnut. Membership, 1,304. Valuation of property, $37,000.
HIST OF FIFTH STREET BAPTIST, LOUISVILLE, KY.

In the days of slavery, in most communities of the South where colored people were Baptists, they belonged to the white Baptist churches. This was the case with the members of the Fifth Street Baptist Church, who were established as a separate colony in 1829, from the first white Baptist church. They worshiped in a building on Market Street near Eighth, then moved to Fifth and York, occupying a piece of property which was given to them by a white friend by the name of Benjamin Stansbury. Upon this lot the congregation erected a building which it occupied until 1845, when the present lot on Fifth, between Walnut and Chestnut was purchased from the White Christian Church for five thousand dollars. It was then a one-story building, and the present auditorium was built by this congregation. In the 86 years of the history of this church there have been only three pastors: Rev. Henry Adams, from 1829 to 1872; Rev. Andrew Heath, 1872-1886; Rev. J. H. Frank from 1886 to the present time. This is the mother church of the Baptists of this city, and all of the present churches, either directly or indirectly, have gone out from this congregation. This church is also regarded as the leading church in denominational work in the State, and has given liberally to the missionary, educational and benevolent enterprises of the denomination. Its present membership is about 2,015, and its Sunday School, Choir and other church auxiliaries rank with the best in the State. This congregation has recently bought a lot extending through to Centre Street which at some time may be used for the enlargement of the present building or the erection of a new one. Nearly all the State organizations have been organized in this church at intervals from 1865 up to the present time, and while the Baptists of Kentucky are pioneers in organized efforts, this church may also be regarded as the pioneer in the forming of these organizations. Its pastors have been leaders in all denominational enterprises, and their long pastorates and upright lives have given them and the church prominence and distinction in the community.

HIST OF ZION BAPTIST CHURCH, PARIS, KY.

Zion Baptist Church is a branch from the African Baptist Church of the same city. During the pastorate of the Rev. Elisha Green, a part of the members became dissatisfied because of the fact that he spent only two Sundays in a month with the African church at Paris, and the other two with the Bethel church at Maysville.

A committee waited upon Rev. Green and emphasized the fact that the time had come when the African Baptist church should hold services every Sunday, and that it was to the interest of the church that he resign the African or the Bethel church. This, Rev. Green refused to do. That part of the church which was dissatisfied with the "Two Sunday Service" asked that they be organized into a separate organization.

Rev. Green and the other part of the church consented to this and in the summer of 1884 (?), Rev. Elisha Green and Rev. M. M. Bell organized the church, in Marble Hall on Main Street.

A young man by the name of W. R. Davis, who had been assisting Rev. Green, became the first past-
REV. ROBERT MITCHELL, A. M. D. D.

Born in Fulton county, Ky. Attended common schools and Rust University, Holly Springs, Mississippi. Converted, 1874. Ordained, 1882. Pastor-ed six churches, erected one and baptized 1577 persons. Has written in pamphlet form, "Moderator's Annual Address." He is pastoring First Baptist Church, Lexington, which was organized, 1791. The following positions of honor and trust have been filled by him: Assistant Moderator General Association, two years; Trustee State University, President State Teacher's Association, Moderator General Association, four years; Auditor National Baptist Convention, fourteen years.


Was born a slave on the plantation of Reverly A. Hicks, Lexington, Fayette county, Ky., April 18, 1859. Converted when ten years of age and baptized by Rev. James Monroe, pastor First Baptist Church, Lexington. Was the first valedictorian from the college department of State University, 1880. Taught in said Institution as professor of Greek and acted as secretary and treasurer in conjunction with Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, who founded the Eckstein Institute in 1890, where he remained as its President for 22 years, at which time Eckstein was connected with Lincoln Institute where he is now Secretary of the Board of Trustees. Received the degrees of A.B., A.M., and D.D., from State University; LL.D., from Central Law School; F. R. G. S., from the Royal Geographical Society, London, England. Traveled in the Holy Land, Oriental Pilgrim in River Jordan, April 13, 1904. Delegate to Baptist World's Congress, 1904. Messenger to World's Sunday School Convention, Jerusalem, 1904. Preached in seventeen towns in Germany under Rev. Karl Mascher, Inspector of German Missions: six hundred converts. Messenger to the Baptists of Jamaica, 1915. Baptized in the Carribean Sea. Baptized in the Gulf of Mexico, 1912. Superintendent Kentucky Home Society for Colored Children. President of Citizens' National Hospital, Vice-President of the Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Co., and has been pastoring Calvary Baptist Church, Louisville, for thirty years. He has baptized approximately 1,500 persons; married 160 couples; preached 548 funerals; delivered many thousand lectures and addresses and preached over 3,000 sermons. He preached the fiftieth Jubilee Sermon at the National Baptist Convention at Nashville, Tenn., of which Dr. J. M. Frost, D.D., said—"It was a most fitting crown of the fifty years of remarkable progress by the colored people." He wrote the following: "What Baptists Believe," "God and His People," "The Gospel in the Adjustment of Race Differences," "Oriental Light or Travels in the Holy Land," which is ready for publication, and several tracts and sermons. On January 26, 1888, Dr. Parrish and Miss Mary V. Cook, Bowling Green, Ky., were united in marriage; to which happy union, one child, Charles Henry Parrish, Jr., was born. Dr. Parrish is Moderator of the General Association of over 80,000 colored Baptists of Kentucky. Rev. Parrish was elected to the Presidency of the Lynchburg Baptist University, Lynchburg, Va., 1907, at a salary of $2,000 a year. Kentucky Baptists rose up in arms against his leaving Kentucky.
WILLIAM H. STEWARD, A.M., LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

The subject of this sketch was born in Brandenburg, Ky., July 26, 1847, and was brought to Louisville, when quite a lad. He had the advantage of the private schools as was allowed in this city in slave days and was regarded as a good scholar. He professed religion when a young man and connected himself with the Fifth Street Baptist Church. He took a lively interest in religious affairs and has been connected with the Sunday School and choir of the church, even before he made the good confession. He has been a deacon and trustee for many years.

He has the reputation of being an excellent secretary and as a consequence is almost without exception elected to that position.

He was secretary of the old State Sunday School Convention. When the National Baptist Convention was organized, he was its efficient secretary for many years, until he retired of his choice. He served as Assistant Secretary and Statistical Secretary of the General Association until he was elected Secretary in 1877, and has been elected every year since. As leader of the choir and Superintendent of the Sunday School he is popular with the young people and is known as the young people’s friend. When he went to the World’s Baptist Congress in London, some years ago the young people raised a fund for that purpose and paid every expense of the trip. He is editor of the American Baptist, the oldest denominational paper among Baptists, and he is regarded as being the best informed layman in the country. He takes a lively interest in fraternal and public affairs and has filled many prominent positions, having served two terms as Grand Master of Masons of Kentucky. His home is known as one of the most beautiful homes in the State and he has a most interesting family. To meet an exigency in 1875, he was elected Chairman of the Board of Trustees of State University and he has remained in that position constantly since then and has made an enviable record for accuracy and efficiency in that important office. It is said that he knows more people personally than any man in the State and has a very large circle of personal friends. Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., some years ago conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts.

A FRIEND.

REV. JOHN H. FRANK, D.D., M.D.

As pastor of one of the most prominent and the oldest Baptist church of the metropolis of the State he would naturally be considered a leading pastor, but aside from this he is a preacher of great power and ability. He is also a Doctor of Medicine and is recognized as a leader in that profession. During his pastorate of twenty-eight years of the Fifth St. Baptist Church, he has made an excellent record, has a warm place in the hearts of the people of that congregation as well as the people of the community. He has been Moderator of the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky, and during that time made a new standard for the denomination financially and broke all previous records in that direction. The denominational work was freed from debt and it took on new interest. As chairman of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention he showed unusual ability and attained his greatest prominence. Above all things he believes in the work of Missions and never lets an opportunity slip to emphasize the importance of saving souls as the work of the church. He has one of the best homes in the city and has an interesting family.

W. H. STEWARD.
When I arrived home from the army I immediately set about perfecting plans to make a living for myself and to help my father and mother along in life. But I must not forget to speak of my old grandmother, whom I loved so well, and who was yet with her owners. I was deeply interested in her, and determined to have her make her home with my family. She belonged to Goodnough's, near Simpsonville, Ky., and I procured a wagon and went after her. The white people with whom she lived, whom she had nursed in their young days, loved her dearly and were unwilling to part with her, but I insisted on caring for her in her old age and took her home with me. She lived but a few years, dying at the good old age of ninety years, giving God the glory.

I now began to think about business matters, and consulting with my brother, H. C. Marris, we formed a copartnership. We purchased harness, a two-horse wagon, one four-horse wagon, and I purchased for my own use a horse, saddle, and bridle. He was to engage in teaming with the wagons, while I attended to raising a crop. For eight successive months he had as much hauling as he could do at eight dollars per day. We rose early in the morning, and attended to our horses, and by daylight were ready for business. While he drove the teams I looked after my crop, having, in connection with Mr. Benj. Burley, rented a field of twenty-five acres. The Lord prospered us greatly, and we reaped an abundant harvest.
MARRS STARTS TEACHING SCHOOL IN SIMPSONVILLE Sept 1, 1866

My friends, at this time, knowing what I had endeavored to do for them in the past, importuned me to go to Simpsonville and engage in the teaching of their children, but this I did not feel myself competent to do. Their persuasions, however, finally induced me to leave the corn-field and enter the school-room to labor for the development of my race. Oh, how I love them! I opened the school under the auspices of Wilkerson Bullitt, Isaac Simpson, and Benj. Elmore, as trustees, on September 1, 1866. The trustees employed me at a salary of twenty-five dollars a month and at this time we had no aid from the Freedman's Bureau, the parents paying one dollar per month for each child. The trustees were generous and kind to me, making many presents as a reward for my labor. I shall ever remember them as faithful friends.

Simpsonville was not only my first field in school-teaching, but it was in that neighborhood I was converted and became a member of the Baptist Church.

I remember an incident that occurred while I was in Simpsonville. One night, while all were asleep, the K. K. K. rode into town, some of them mounted on horses, some on mules, and others on asses. They were provided with tin horns, old tin pans, drums, bells, etc., and made a terrible din. Coming into the yard of the house where I lived, they dismounted and began stripping the trees of switches, as if preparing to come into the house to administer a flogging to every one of us. I stole down stairs, and, armed with my old pistol, stationed myself in a chimney corner, prepared to fight my way through should occasion demand it. They made threats of some sort, which I could not hear, but finally they rode off, my back was saved, and I felt mighty relieved. The women were terribly frightened, and as I was an ex-soldier they thought I had frightened the party away, and looked upon me as their saviour. I went to my room again and went to bed, but all of the men and women came and crouched around me for protection.

I was a perfect curiosity to the white people of Simpsonville, simply because I was the first colored schoolteacher they had ever seen, and yet I was no stranger to them, for just three years from the time I left Simpsonville, a slave, to join the United States Army, I returned a free man and a school teacher. They would come to visit me and stare, and wonder at the change, and this was especially the case with my original owners. They said I ought to thank them for what I knew. I did, in part. They would send me sums to solve, such as 146+12−19+200, and the like, to see if I really knew anything. Then when I would work them out
MARRS' EXPERIENCES WHILE TEACHING AT SIMPSONVILLE, SEPT 1866
SUMMER 1857; KKK

ep marrs, life & hist, 1885

They would say to my colored friends, "That Elijah is a smart nigger!"

One day, while the school children were at play, during recess, someone fired a shot among them. I saw the man who did the shooting, and going to him, charged him with the offense. He denied it, and raised a club to strike me, when I retreated to the school-room, glad to get away alive. For though the war was over, the K. K. K. was in full blast, and no man was safe from their depredations.

I had some very bright pupils in my school at Simpsonville. One young man, by the name of Wells, very attentive to his studies, and a very apt pupil, afterward learned telegraphy, but his color debarred him from obtaining employment, and he is now a policeman in the city of Indianapolis. The total number of scholars on the roll in that school was one hundred and fifty. I closed my connection with the school in my native town after having very good results.

MARRS TAKES OVER BROTHER'S SCHOOL AT LAGRANGE SEPT 1, 1867;
SCHOOL SPLIT OVER RELIGION; F B AID; MARRS' SUCCESSES

ep marrs, life & hist, 1885

My brother had been teaching school in Lagrange, on the L., C. & L. R. R., and was solicited to take charge of one at Lexington, which was held in Braxton's Church, on Main Street. I took charge of his school September 1, 1867, under trustees Dennis Roberts, Palmer Berry, and Albert Sanders. At that time there was considerable denominational strife between the Methodists and Baptists, which culminated in a division of the school and the formation of two distinct organizations, the Methodist school being under the trusteeship of A. Sanders, and that of the Baptists' controlled by Dennis Roberts and P. Berry. During the whole controversy I was neutral, taking sides with neither party. The first school was at this time under the protection of the Freedman's Bureau, receiving aid from it, and the new order of things brought about many differences, which were not easy of settlement.

Both parties claimed aid from the Bureau, and as only one was entitled to it, much trouble was experienced in adjusting the matter. The agent of the Bureau, then stationed in Louisville, was written to by both parties, and in November, 1867, the following reply was received:

"To A. Sanders, Dennis Roberts, and Others:

"Yours is at hand. I would suggest to you to call a meeting and have an election, and let all those who want Marris vote for him, and those who do not, vote for who they want. But I think you had better keep Marris.

L. Catlin,
"Brevet Col. and B. Agent."

In compliance with this suggestion, the trustees met, held an election, and I received all but three votes. I still remained neutral, for I knew if I took part in the fuss it would hurt me financially. The school was divided, one hundred of the pupils remaining with me, and only seven seceding. It was a glorious victory for me, and the result was that my friends done more for me afterwards than they would have done had the
school remained undivided. The Lord seemed to guide me all through the struggle. The Bureau decided to divide the school fund. I was to receive fifteen dollars per month and the other teacher ten dollars. The parents of my pupils agreed to pay me seventy-five cents for each of them per month, and altogether I was very handsomely compensated for my services.

When the time came to make out a monthly report,

I did so, and sent it into the Bureau. The teacher of the other school did the same. In three days afterwards I received the following letter from the agent at Louisville:

"E. P. MARRS, TEACHER OF THE BAPTIST SCHOOL, LAGRANGE, KY:

"Your report for this month is correct, but the report from the other school is so incorrect that nothing can be made out of it. You go around to the other school and show that teacher how to make out her report or she will not get any money from this office. Show this as your authority.

"DECEMBER, 1867."

Up to this time she had been my enemy, but this bit of authority made us friends and we so remained.

I will recall an incident that happened while I was teaching school at LaGrange. It was not connected with the school, but with politics. In 1869, when we were to cast our ballot for the first time, Judge wheat, a Republican, had announced himself an independent candidate for Judge of the Shelby County Court.

I had written my first political letter to the Louisville Commercial, saying that now we, as a race, were about to cast our ballot for the first time in life, and that we would cast it for weal or woe. I warned my people not to vote the Democratic ticket, but to give their suffrage to Judge Wheat, the Republican nominee. This enraged the Republicans of Shelby County. They sent a man to LaGrange to induce me to withdraw my
During my four years residence in Lagrange I made many friends. Among those I valued most highly were Elder Warren Lewis, Moses Berry, a former pupil and now a teacher in one of the public schools of Missouri; Frank James, Salathiel Berry, Susan Davis, Mrs. Berry, Alice James, Josie Sutton, Annie and William Wilson, Eliza Barber; Caroline, Washington and Mary Bullit; Mrs. Annie Lewis, and a host of others. Of Elder Warren Lewis I can say much in commendation. When at his house, I received every courtesy, and nothing was too good for me. Elder Lewis, his wife, and Susan Davis presented to my wife and myself a beautiful bouquet on our marriage day.

While teaching in Lagrange I had occasion to go out into the country one evening to visit some of my pupils and stay all night with them. The latter lived adjacent with some white people by the name of Whitesides. They had never seen a colored school teacher, and, from their actions, one would have supposed they had never come in contact with a white one either. They had heard of my coming and were all in the yard of the house, awaiting my coming with, apparently, as much curiosity as if I were President of the United States. As I walked into the yard, I heard one of them say, "Thar he is now!" Another said, "Take keer, Ann, let me see him for God's sake!" I underwent this ordeal as I marched down to the quarters of the colored people, the crowd following and stationing themselves about the door of the house when I reached it. Finally, one of them asked:

"Teacher, can you read?"

I answered in the affirmative.

"Well, I wish you'd read some for me."

I took a book and read a portion of it to them, much to their surprise. They were wonderfully astonished that a colored school teacher could read.
We turn again to Lagrange. During my stay here as a teacher, I was superintendent of the Sunday-school, and for four years did what I conceived a great moral work, among the children, teaching them the Word of God. At times my school numbered one hundred and fifty pupils. I was also secretary of the Loyal League, organized at Lagrange by Prof. W. L. Yancey for protection against the K. K. K.

I was the first colored man elected President of the Republican Club of Oldham County, in 1869. I was the first colored man to take the stump for the Republican party in Oldham. I was the first colored man to propose a celebration in honor of the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This was a great occasion. Thirty-seven girls in the procession represented the States, and the whole affair was a grand one. Col. Sam. McKee was the orator of the occasion.

I am the man of whom the Lagrange correspondent of the Sunday-school reviewer speaks, that after the celebration he observed a colored man whose perspiration would make good ink, and who was ruling the negroes politically.

While in Lagrange, sitting at the fireside of Elder W. Lewis one beautiful fall night, we heard the windows of the house broken in and a general uproar. The K. K. K. was upon us. I told the women to stay here and the men to get near me. I followed them up to where I boarded, and securing my old gun I returned to Mr. Lewis'. About midnight they came again, and as they got near me I called to them to halt and surrender. They immediately fled, never to return.
When Marrs Plans to Leave Lagrange, People Raise More Money

Marrs, Life & Hist, 1885

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About this time I became somewhat dissatisfied, and desired very much to leave Lagrange, and having made up my mind to that effect I intended doing so without any one being aware of my resolve until the moment of my departure. It leaked out in some way, however, when the citizens, both white and colored, held a meeting on the 20th of November, 1878, and subscribed and paid over to me $150.00 extra to remain with them another year. May God ever bless such true friends as they proved themselves to me.

Henry Weeden Was Student of Marrs at Lagrange

Ep. Marrs, Life & Hist, 1885

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While teaching in Lagrange a bright-eyed boy of seven years, named Henry Weeden, was one of my pupils. I feel that I would fail to do justice to a worthy scholar if I do not refer to him in this book. He was very attentive to his studies and always knew his lessons. Before he was twenty-one years old he became the editor of a newspaper—Zion's Advocate, a Methodist publication. He has held many honorable positions in Zion Methodist Church, and is now a letter-carrier in Louisville, Ky.
In 1870, when I left LaGrange, it was for the purpose of taking charge of a school at Newcastle, Henry County, Ky. I opened on the first Monday in January of that year with fifty scholars, and under the supervision of the following as a board of trustees: George Grigsby, Emanuel Bennett, Milton Hurley, London Clifton, and Esquire Hamilton. I can say of these men, as I have said of others, that they were faithful to their trust and never faltered when a duty was to be performed.

On reaching New Castle my first thought was concerning my status wi'h the church, and I at once wrote to Simpsonville for my letter. On receiving it I united with the church at New Castle, of which the late Rev. A. Taylor was pastor. He was a man whom we all loved and esteemed as a minister of the Gospel. Peace to his ashes!

While in New Castle, during the year 1871, I became an active worker in the church and Sunday-school, and did what I could for the development of the minds of the children and older people. In the winter I taught school day and night.

At that time Henry County was overrun with the K. K. K., and a colored man in public business dared not go five miles outside of the city for fear of assassination. Public court day always attracted large crowds of country people to town. One day one of the K. K. K. called to me and invited me to enter a stable with him. There was no one near, and as I feared to disobey, I entered with him. He at once evinced a desire to raise a fuss with me, and asked me to drink with him. This I at first refused to do, when he, with an oath, exclaimed, "What! you nigger! You won't drink with a white man? I'll show you, sir!" That was enough for me. I turned the bottle up and pretended to drink. Thinking I had done so, he was satisfied and soon left me alone.

I then called the colored men together and organized a society for self-protection, calling ourselves the Loyal League. Of this society I was secretary, and we were always in readiness for any duty. For three years I slept with a pistol under my head, an Enfield rifle at my side, and a corn-knife at the door, but I never had occasion to use them.
My stay in New Castle was a pleasant one. School closed on the first of June, and, as usual, I had my closing exercises. This proved a financial success, netting $105.

The trustees and citizens generally of Lagrange now sent me a proposition to return to them and teach for another session. This I assented to, providing the people of New Castle would release me, and the Lagrange friends would insure a liberal support.

My term being thus closed in New Castle, I returned to my home in Shelbyville for the use of marriage, and on the 3rd day of August, 1871, I was united to Miss Julia Gray, the ceremony being performed by Rev. Simon Grigsby, brother of Deacon George Grigsby, of New Castle, Henry County. My wife’s mother, Harriet Gray, done all she could to make the nuptials a grand affair. There were eight attendants, friends of myself and wife. These were Mr. Lewis Lawson and Miss Mary Griffith, Mr. Andrew Ellis and Miss Ida Houghs, Mr. Salathiel Berry and Miss Kittie Wilson, Mr. Leonard Taylor and Miss Jennie Gray.

Mrs. Julia Tevis, proprietress of Science Hill College, Shelbyville, was a great friend to my wife, and brought the school girls to witness the ceremony. They set the table, and aided in every way to make the occasion a pleasant one. Mrs. Tevis made my wife some handsome presents, and afterward presented me with about sixty books. In doing so she said:

“Elijah, I want to say to you that I have been teaching school for fifty years, and there is not a day but what I learn something; and I want you to take these books and apply yourself to study.”

I have never forgotten her words. They are to me like words engraved on brass.

Before I married I became a believer in the old saying that we should not catch a bird before we had a cage to put it in. God had prospered me, and I had bought a place on Main Street, Shelbyville, built a two-story frame house and fitted it up. I then went out, caught my bird, and early one morning had my wagons at the door of my mother-in-law’s house ready to move my wife to her new home. We remained here during the summer months, and it was indeed a happy season for us.

In September, 1871, according to promise, I returned to Lagrange and was received cordially by the warm-hearted people there.
I finished my last school term in Lagrange and once more returned to New Castle, where I again opened school on the first of January, 1872. On my arrival with my wife the citizens greeted us heartily, and as it was our intention to go to housekeeping they presented us with a sufficiency of meat, sugar, coffee, etc., to last us for three months. Soon after my arrival I was again elected Superintendent of the Sunday-school, composed of two hundred scholars, with ten teachers and five officers. The labor of the Sunday-school was always one of my greatest delights. We held it in the morning, and the evening was devoted to the singing school. We soon concluded to buy us an organ, and in less than a month after our school passed a resolution to buy one, we had it in our possession and paid for. Our day school was all that could be expected of it during this year. At the close of the school, June, 1873, we had quite an interesting and entertaining exhibition. It was witnessed by a great many persons, they coming from all directions. It was said that every vehicle within a radius of sixteen miles of New Castle was brought into service by those who attended the closing exercises of my school, which was pronounced by all to be a perfect success. The receipts at the door exceeded $100. The receipts from these exhibitions were used by me for spending money during the summer months.

I come now to the most important period of my life. I had been feeling for some time that the Lord had called me to preach His Word. I had worked in the Sunday-school. I had given moral lectures to the children, pointing out to them the happiness attending a religious life. I had frequently exhorted the older people in our prayer and church meetings. I had done what I could, as I thought, for the cause of Christ's Kingdom. I had ever tried to live a godly life. After frequent communions with myself, I conversed with Elder A. Taylor as to the state of my mind, but I expressed to him no desire to preach God's Word.

Yet the spirit continued to work within me, urging me to become a standard-bearer of God's Holy Word—that I must publish the glad tidings of salvation to a sinful world. Doubts and misgivings as to my ability to properly fulfill the mission would at times come over me, but the Lord seemed to say to me, "Go, thou, and preach the Gospel. I will be with you always, even to the end of the world." Then Satan would say to me, "You are not good enough; you are unworthy;" and with him I would agree. But hark! the Spirit would say, "Whom God calls he will qualify." Then the wicked spirit would say, "You are not converted." But the Spirit of God would again manifest itself and ask me, "Do you remember the time God freed you?" Then I remembered the passage of Scripture, "Try the Spirit; see which be of God; for many have gone out." I called aloud upon God to deliver me out of this vale of doubt and despair!

My brethren were watching my actions with the closest attention, but of this I was not aware. I grew restless, my mind was ill at ease, the burden of thought was more than I could bear. My war-beaten cheeks were often bathed with tears. Uncontrollable sighs gave evidence as to the agony of the soul. Finally, the Rev. A. Taylor called the Deacon's Board together, consisting of Brothers George Grigsby, S. Hamilton, L. Clifton, B. Thomas, and E. Bennett, and invited me
MARRS DESCRIBED CALL TO PREACH; EARLY SERMONS 1873

E. P. Marrs, Life, 1885

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I had not the least idea as to the nature of the business that had called them together, as I had been trying to keep my call to the ministry with God alone. Elder Taylor opened the meeting with prayer. After prayer he arose and stated that he had been watching Bro. Marrs for some time, and, judging from his actions, he most firmly believed that he had been called to the Gospel Ministry. At this announcement I felt like sinking through the floor—I thought my secret unknown to anyone save myself. The other brethren all testified to the same thing.

Thereupon I told them of the trials and struggles through which I had passed in trying to avoid the responsibility of preaching God’s Word; but if they, men with mature judgment as myself, thought it a duty owed to myself and to God, I could not refuse to at least attempt the work. The meeting adjourned with the understanding that I would preach my trial sermon on the 7th day of June, 1873.

My burden now seemed to be as heavy as before. The idea of my standing in the pulpit and preaching the Gospel of Christ I could hardly comprehend, and my soul went out to God in day and midnight prayer that He would teach me how to preach His Word with simplicity and power. During this time I seemed to live with God, and He dwelt in my soul. How I loved Him then, as I do now! Bless His holy name! That week He showered His blessings down upon me, and my soul was exalted. He made known to me that I must preach the Gospel—that henceforth I should be a messenger of Christ, to make known the glad tidings of salvation to a sinful world. Once more was my soul at peace with God! My thoughts seemed to be in unison with His Spirit, that I was the man He had called to preach the Gospel of Christ. Honor to His name forever.

And as I began to preach, God showered His love down upon me and I was enabled to tell the people in plain words how I felt, and how long I had been shunning the responsibility of preaching. The church received the sermon gladly, and praised it very highly, saying it was a wonderful sermon for a first effort; and on the 16th of the following June they granted me license to preach.

The following is the form of them; also the date on which they were granted:

New Castle, Ky., June 16th, 1873.

“This is to certify that Bro. E. P. Marrs is a member in good standing with the New Castle Baptist Church, and held by us in high esteem. And, believing him to have a call to the Gospel Ministry, we do hereby give him our entire and cordial approbation in the improvement of his gift, by preaching the Gospel, as Providence may afford him opportunity. Praying that the Great Head of the Church may indue him with all needful graces and crown his labors with success.

Done by order of the church at her regular meeting for business, New Castle, Henry Co., Ky., June 16, 1873.

Eld. A. Taylor, Pres.
B. B. Thomas, Clerk.
I will always remember the day that Elder A. Taylor said to me from the pulpit, "Now, that God has called you to preach you must go, regardless of how circumstances may be at home, and regardless even of the condition of your clothing. Should your coat not be as new as you should like, or your shirt not as neatly done up as you would wish, still you must go and not neglect your duty."

It was a heart-rending time for my wife. She sat and cried during the services. Two things burdened her mind. First, that she might be the cause of hindering my success. Second, that she had often told me that she was afraid I would be a "Jack Leg Preacher," a public hiss among the people. The fear of this troubled her, that sometimes she was hardly in her right mind.

But as I traveled among the churches, and was highly esteemed by the leading members of the denomination over the State, she grew proud of me and did everything in her power to make me happy. I will say more of her hereafter.

I continued to preach in New Castle during the year. Elder Taylor, who was pastor both of the New Castle and Pewee Valley churches, would leave me in charge of the New Castle church, while he preached at Pewee Valley. This gave me an opportunity of improving my gift. I tried to make good use of the advantages thus offered.

One day, after preaching, the deacons and several of the brethren gathered around me and said:

"Bro. Marrs, that was a powerful sermon, and there is only one thing you lack."

"What is that?" I asked. One of them replied,
During this year, 1873, the subject of temperance ran high in New Castle. I had always been a temperance man, and as Local Option was about to be voted on in New Castle I was greatly in favor of it. But nearly all the colored people, even professed Christians, were dram drinkers.

I was consulted by the white people, and was urged by them to use my influence in favor of Local Option, which I readily consented to do.

As soon as my intentions became known, it spread like wildfire, and some of the colored people declared that I had left the Republican party and was going to vote the Democratic ticket. I said that if opposition to the whisky traffic in New Castle was Democratic, then I belonged to the Local Democracy.

The Sunday before the election a very prominent minister, who loved his dram, came to my house and asked me to take a walk up the pike with him. I consented. After walking along awhile he said, "Marrs, I understand you are going to work against the whisky men to-morrow?"

"Yes," said I. "Well," said he, "if I were you I wouldn't do it. It will be a great injury to you in your business, and will hurt you in the church very much." "Well," said I, "If the church handle me for voting against whisky and turns me out for that, they will have to do it."

He warned me of the danger of my course. Soon after, another prominent member of the church met me on the street, and told me if I would only stay away from the polls, he would give me six dollars. So many threats had been made against me, and, as I really had no vote, my residence not being in the town limits.

Satan gained the day, and made me stay at home. Only one colored man voted for local option, and that was L. Owens, who has since died and gone to the heavenly rest. Peace to his ashes! Right will finally prevail. A few years afterwards local option was carried by a large majority.
On the second Monday in June I bade my friends adieu, and left for Shelbyville to spend my summer months before entering college.

I applied myself to study until the latter part of July. I had before made arrangements with my brother, J. W. Marrs, a resident of Indianapolis, Ind., to take care of my wife.

I entered the Baptist College at Nashville, Tenn., about August 27, 1874. It was then under the care of the president, Dr. D. H. Phillips. I arrived before the opening of the school, and found only three students on hand, viz.: T. Z. Thistle, Colbert, an Indian, and W. J. Harvey. Things looked very dreary, and I felt lonely and homesick.

At last Monday came, and the great bell was rung long and loud. I marched into the school-room with my books, and took my seat along side of the old students. After singing and prayer, we were marched off to the rooms of the Professors to be examined. Then came my hard time. Question after question was asked, but I answered them promptly. My teacher, Miss Smith, a white lady, said I was perfect.

Dr. Phillips was a perfect gentleman, and one that all loved. The other teachers, Prof. Teft, Miss Smith, Miss Carrie Dyer, and Miss Emma Phillips, were loving and kind to all who came under their care.

At one time I run short of funds and was about to leave the college. President Phillips told me to remain and he would make arrangements for my continuing.

I made it my endeavor to please the faculty in all things. The faculty of the Nashville College were all great Christian workers. No labor or study was entered into without first invoking the Divine blessing. It was a rare thing for a sinner to remain there six months without being converted. They made it their special duty to converse with the students frequently on this all-important subject. I am proud to think that while there I threw the first shovel of dirt on the foundation of the new building that now rises like a palace.

For prudential reasons, when given my choice of quarters, I chose to remain inside of the college enclosure instead of taking rooms outside. I attended Elder Bradford's church, and became a teacher in his Sunday-school. I was once chosen by the Sunday-school to give an exhibition and tableaux. It was given in December, 1874. It was so well carried out that it created a great sensation in that part of the city. They tried to persuade me to repeat it, but I thought best not to do so, for what was a success at one time might not prove to be so at another.

I loved Elder N. G. Murray for his Christian courtesy. I preached often in his church. He seemed to be very much pleased with me as a young man, and manifested a disposition to do all he could for me.

Prof. C. S. Dickens, now Professor of Greek in the Kentucky State University and pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church; Prof. W. J. Harvey, Principal of the Graded School, Shelbyville, Ky.; and Prof. N. H. Ensly, Professor of Christian Evidence in the Alcorn University, Rodney, Miss., were in school with me while in Nashville, Tenn.

I have often thought over the time, after I entered college, when I was writing a communication to the Louisville Commercial concerning the college and its workings—how the students gathered around me and complimented the letter.

My seat in the Bible class-room was between a white student and an Indian by the name of Colbert, now a wonderful Baptist preacher in the Indian territories.
MARRS DESCRIBES ONE TERM (AUG-DEC 1874) AT BAP COL IN NASHVILLE

I studied instrumental music under Miss Emma Phillips. She was a proficient teacher.

The time had now come when I must leave the College. The Faculty were very urgent that I should remain longer, but circumstances would not permit. Before my departure Dr. Phillips invited me to take tea with him. I felt a little strange, eating at table with five white ladies and two gentlemen.

MARRS RETURNED TO NEWCASTLE TO TEACH Jan 1875

On the following morning I took the train for my home in Louisville, Ky., where I met my wife, who had just returned from Indianapolis; and on the morning of the 24th of December, 1874, we started for Shelbyville, Ky., where we arrived at 10:30 A.M. We had a joyous Christmas with our friends. The advantage of education that I received while in college was a great benefit. We remained in Shelbyville during Christmas, and on the first Monday in January, 1875, I opened my fifth term in New Castle, Ky., with about one hundred and twenty-five scholars. On my arrival back to my church Elder A. Taylor again invited me to preach for him every first and third Sunday in the month. I felt that I was more able to preach than I was before. The people thought that since I had been to college I was not very far from being perfect. My manner was more refined and my delivery was much improved. I tried in everything to conform to the ways of the people, and let them see that I felt myself no better than they were.
The church feeling that I was now ready for ordination invited me to stand the test. The time set was August 22, 1875, and as it drew nigh I began to be burdened with the responsibilities that would be thrown on me. My heart was bowed down. I had been a successful licensed preacher; but now I was to "put on the whole armor of the Lord," and to perform all duties of an ordained minister of the Gospel. I went to God in earnest prayer, and asked for a more perfect understanding of his Word, so that I might be able to answer all questions that might be put to me.

And God heard my prayer. When the day of examination arrived there were no less than one thousand persons assembled from all parts of the country. They began to come very early in the morning. It made me feel very weak and ill to see the great concourse of people. There were enough to frighten any man; but God was with me. Half-past eleven o'clock arrived, and I ascended the pulpit and sat in front of this large audience. For two long, long hours the council interrogated me; and after they had concluded they retired and consulted together. When they returned they announced that the "candidate was worthy of ordination, and that the church adopted the decision of the council." I was ordained in the regular form by the Presbytery. The following is the form of the license:

"NEW CASTLE, Ky., August 22, 1875.

This is to certify that our beloved brother, E. P. Marrs, the bearer of this paper, is a member of the First Colored Baptist Church, of New Castle, Ky. After being examined, he has the entire approval of the Ordaining Council, and was publicly set apart by prayer and the imposition of hands, to preach the Gospel and administer the ordinances of Christ. May he, like Barnabas, be full of the Holy Ghost and of faith; and through him may many people be added to the Lord.

"Elder M. ALLEN, Clerk.
"Elder A. TAYLOR, Moderator.
"Elders W. Lewis, P. O. Bannon, Davidson.
"Deacon Thomas Haydon."

In the summer of 1875 I made preparations to leave the place. The people owed me only about fifty dollars. They said they intended to do all in their power to pay the debt. And so they did, for those who owed me and did not have the money to pay told me to come to their houses, and if I saw anything I wanted I should have it. I made my rounds among the country people. They had hogs, chicken, and geese, and such like. They told me to help myself, and I did help myself to the hogs and chickens; for when I took my departure I had forty dollars worth of them, leaving only ten dollars due me. This ended my work in New Castle. In this town I was licensed to preach, ordained to the ministry, and licensed to perform the marriage ceremony. I love the place of my ministerial birth. Oh, how I love Jesus! He has ever kept me. Lord, I pray Thee keep me from sin.

In June, 1875, I again took my departure for Shelbyville, for recently, while there, I had been elected as a messenger to the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky, which was to convene at Paris, Ky. While at Paris the trustees of that city elected me as their teacher at forty dollars per month. I desired to engage in teaching again, and was on the point of accepting their appointment, but on returning to my home in Shelbyville I found that the trustees there desired me to teach for them. I felt a delicacy about doing so, as I did not wish to interfere with the teachers already employed. My wife was very much opposed to my moving to Paris; but she was also afraid to have me take charge of the Shelbyville school, as she thought I would meet with strong opposition. So, finally, I told the trustees of the Shelbyville school that I would not accept the charge until they had let the parents decide by a vote whether they wished me or not. The election was held in the Baptist Church, and I received all but three votes. My wife was very much pleased with this, and I consented to become
MARRS LEFT NEWCASTLE FOR SHELBYVILLE JUNE 1875; OFFERED TEACHING POSITION; CHURCH ACTIVITIES

I immediately wrote to Paris and notified them that I could not accept the position they had so kindly offered me in their public school. I then stood an examination and received a certificate as a qualified teacher, and was then ready to enter into my new field of labor at my old home. I expected many "bumps" from my own people, both from a biblical and professional stand-point. But my motto was "pro bono publico," and I remembered how Jesus had said, "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country." I opened my first term in Shelbyville on the first Monday in September, 1876, in the Colored Baptist Church, with fifty pupils. An opposition school opened, but closed very soon after, and I received all of its pupils into my school. The trustees, Messrs. Nelson, Allen, Washington George, and Tolson Chinn, stood by me in every time of need, and supplied my wants. I was comfortably situated at home, in my own house, and nothing to do but to attend to my own affairs.

My opportunities to preach were good, though my teaching was laborious. I had removed my church letter from New Castle, and placed it in the Shelbyville Baptist Church, of which Elder Charles Clark was pastor. I must say something of this old soldier of God while I am passing along. He was a true friend to me, always willing when necessity arose to succor me. He was, without doubt, a God-sent minister, and a powerful man in the pulpit. He had a fair knowledge of the Scriptures, and was always ready and willing to help young men. He finally became very feeble, and would have me preach for him when I was at home at least once a week. He baptized not less than one thousand persons while in the ministry. He died in the full triumph of faith. I also assisted Elder Samuel Mack, of Shelbyville, frequently, who was then, as now, pastor of the Elk Creek and Mount Eden Baptist churches.

I had many friends in Shelbyville, and shall name some of them in this book. Among them were Nelson Allen, Preston Deto, Daniel Baker, Susan Baker, Luella Baker, Maggie Baker, Lucy Mack, Matilda Perry, Delcy Clark, Elder J. W. Lewis and wife, Maria George, Mary Owens, Lewis Lawson, and Mrs. Mary Lawson. These I mention, with a host of others, were my counselors and willing to do anything in reason for myself and wife.
During the latter part of the year 1875 my wife was taken ill. She was confined to her bed five months, and died in the full triumph of faith on the 9th of April, 1876. She was a loving and faithful wife. Her manners were kind and pleasant; her ways winning; her disposition was such that she always, from the first, won the love of all with whom she came in contact. Her speech was winning and affectionate. One could not help admiring her. She was a worthy member of the "Mysterious Tens," and had been elected Worthy Mistress just before she was taken ill. She bore her long sickness with great patience, always saying that she was not afraid to die; that God was able to take care of her.

On the evening of April 8th Elder Clark talked with her about the goodness of God, and she rejoiced with him in the God of her salvation. She said to Elder Clark: "I am not afraid to die; I am going home." Night drew near. Our friends began to come around her. They asked her whether she desired them to stay with her or not. She answered "No; that Mr. Marrs would attend to her." No one was thinking that this would be her last night. But, oh, look at the messenger of Death, standing ready to take one of God's children home! I went to rest by her side, in order to minister to her wants. Late in the night she called me and asked me to bathe her head. I did so. She said "that will do," and so I laid down again and fell asleep. Being very tired, I slept soundly. But, oh! I shall never forget the morning of her death. The touching scene continues to follow me. I felt something trying to draw me up to them. I awoke, and it was my dear wife, who had lost the power of speech, and only had this way of telling me that she was passing over Jordan into glory. She passed away without a struggle!

Elder Clark, our pastor, preached the funeral. She was buried by her society, the Mysterious Tens No. 1, in the Shelbyville Cemetery. She has gone home to rest in the midst of the heavenly blest, where angels shall be her company and keepers; where parting shall be no more; where I shall meet her again, when we shall never more part; where we can join with the angels singing the anthem, "Holy! holy! holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth! bless His name."

After the death of my wife and the days of mourning were over, I again opened my school. I was unable, however, to take the same interest in it that I had before her death. I asked God to give me strength to struggle with my grief successfully and assist me in discharging my daily duties.

My wife had been my counsellor, and to her I could tell all my secrets and know that with her they would be safe. She was also very economical, and if I was absent from home I never knew her to spend a cent of my money without first asking my permission. Of course I was always willing to allow her to do as she pleased, she knowing that my interest was hers.
I taught throughout the term in Shelbyville, having the closing exercises the latter part of June, 1876; and these proving to be a great success, created considerable comment in the town. The school was now full. I had one hundred and twenty-five pupils enrolled. During this term there was a bill put before the Kentucky Legislature, known as "The Whipping Post Bill." I called an indignation meeting at Shelbyville in order to defeat this most inhuman bill. I drew up a petition and received the signature of one hundred and fifty colored men, and sent it to the Legislature then assembled at Frankfort. The bill was not passed, and the people of Shelbyville attributed this glorious defeat to my efforts. The reason that I was so bitterly opposed to this bill was, that I thought it was a sly way of re-establishing the old whipping-post of our forefathers. Our fathers have eaten sour grapes and put the children's teeth on edge.

During the year 1878 the Murphy or Temperance Movement was put on foot among the whites in Shelbyville. Consequently, the white ministers came to me and suggested that I use my influence among my people. I accordingly laid the plan before the colored elders, Clark, Mack, and Straus. They were of course quite willing to join me in this great reform movement, but hinted that they did not think that I would be successful. But I asked the aid of our Father in Heaven to help me fight the battle and gain the victory.

The first thing I did in behalf of this was to procure the Baptist Church, and then to invite the following white ministers, Drs. Pratt, Ingram, and Neal to come and talk to us on this most important subject—Temperance. They most willingly accepted the invitation, attended the meeting, and made powerful speeches on this subject. Their speeches were so enthusiastic and so entreatingly that when I invited all those who were willing to sign their name to this pledge, by which they swore to abstain from intoxicating drinks, there were one hundred and sixteen who responded to the invitation and signed their names.

This large response on the part of my people was contrary to my expectations and filled me with enthusiasm and energy to carry on the great work I had commenced in my town. I felt that the Lord had and would continue to bless me in this work. We continued the meetings until we had five hundred people to sign the pledge. In the meantime I received many curses from the saloon keepers, but this did not lessen my desire to carry on the meetings, as I knew that I was doing something for my Redeemer. I have mentioned before that Simpsonville was my old home, and of course I wanted to start the temperance ball rolling here, and in order to make the first resolution successful I chartered
cars from Shelbyville to Simpsonville and made the round trip cost only thirty cents apiece. One hundred and twenty went down with me and took the little town by storm, and the crowd being so large we were compelled to hold meetings in two places, one in the Methodist and one in the Baptist Church.

Here the meetings were similar to those at Shelbyville, having prayer, singing, and speeches, and closing up with entreaty persons to sign the pledge. The result was that before we left one hundred and twenty had signed the temperance pledge.

Our mission being accomplished and the victory won we returned home with great thanksgiving. For three years I was President of this Temperance Society. The meetings were held once a month, and with the ministry and teaching my duties were too heavy and I was compelled to resign. After my resignation the society decreased in numbers and finally disbanded.

Just here I will relate an incident that happened in connection with my life after the war was over and I had returned home. Col. M. Taylor was making a Republican speech in the Court-house. We were now free, but were not as yet enfranchised. I went in to hear the Colonel's speech, but the Sheriff of Shelby County, Ike Payne, took me by the arm and led me out, saying, that "this was no place for a negro." I resisted, but in vain. I was forced to leave the house. Afterward I went to the Colonel and told him of the affair. He told me that he could do nothing now, but the time would come when I would be a man. In three years from this time I spoke from the same platform from which the Colonel had delivered his speech, and in front of me I saw Ike Payne standing listening to me, the man who had so grossly insulted me. His appearance recalled to me the incident of long ago, and I alluded to him in my speech, and told of a rebel soldier who had been imprisoned in the State of Missouri, and who had by chance been elected Sheriff of Shelby County. I implored this man to give up his Democratic ideas and to join the Republican party. My speech made quite an impression, and I received applause from both Democrats and Republicans. It made a similar impression on Mr. Payne, and he left the house, but ever after he treated me as a gentleman.
During the summer of 1876, after the death of my wife, I concluded that I would visit some of the northern States and learn something of their customs and habits. My first visit was to Cincinnati, Ohio, to attend the National Convention. This was the first convention of this kind that I had ever attended. The convention nominated Ex-President R. B. Hayes. It was, indeed, a joyous occasion for me, for there I not only heard and saw the great Republican leaders of the white people, but those of my own race. Among the colored leaders were Fred. Douglass, J. M. Langston, R. B. Elliott, and B. K. Bruce. When I looked at these great men of our race it made me feel proud that we had so many political leaders among us. I remained in Cincinnati until the Convention adjourned, and then I continued my journey to Indianapolis, Ind. Here I spent the time with my brother, J. W. Marrs. The second night after my arrival I visited the Union League and addressed them on the political questions of the day. I received a great deal of applause. My name was published in the papers as addressing this assembly, and thereafter I was called on nightly to speak or preach. While in Indianapolis I received word to return home and go on a lecturing tour through the county, in behalf of Judge S. E. Dehaven, who was running for Circuit Judge against Judge C. Beckham. On Sunday night I preached for Elder M. Broyles. This was my last sermon in Indianapolis, and on the following Monday morning I departed for Shelbyville. I arrived there at 7 o'clock p.m. I began my tour of speech-making at once, and it is through the influence that I wrought in this way that Judge Dehaven, the present official, was elected by a large majority over his antagonist. During this summer vacation I had a splendid time...
At this time I received a letter from my brother, H. C. Marrs, to come to Louisville. I at once wound up my business and in two days I was off for Louisville, and in a few hours after starting for that point I was knocking at his door. He at once made known to me his intentions. His aim at all times was to promote education. His object in this case was to start a college. I told him I was unwilling to commence the school, and besides, I had thought of going out West. However, after many entreaties on his part, I consented to undertake it. It impressed me in this way: This is certainly a good work; some one must start it. Why can't I? Surely God will aid me. And although there are many disadvantages hanging over it, yet most every great enterprise is started under difficulties. It was in this way that I consented. We consequently laid the plan before the trustees of the school. The chairman called a meeting to discuss the feasibility of opening the school before the property was paid for. After several meetings were held, the trustees decided that they would open the school and put me in full control, giving me the authority to hire my own teachers, and have the charge of all entertainments given for the benefit of the school.

Prof. R. Davis was appointed principal (now pastor of the Zion Baptist Church, Louisville). The school was opened on the 29th of November, 1879, and on the opening day those very men who it seemed to me should have been there were absent, having some very important business to attend to in other parts of the city. In a few days after the 29th the following members were enrolled: Rev. E. J. Anderson, now pastor of the First Baptist Church of Georgetown; Rev. T. M. Faulkner, pastor of the Baptist Church, Louisville; Rev. John Thompson; Rev. George Patterson, of Midway, now pastor of Bethel Church, Frankfort; Rev. G. Ward, pastor of Eminence Baptist Church; F. P. Adams, now teacher of Brownsboro Public School; and M. P. Berry, teacher of a Public School in Missouri.

This encouraging start gave us all hope, and we were beginning to see the silver lining of the black cloud that was hanging over us at the beginning.

I shall never forget the kindness of the Educational Society, of which Miss Nellie Frye was president, from which we received fifty bushels of coal through the influence of Elder D. A. Gaddie. It seemed relief came at the time most needed.
After the school was in running order, I began to advertise it, and send out circulars in order to make our school popular. The advertisement in the New York Witness was the most attractive of all. I was then receiving this paper through the kindness of W. H. Helfrich free of charge, as he was paying for it for me. This gentleman wrote me a letter to Shelbyville, thinking that I was still there, asking me for information of things in Kentucky. This is the letter that I wrote to him in answer to his:

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 2, 1880.

Rev. W. H. Helfrich:

DEAR BROTHER—Your letter directed to me at Shelbyville has been received, and when I had read the contents it made me feel glad to know that I had such a friend, who not only interests himself in my behalf, but in that of my race. Yes, I get the New York Witness, and for it many thanks. I have long before this pronounced it one of the first and best papers in America. It is an able defender of the right, and I think it should be patronized by all lovers of Justice. I can only say, my dear Brother, that I am unable to return to you my many thanks for sending me the Witness. I wish now tell you the great work that I am interested in, and I know you will send me the books or anything else to assist me in doing my duty. On the 24th of November, 1879, as you will see from the circulars, our Normal and Theological School opened, and it has been increasing in students ever since, until to-day we have thirty-three students. Ten of them are ministers of the Gospel. So you see that we are making a strong effort to do something for the advancement of the ministry. However, there is but one thing that we feel anxious about, and that is, that we shall not be able to pay the remainder on the property. We owe $13,500, but we hope by patience, perseverance, and faith in God to surmount the difficulty. We have ten years to pay this amount in, and I suppose we shall be able at the end of this time to stand free of all debt. We shall be very glad to receive any suggestions in regard to raising funds for paying for our school, and I hope that we shall be able to get you interested in our cause.

E. P. MARRS.

When I wrote this letter to Dr. Helfrich I had not the faintest idea that he was going to have it published in the New York Witness. But so it was. He sent my letter and circular to the editor of the Witness, with the following letter of his:

Not much is said in favor of its founder now, but neither was Mordecai remembered until the King Ahashuerus was in trouble. Then it was that he had the record searched, and it was found that Mordecai had saved the King's life. Mordecai was then promoted to the highest honors. So it will probably be with me. If you will search the record closely, you will find that E. P. MARRS has saved the life of the Educational Cause of the Baptist Church of this State.
The closing exercises occurred on the 1st of June. I sent for Dr. W. J. Simmons, of Lexington, Ky., to come and deliver an address to the students. It was a masterly effort. The subject was "Iconoclasm," to which the students and those who were present paid the strictest attention.

The American Baptist complimented the entertainment in the following language:

The closing exercises of the Institute were held in the chapel of the building last Wednesday evening, which was comfortably filled with an elegant and interested audience. The exercises were well conducted, so well that it would be idle to attempt to comment upon the individual merits of the participants. The students acquitted themselves nobly, and the papers showed generally earnest thought and careful preparation. The management have had many obstacles to contend with during the past session, and the fact of their being able to succeed so well under existing circumstances shows how much could be done under more favorable influences.

The gem of the entertainment was reserved until the last, and that was the able and masterly address of Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, of Lexington, who, after giving some wholesome advice to the students, gave the history of many of the great universities of the day, assuming that what was possible with them is possible with our school, though born in weakness and poverty. He made a most earnest plea for an educated ministry, arguing that this was only a nucleus around which would cluster achievements that many would be glad to claim in the immediate future. His remarks, and, indeed, the sentiments of all the papers, were received with genuine pleasure by the friends of the institution who were present.

Rev. E. P. Marrs, who has been in charge of the school during the session, deserves credit for the zeal and enterprise which he has displayed in the management.

I have not space in this little book for all the comments of the newspapers on the management of the school during the time of my administration. We had forty students, ten of whom were studying for the ministry, and ten for teachers. If ever I prayed to God for aid and assistance I did it while I was President of that Institution. My only object was to start the

SIMMONS SPEAKER AT FIRST NORMAL & THEO SCH GRADUATION; CHOSEN NEW PRESIDENT (1880)

school and then to give away to some man who was better fitted for the place than I. Before the opening of the next session the trustees employed Rev. Wm. J. Simmons, of Lexington, to take charge of the school. It was, indeed, a good choice. No better man could have been selected for the place. He is shrewd, energetic, and scholarly, and eminently worthy of the position he now holds as President of the University. The colored people of the State feel proud of him. He is a diamond in the rough—may be termed what we sometimes call a fist and skull fellow, ready for any emergency that may arise. He will bristle up to the most powerful, and if they do not get out of his way some one will be hurt.
When the school opened in the fall, feeling that I was deficient in some branches, I concluded that I would enter the school, when I commenced the study of Latin, also that of Greek, being under the tutelage of Prof. Bliss White. I remained in the school two years, taking a special course in those studies I most desired.

Thus ends a brief sketch of my college history, which I prize as the greatest event of my life. God speed the time when every minister of the State shall have drank at this fountain of knowledge, the better to prepare them for preaching the Gospel of Christ.
During February 1880 Marrs and some other religious laymen got together to talk about organizing a church in the St. Matthews area. He decided to take the church March 16, 1880.

They had their first meeting March 27, 1880. Served the first year of the church's history while a student at the Normal and Theological Institute. In April 1881 moved to St. John Bap Ch in Louisville. Beargrass Bap Ch recalled Marrs in June 1881, offering a sufficient salary. Beargrass had previously taken the position of having a new pastor each year; they ended that view & recalled Marrs. The June 1881 call to Marrs by the Beargrass Church was a permanent call; if either party desired to terminate the arrangement, a 3 months notice was required.

In 1883, the trustees of School District No. 13, of Jefferson County, Ky., desired me to teach the District School. I consented to do so, and went before the Board of Examiners and stood a first-class examination, which created quite a sensation in the city of Louisville. The following is clipped from the American Baptist:

E. P. Marrs crosses the Alps. We note with pride the fact that Rev. E. P. Marrs, at a recent examination for county schools, received a certificate for four years. His grade is First Class, First Grade, average eighty-five per cent. He was formerly a student of our Institute, and is a Christian gentleman. He has no equals. He had a most difficult examination to pass through, and on that day was the only one who passed. White ladies with tears in their eyes, because of failure, could not see how he could succeed, while they could not. He was the center of attraction, and was highly complimented on account of his success. We take great pride in it. All over the State white teachers are failing and the colored ones passing. Nothing will keep the black man back. He will pass.

August 31, 1883.

This very flattering compliment was almost too much for me to bear. The following was clipped from the Louisville Commercial the next morning after the examination, headed "Incompetent Teachers:"

The examination for teachers in the County Schools began yesterday in Commissioner Abner J. Smith's office, in the presence of the Board of County Examiners, consisting of the Commissioners and Messrs. J. W. Reese and C. W. Null. Hereofore certificates have been granted to almost any one who applied for them, and the result has proven very disastrous to the educational interests of the county. Commissioner Smith has determined, in his work of reform, that none shall occupy positions as teachers unless thoroughly qualified, and for this reason ordered an examination. About thirty, most of whom are old teachers, were examined, and a majority of them made signal failures. The examination will be continued until competent teachers are found to fill the vacancies in the several school districts. Several colored applicants were examined, and only one, Rev. E. P. Marrs, passed. It is apprehended that there will be difficulty in finding teachers for
I taught two successful school terms in School District No. 13, in Jefferson County. The number of scholars on the roll in this school was ninety. Some of them are very bright students, viz.: Catherine King, Rosa Strickland, Lena Stephenson, Fannie Harris, and Mary Stephenson. They are destined to do great good if proper attention is paid to their future. I have had, since I commenced teaching, not less than one thousand scholars under my supervision. Of this number some are preachers, some teachers, and others are following various occupations to make themselves useful in life.

I was elected President of the District School Convention, and declined to be re-elected on account of my position as Secretary of the Central District Association. I was President of the Athenæum Society, in the State University, for one term. I was a delegate to the first State Educational Convention that convened in the city of Louisville, Ky., in 1867, called by Col. B. P. Runkle, the Bureau Agent for the State of Kentucky. I was a member of the Committee on Resolutions. Myself and my brother, H. C. Marrs, called the Second Educational Convention of this State, to meet in Shelbyville, but it was slimly attended for lack of interest among our people. I was a delegate in 1878 to the convention that convened in Frankfort, looking forward to the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. I was on the editorial staff of the American Citizen, edited by Hon. Green B. Thomas, in Lexington, in 1872.

H. C. Marrs, H. Graves, and myself organized the second Lodge of the United Brothers of Friendship in the United States, in 1866, in Shelbyville, Ky. We had never heard of such a name, but I proposed it, they indorsed it, and we three constituted the society. I at once gave a history of our Organization to the American Citizen, then published by Hampton, in Cincinnati, Ohio. It was published, and W. N. Hazel, W. W. Taylor, Charles Coats, and N. Grant came up and organized us.

I was delegate to the convention that nominated Gen. John M. Harlan for Governor of the State of Kentucky. This convention convened in Frankfort. I was sent from Henry County, and was elected by the
Henry County delegation as their speaker, and placed in nomination the Hon. H. M. Buckley, of Henry County, but withdrew his name in favor of Hon. John M. Harlan. I was a delegate to the convention that met in Lexington in 1882, for the purpose of considering the condition of the colored people. I was a delegate to the first Educational Convention that convened at Frankfort in the Senate Chamber, where white and colored delegates had the same privileges, Judge W. M. Buckner, President. I was the man that offered a series of resolutions of thanks to Judge Buckner and others for calling the Peace Conference of Educators that created such a sensation in Frankfort. I was a delegate to the National Convention of Colored Men that convened in Louisville, Ky., in 1883, when Mr. Fred. Douglass was chosen President. I have also been elected a delegate and president of many meetings of minor importance, but too numerous to mention here.

MARRS' EVALUATION OF D A GADDIE (1879-85)

In December, 1879, I moved my membership from the Shelbyville Baptist Church and joined the Greenstreet Baptist Church, Louisville. Elder D. A. Gaddie, its pastor, is a minister of the Gospel of eminent ability, a fine scholar, and a man with fine personal appearance. He is now Moderator of the Central District Association, of which I am Secretary, and he is also Assistant Moderator of the General Association. He is known for the bold stand he takes for his friends. As a general thing he knows the right, and sticks to it at all hazards. When he rises to speak in an assembly the whole house is silent to hear what this divine has to say. He has occupied the pastorate of a number of churches, and has baptized something over one thousand souls.
The following is a high compliment paid to the writer, through the American Baptist, from the pen of Rev. D. A. Gaddie:

"Elder E. P. Marrs, pastor of the Beargrass Church, is truly a good man, a Christian gentleman, and a pastor that his church is proud of. If you put him in the school he is a success there. He is now here, and here to stay. I saw in the American Baptist where it is said that his brother, H. C. Marrs, opened the College and began to teach, and stepped down to give place to a greater. The question is, who started the wheel to moving? H. C. or E. P. Marrs. Our subject is E. P. Marrs. As a man he is fair in his dealings and deportment. Upright, his work will speak for itself if you will survey it."

I can but say a word in this book concerning Dr. W. J. Simmons. He is a true friend of mine. I love the man. He was my teacher for two years, while in the College. During these two years I never received from him an unkind word; nothing but smiles of encouragement came from him to me, and his little children appeared to love me as their second father, always calling me Uncle Elijah, and meeting me at the front gate and gallanting me into the house. Dr. Simmons, we can not get along well without you in this State. Like Elder Gaddie, he will go his full length for a friend.
H. C. Marrs, my brother, was a man of sterling worth. As a teacher he was very earnest. He was a teacher for sixteen years in the various schools of Kentucky and Indiana, and at last quit teaching and went to college, and graduated in 1883 with high honors from the Kentucky University. His death was lamented by all who knew him. His wife and two children are in moderate circumstances.
their contracts for approval. On the slightest pretext they often discharge their hands, and drive them away without payment. Over a thousand cases of this kind have been investigated and settled by bureau agents during the past year, and doubtless as many more have occurred at points too remote for complainants to bring them to the notice of the bureau.

The number of outrages committed by whites against freed people and officially reported by bureau agents since October 30, 1866, is as follows, viz: murders, twenty; shootings, eighteen; rape, eleven; otherwise maltreated, two hundred and seventy; total, three hundred and nineteen. Number of arrests made by bureau agents and agents, eighty nine. The persons arrested were turned over to the United States commissioner, and by him held for trial before the United States district court of Kentucky, under the civil rights act. Those not accused of murder were admitted to bail. Final action in these cases has awaited the decision of the United States district court as to the constitutionality of the civil rights act. The effect of the decision lately rendered by the honorable Justice Swayne, and concurred in by Judge Ballard, sustaining the act, will be a great benefit to the colored people of Kentucky.

The general condition of freedmen in this State during the past year has been in great measure deplorable on account of the inhumanity of many whites, and the injustice of civil authorities. The special monthly report for September is a fair index of this. An officer of a sub-district describes the existing feeling between whites and blacks as anything but desirable. The recent murder of a colored boy, the county's procedure, newspaper and public interest, were a correct expression of public feeling in that section. Magistrates, police, and county court judges of the district, say the report are all right, and it is impossible for a colored person to obtain even the "shadow of justice." In their courts. An agent has recently restored two children to their relatives, taking them from those who held them without right or legal authority, and for doing this is threatened with vexations civil proceedings. Freedmen experience less difficulty in obtaining redress for grievances when able to rely upon the testimony of whites in their behalf. But in some counties it is stated, not a court from the magistrates to the circuit court, will admit the testimony of a colored person, no matter how worthy, when against the interests of white persons involved in the suit. Colored people make many complaints of the gross injustice practiced in the collection from them of a larger capitation or poll tax than is levied by the law, which imposes a tax of two dollars upon all male negroes and mulattoes over eighteen years of age, one-half the proceeds to be used for the schooling of colored children, and the remainder for the support of colored preachers. No uniformity is observed in the collection of the tax, some counties having been assessed at the rate of eight dollars per head, and others at the rate of four, five, or six dollars. It is said that from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars will have been realized from this collection made of colored people, much of it having been already paid in, and that yet only two school districts of the State have appropriated any portion of the amount to the support of freedmen's schools. With the exception of Warren and some other counties in the northern sub-district, it is reported, none of it has been applied to the relief of colored preachers.

Had the bureau the authority in Kentucky to remedy this injustice, it would at once institute proceedings for that purpose. Agents have compelled freedmen to seek judicial protection in the United States courts. But their means are usually so limited that they are unable to pay the necessary fees, and to engage the services of lawyers.

Great injustice having been practiced in the State in the apprenticing of colored children, bureau agents have, by application to the proper authorities, had a large number of indentures annulled. Other cases are being tried, and it is probable that the proceedings this bureau has commenced hundreds of freedmen's schools, who have been improperly taken from their parents, will soon be returned to them.

Agents have found it necessary to interpose their authority in cases arising out of a violation of labor contracts. Freedmen have often been persuaded by employers to be satisfied with mere verbal agreements; the same employers, taking advantage of their own wrong, are now quarrelling with their hands, discharging them without pay, and endeavoring to falsify the terms of agreement.
Report of the comm of bureau of ref, freed, aban lands, for the year 1867, 1867

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Schools for freedmen, under bureau supervision, have been conducted with vigor and efficiency. In June, the last month of the school term, there were ninety-six schools in operation, attended by 5,921 scholars. It is said that the plan of renting churches for colored schools is gradually extending throughout the State, and will probably add to the attendance 5,000 pupils. In the educational work the chief embarrassment is the poverty of freedmen. Benevolent societies, though generous in their donations, have been unable to supply all the money required, and the bureau fund for Kentucky is not quite adequate to the demands made upon it.

Poverty and ill-treatment are not, however, the only obstacles with which freedmen have had to contend. White citizens have manifested a bitter opposition to the education of colored children, and their hostility has tended to discourage freedmen and thwart the efforts of bureau officers. Citizens have threatened to destroy school buildings, and seem to have been deterred therefrom only by the presence of United States troops. A teacher was mobbed, and with his family driven out of the town where his school was located. The course pursued by the whites has rendered the State an exceedingly unattractive field for teachers, and the managers of benevolent associations seem justly to have determined to apply their appropriations chiefly in the States where they may be most effective.

Improvement in public sentiment appears in some sections, but it is only slight. It is most apparent in towns and cities where schools have been in successful operation. It cannot be relied upon as the basis for future work. Prominent men have not the courage, apparently, to publicly avow their sentiments when they favor the schools, and the ignorant poor whites are bitterly opposed to them. The State superintendent thinks that but for the protection, encouragement, and aid afforded by this bureau there would not be today a dozen schools for colored children in the entire State.

The amount expended by the bureau during the year for educational purposes in Kentucky has been as follows: $78 for rent of buildings; $4,553.53; repairs of buildings, $1,707.82; transportation of teachers, $368.45.

Gratifying as is the success of the year's work, much remains to be done. It is estimated that the State contains more than thirty-seven thousand colored children between the ages of six and eighteen years. While five thousand of these attend the schools, thirty-two thousand are growing up in ignorance.
j w alvord, report on schools & finances of freedmen, July 1866, 1866

KENTUCKY.

The statistical report gives the number of schools in this State as thirty-five, (35), teachers fifty-eight, (58) and pupils, four thousand one hundred and twenty-two, (4,122). Most of the schools are taught by colored teachers, and mainly supported by subscriptions from freed people. Their progress has necessarily been slow, as such a system of education has been of course very incomplete. It was the best they could have until the announcement by the Honorable Secretary of State, on 10th of December last, proclaiming slavery in the United States, no colored child in the State was permitted to go to school.

The State has received less assistance from the benevolent Associations than almost any other, while the report shows there is equal eagerness among the freedmen to be taught; and that, though friends do not come forward to help, they evidently will not lie still and wait. Their efforts are put forth in all directions to secure the coveted blessing. All hands of the schools reported, are called "Independent Schools," sustained almost entirely by the struggles of the colored people. Surely here is a fruitful field out of prejudice, and the appeal for aid should be listened to by the benevolent societies of the North.

There are in the above "independent schools" thirty-five colored persons teaching. Their education is of course defective, but with the ability they have, are working nobly for their race. These schools are much in need of a Superintendent to visit and inspect them, and especially to examine into the qualifications of their teachers.

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN KY JULY 1867: REPT T K NOBLE

j w alvord, 4th semi-annual report on schools for freedmen, july 1, 1867, 1867

DEPARTMENT OF KENTUCKY.

The schools in Kentucky, though not having all the advantages of those in some other States, are accomplishing great good among the freedmen. The superintendence is thorough and the missionary associations have furnished excellent teachers.

This bureau has not failed, in any case when it was possible, to render assistance. More than 63 per cent. of the attendance is where the schools are wholly or in part supported by it. The remaining expenses are met by the freedmen, either by subscription or by a small monthly tuition.

Six schools were reported as having been discontinued during the month of February, in various parts of the State, on account of poverty among the freedmen.

It is stated that the bureau system of renting churches of the colored people for school purposes is gradually extending throughout the State, and will add to the attendance 5,000 pupils.

The superintendent, Reverend T. K. Noble, made a full report on the 1st of April, from which we quote:

"There are now 65 day and 9 night schools, employing 91 teachers. The aggregate attendance is 4,645, a gain over the previous month of 232. You will also observe an increase of $117.10 in the amount of tuition paid by the freedmen, the aggregate for March being $1,148.65.

"During the month of March I have visited all the principal places in the western part of the State; had interviews with the most influential of the colored men, and have done what I could to show them the importance of educating their children."
Freedmen's poverty.—"The chief difficulty in extending the work of education is the freedmen's poverty. I can get no further aid during the present year from the benevolent societies of the north, and the school fund of the bureau seems inadequate. But the work will be pushed as fast and as far as the funds will allow, and every effort will be made to increase the attendance in schools already established.

"I herewith submit such information as I have been able to obtain in response to circular No. 5, dated Washington, February 20, 1867, copies of which were sent to all the agents of the bureau in the State.

"Kentucky, as you may be aware, is divided into five sub-districts, designated and controlled as follows: Louisville sub-district, comprising 11 counties; Central sub-district, comprising 15 counties; and Lexington sub-district, comprising 53 counties.

"From the Central and Louisville districts no reports have yet been received.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITION IN LEXINGTON SUB-DIST 1867

"LEXINGTON SUB-DISTRICT.

Destitute.—"The following places in this district are reported as destitute of schools simply from lack of means to support them. I give also the number of children in each place between the ages of 6 and 21 years: Williamsburg, Bourbon county, 35; Centerville, Bourbon county, 31; Sharpsburg, Bath county, 35; Middletown, Bourbon county, 30; Jerusalem, Estill county, 25; Newport, Campbell county, 35, and Warsaw, Gallatin county, 40. A school of 50 pupils could be organized in Crittenden, Grant county, but the people in that section are so hostile to the education of negroes that soldiers (in the judgment of the agent) would have to guard it. Schools can also be opened in Stanford, Lincoln county, and in Somerset, Pulaski county, and, as there are buildings suitable for school purposes, I recommend that they be rented, and a school started as soon as teachers can be obtained.
EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN SOUTHWESTERN SUB-DISTRICT 1867

j w alvord, 4th semi-annual report on schools for freedmen, July 1, 1867, 1867 (report of t k noble)

"NORTHERN SUB-DISTRICT.

Population scattered.—"Comparatively little has been done in this district, as yet, from the fact that the colored population is so widely scattered. An inspection of the district has shown that there are few places where a school of more than 25 children could be gathered.

"There are but four schools in operation in the entire district. One of these was opened last month, in Columbus. The freedmen, by great sacrifices, erected a school-house 25 by 45, which is rented by the bureau, the rent going to the support of the school. It is taught by two young white ladies, from Ohio, and has an attendance of about 80 pupils, which will soon be increased. Another school will be opened in Smithland next week. I hope, also, to open a school in Hickman, Fulton county. The number of children in this district between the ages of 6 and 21 is not reported."

SOUTHWESTERN SUB-DISTRICT.

Openings for schools.—The chief superintendent reports eighteen places where schools might be established, if the freedmen could receive the requisite assistance, with an aggregate of 795 pupils.

Assistance required.—In Sugar Grove, Portland, and Franklin, appropriations have already been made to assist the freedmen in erecting school buildings. A school-house has been completed at Bowling Green during the month. A building lot was given by a citizen; a government building, formerly used as a hospital, was purchased, moved upon the lot, properly fitted up, and a school will be opened in a few days.

"In my next report I shall hope to give you the requisite information from the Louisville and Central sub-districts."

It is suggested that superintendents of other States give full answers to circular No. 3. It is very important that all information be communicated to these headquarters in regard not only to the whole amount now done, but as to destinations, and what can be done to supply them.

Brigadier General John Ely, who has canvassed the State thoroughly, makes a valuable report, in which he says: "The number of schools held in colored churches in various parts of the State, the rent of which is paid by the bureau, for such colored children as are too poor to pay tuition, is 28, with an attendance of 2,350 scholars. The remaining 43 schools, with an attendance of 998 scholars, are supported entirely by the freedmen." The total expense for the support of all these schools during the month was $2,405.60. The freedmen paid $1,401.75 of this amount, showing a cost of about fifty cents per capita for each scholar taught. "The freedmen continue to evince increased interest in the education of their children."

Near the close of the term the superintendent says: "There are now 96 schools in all, 84 of which are day schools and 12 are night schools. Fourteen of these schools are under the immediate care of benevolent societies. The American Missionary and Western Freedmen's Aid Society supports 10 schools;
SOUTHwEsTERN

within the limits of the

Influence of emancipation upon school purposes: it is rent with the understanding that the money shall go to the support of the school. The freedmen pledge themselves to pay the teacher's board, and in this way the school is successfully sustained.

"The aggregate attendance in the schools thus aided by the bureau is now 2,641. Four schools have been started in this way during the present month: one in Covington, one at La Grange, one at Bowling Green and one at Madison.

School's self-supporting. — The remaining schools are supported wholly by the freedmen; the entire attendance being 997. We expect during the present year to get help in sustaining schools from the State.

"During the month of June there was a gain in the attendance of 274 over any previous month. This is a remarkable fact, as most of our schools fall off in attendance near the end of the term.

"The examinations have been attended by large numbers of colored people, who have gone away greatly delighted by the evident progress of their children.

Methodist conference." The examination of the Centre Street school in Louisville occurred during the session of the Methodist State conference. The bishop directed a suspension of the session, that all the members of the conference might be present at the exercises. The examination reflected great credit on the energy and faithful labors of the teachers, and the members of the conference pledged themselves to do all in their power for the establishment of similar schools during the ensuing year within the bounds of their parochial districts."

T K NOBLE GIVES HINDERANCES TO EDUCATIONAL WORK IN KY 1867

j w alvord, 4th semi-annual report on schools for freedmen, July 1, 1867 (Noble's rept)

p. 71

Border State. — As Kentucky is one of the border States, where this bureau can act but imperfectly, and where special obstacles are encountered, we quote at length from Mr. Noble's report:

HINDERANCES TO THE EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Persecution. — "The freedmen of Kentucky, in their efforts to give their children the rudiments of an education, have had a continuous struggle with poverty. Thrown by the proclamation of emancipation upon their own resources—compelled to assume the responsibilities of freedmen, with no previous preparation; without property; hearing on all sides from their old master the prophecy that their race was certain to die off in a few years; pised by some, smeared at by others; liberally taxed, but allowed no voice in the disposition of their taxes; cheated, hated, assailed, mobbed—to me it has been a marvel that they have had heart to do anything for the education of their children. Only by great prudence, incessant labor, and a careful saving of every dime, have they been able to supply themselves with the bare necessities of life.

Opposition. — "But poverty and ill treatment have not been the only obstacles which have confronted them. There has been special and most bitter opposition on the part of white citizens to the education of the colored children, and this hostility has done much to dishearten the freedmen, and thwart the efforts of the officers of this bureau in their efforts to organize and sustain schools. These men have persistently and publicly ridiculed the very idea of educating the negro. They have not hesitated to malign and insult those who advocate it. They have threatened to destroy any buildings that might be used for school purposes, and I have no doubt would have carried out their threat but for the presence of United States troops.

Teacher mobbed. — "In one instance they mobbed the teacher, an upright, educated clergyman from the north, and drove him and his family out of town.
Prompt efforts were made to ferret out and bring to punishment the instigators of these outrages; but as it was impossible to identify the parties, nothing could be done.

Small amount of aid.—"The small amount of aid rendered by the benevolent associations of the country is another hindrance to our schools. When the work commenced, Kentucky and Tennessee were united and formed into one military district. The headquarters of the assistant commissioner were in Tennessee. He, very naturally, made special efforts to supply the demand under his more immediate observation. The cause taken by the citizens of Kentucky has not been such as to make the State an attractive field for teachers of freedmen, and the managers of benevolent organizations have doubtless felt that it was the part of wisdom to make their appropriations where they would be better appreciated. The result has been that while the freedmen of Tennessee have received during the year from these associations an average of more than six thousand dollars a month, the freedmen of Kentucky have received about six hundred per month. As a consequence, the work has been materially crippled. If the freedmen of Kentucky could have received the amount of aid given to most of the other States, I have no doubt the number of schools would have doubled.

Growth of the work.—"In spite of the hindrances above mentioned, the work has grown, and grown rapidly. One year ago the whole number of schools in the State for colored children was seventeen. The aggregate attendance at that time was seven hundred and eighty-one. Now there are reported for the present month ninety-six schools, one hundred and twenty-two teachers, with an attendance of five thousand nine hundred and twenty-one pupils.

"There has also been great improvement in the management of the schools. Incompetent and unfaithful teachers have been removed, and their places filled as far as possible by teachers trained for the work. Prompt and regular attend-
T K NOBLE GIVES HINDERANCES TO EDUCATIONAL WORK IN KY 1867

J W Alvord, 4th semi-annual report on schools for freedmen, July 1, 1867 (T K Noble's report)

/ p. 73 /

...thirty-seven thousand colored children, between the ages of six and eighteen years. Five thousand are in the schools, but thirty-two thousand are growing up in ignorance. It is a grave problem how this great multitude can be reached and instructed. In the cities and larger towns, where there are troops to protect the schools from violence, public sentiment barely tolerates their existence.

"Where the freedmen are better able to meet the expense of sustaining their schools, the problem is not difficult. But in the interior of the State, in the smaller settlements, where hostility to schools is evident, and the freedmen own no buildings which can be used for school-houses, and are so poorly paid that the incessant labor of every child is needed to keep them from starvation, it is not easy to see how this great problem of their education is to be solved. The only practicable course seems to be this: To establish first-class schools in all central points, making them, as far as possible, model schools, and then to follow close upon the wake of public sentiment in the smaller settlements; assist the freedmen to erect school-houses wherever there is reason to believe they will not be destroyed; put these schools in operation, and help sustain them until the freedmen are able to sustain them themselves.

Training schools and colored teachers.—"There must also be schools in the State for the training of teachers for their thousands of untaught children. Here in Kentucky the colored people generally prefer that their teachers shall belong to their own race. They will accept white teachers in virtue of their superior qualifications, but whenever they can get black ones really competent, they receive them with great satisfaction. During the last year I have had to look mainly to Oberlin for colored teachers really fit for the work, and the supply has by no means been equal to the demand. Now there is abundance of good material for teachers here in Kentucky, and what is needed are first-class schools, with a normal department, where the ablest pupils shall be carefully instructed, and receive special training for the work of teaching. One such school, with an efficient corps of instructors, is already in successful operation at Berea, in Madison county. I have no doubt it will send out during the coming year some efficient teachers.

"I also report with great pleasure that the American Missionary Association and Western Freedmen's Aid Society have secured a fine lot on Broadway, in Louisville, at a cost of $8,000, and purpose with the help of the brown to establish there this present summer, a large and substantial brick school-house, capable of seating six hundred pupils. They will establish a normal department and fit the best of the pupils for efficient teachers.

Facts developed by the work.—"In compliance with instructions contained in circular letter, dated Washington, June 26, 1867, I now submit some of the more prominent facts which the progress of the work has developed:

1. A persistent determination on the part of the freedmen to educate their children.

"Nothing has surprised me more than to see this people, held in bondage all their lives and cut off from all avenues of knowledge, rising at once to a conception of the worth of an education, and resolving at all hazards that their children shall have it. Of course there are many exceptions, many worthless persons who take no interest at all in the schools; but the great majority of parents seem resolved that whatever else they fail to obtain, their children must be instructed.

2. Capacity of the children for education.

"This question has been conclusively settled by the experience of the past year. No fair-minded man who is familiar with schools for colored children can fail to admit that, all things considered, their progress will compare favorably with the progress of white children.

Berea Literary Institute.—"I recently attended the anniversary exercises of the Berea Literary Institute. It is composed of blacks and whites in about
equal numbers, and the declarations, essays, and orations of the blacks were in all respects fully equal to those of the whites. In one of the schools of this city a class of fifteen commenced on the 1st of February last with monosyllables of two and three letters; before the 1st of April these children were reading with ease. I find similar progress all over the State. Men who have owned these children, and lived with them for years, confess they had no idea of their capacity for education.

"A more intimate acquaintance with the people has convinced me that this is found in the fact that consciousness of freedom has got hold of them and abides with them. When parents ask for the establishment of schools, their plea is, 'You know, sir, we are citizens now, and we want to learn our duty.' When I visit the schools and ask the children why they are so anxious to learn, the answer is, 'Because we are citizens now, sir.' This central thought, which seems to run through all they do, that they are no longer chattels, but citizens, is itself a great educator.

"3. Necessity of constant oversight.

"Perhaps no fact has confronted those engaged in the work of education more frequently than this: These people know the worth of knowledge; they are thoroughly earnest in their efforts to obtain it; but they must be shown the way, and shown it continually. They are not used to taking the responsibility of directing their affairs, and as each wants to have his own way, and each thinks his own way best, if there is no one to decide the question, their honest efforts for instruction culminate in disastrous quarrels for supremacy. For some time to come they will need an organizing and directing mind, otherwise, their efforts will be a failure.

Illustrations.—In compliance with your request, I submit the following as illustrative of two points, viz., the interest of freedmen in getting an education, and the prejudice of white citizens against it.

Bringing their children.—"When the schools for colored children were opened in this city, and the news went out into the country that the government had established schools for freedmen, parents came in bringing their children, traveling in some instances twenty miles and hiring their board in the city, that they might share the benefit of these schools. At the time the school in Centre street was established, it was found necessary to limit the number of pupils to 200, as there were but three teachers, and nearly 12 children would come every day and sit through the entire session, waiting for vacancies to occur that they might become members of the school. So much for the interest of freedmen in their education.

"Let me give one or two incidents to show how deep-seated is the hostility of the whites against it.

Social hosts.—"In the city of Lexington there is a school for colored children, with accommodations for 200 pupils. It is known as the Howard school. One of the teachers of that school has a sister living in the city. When I was there last winter the teacher told me that her sister had not called upon her, nor in any way recognized her since she had been engaged in the work of teaching negroes.

"Last winter one of the teachers in this city, a young lady from Vermont, was publicly insulted upon the streets by a woman who moves in respectable circles. She appealed to a policeman who was standing near, and instead of protection, received still greater insults, and was threatened with arrest if she continued her work of teaching. The matter was brought to the notice of the assistant commissioner, and the policeman compelled to apologize.

Prejudice.—"During the great revival of religion which occurred last winter in the Walnut street Baptist church in Louisville, one of our teachers, a young lady from Pennsylvania, applied for admission into the church. She had inter-
views with the pastor and other officers of the church; they were satisfied with
the reality of her religious experience, sent her the baptismal robe, and made all
necessary arrangements to admit her to the church; but when they heard
that she was engaged in teaching negroes and boarding with the family of the pastor
of a negro church, they refused to receive her. Even their religion was impos-
tent to conquer their prejudice.

Like other human beings.—"The negro, after all, is very much like other human
beings. The same motives which stimulate and influence white children will
move colored children. The same general management which will make white
schools successful will make colored schools successful. There is, perhaps,
greater need of full and cordial understanding between parents and teachers
among colored people, for the reason that the illiterate are more easily preju-
diced. The teachers must visit frequently from house to house, look after the
children, and explain the misunderstandings sure to arise.

Inspection.—"I have found that a system of inspection by the agents of this
bureau has done much to improve the schools, especially in the matter of at-
tendance. Many of the agents have made it a rule to visit each school in their
district at least twice in every month; and I have observed that these schools
have shown the best attendance and the most rapid progress.

Progress in legislation; are laws actually carried into practice?—"In Feb-
uary, 1866, an act was passed providing that the trustees of the various school
districts might establish schools for colored children, and assessing a per capita
tax upon all the freedmen for the support of their schools and the maintenance
of their premises. In March, 1867, this act was amended so as to secure to the
children of each county whatever money might be raised within the limits of the
county. It also provides that each child who shall attend school during
the year for a period of not less than three months, shall receive from the school
fund two dollars and fifty cents. The provisions of the law as it now stands

are wise and just. The men who devised it and secured its passage deserve,
and are receiving, great gratitude from the colored people.

Defect of the law.—"The defect of the law is this: Its provisions are not
imperative. It does not say that the trustees of each school district shall cause
a school to be taught for colored children. It simply says they may do this.
Eighteen months have gone by since this has been a law of the State, and I have
yet to learn of a single instance in which a school has been thus estab-
lished.

"In Fayette county schools were organized last October. This bureau fur-
nished the necessary buildings. These schools have received for the year 1866
between three and four hundred dollars, in accordance with the provisions of
the law. I know of no other county in the State where this law has been ac-
tually carried into effect.

Can public sentiment favor the schools be relied on permanently?—"There
is progress in public sentiment, but it is exceedingly slow. In towns and cities
where schools have been in successful operation the improvement is manifest.
At other points where no schools have been organized, or where they have been
carried on under unfavorable circumstances, in buildings unsuitable, and by
teachers poorly fitted for their duties, prejudice remains unaltered.

Opposition.—"Perhaps I may say that generally the opposition to these
schools has lost some of its virulence during the last six months; still the preva-
ten feeling among the mass of the people is, that schools for the negro are not
in accordance with Kentucky institutions. If the question were submitted
to the people today, my judgment is that, by a large majority, both schools
and teachers would be voted public nuisances.

Moral courage wanted.—"Intelligent men, with whom I often converse, con-
found that these children ought to be educated. They admit that, aside from any
questions of morality or philanthropy, the interests of the State demand their
education. But it is a suggestive fact, that there is not a prominent man in the State who has had the moral courage to come out and openly advocate their education. Shrewd politicians who detect signs of progress will insinuate themselves into ward meetings, and say fair things by stealth and utter their note of warning against radicals; but I look in vain among their public utterances for a single instance which favors the extension of the work of education.

"Ministers of the gospel, too, assure me privately of their sympathy, but I have yet to hear the first allusion in their public discourses to this great work of the age, the lifting of four millions of human beings out of bondage and ignorance into liberty, and knowledge, and citizenship. Some of these ministers I know to be men of piety, men of large and liberal views, and I can account for their persistent silence on this subject only by the assumption that the popular current sets so strongly against this movement that they are morally certain their words would be swept uselessly away.

Bureau needed.—"While, therefore, I report with satisfaction that there is progress in public sentiment favoring schools, I am compelled to affirm that it cannot be relied on as a basis for the education of the freedmen. The poor whites, the more ignorant, are bitterly opposed to the work; the more intelligent are indifferent. I do not think there would be a dozen schools in the entire State to-day, but for the encouragement, aid, and protection afforded by this bureau."

We have here a very clear statement of the educational interests in Kentucky; nothing need be added.

T K NOBLE GIVES HINDERANCES TO EDUCATIONAL WORK IN KY 1867

The tabulated statistics are as follows:

Semi-annual school report for the State of Kentucky, for the six months ending June 30, 1867.

| Day schools | 84 | Pupils enrolled last report | 3,973 |
| Night schools | 12 | Average attendance | 5,926 |
| Schools sustained by freedmen | 46 | Pupils paying tuition | 3,070 |
| Schools sustained in part by freedmen | 42 | White pupils | 710 |
| Teachers transported by bureau during the last six months | 27 | Always present | 3,929 |
| School buildings owned by freedmen | 33 | Always punctual | 3,667 |
| School buildings furnished by bureau | 50 | Over sixteen years of age | 760 |
| Teachers white | 27 | In alphabet | 724 |
| Teachers colored | 95 | Reading and writing | 460 |
| Pupils enrolled in day and night schools, male | 2,555 | Advanced readers | 1,728 |
| Night schools, female | 3,356 | Geography | 1,932 |
| | 5,921 | Arithmetic | 2,415 |
| | | Higher branches | 358 |
| | | Writing | 2,750 |
| | | Needle-work | 96 |
| | | Free before the war | 60 |
| | | Sabbath schools | 50 |
| | | Pupils in Sabbath schools | 6,592 |

Number of schools graded, 39; number of grades, 4.
Number of day and night schools not reported, 4; whole number of pupils (estimated) in all such schools, 370; number of teachers, white, 3; colored, 3; total, 12.
Number of Sabbath schools not reported, 8; whole number of pupils (estimated) in all such schools, 32; number of teachers in all, 55.
Whole amount of tuition paid by freedmen during the last six months, $7,166.63.
Whole amount of expenses for the above schools by the bureau for the last six months, (reported only in part) $2,419.10.
Grand total of expenses for the last six months for support of schools by all parties, $44,585.25.
Number of high or normal schools, 1; number of pupils, 160.
The reports from Kentucky are clear and full, and speak for themselves. The assistant commissioner, in January, says: 

As yet the civil authorities of this State have taken no action in the matter of providing schools for colored children. It is true that in Breckinridge County a teacher was employed for freed children by the civil authorities; but after he had taught for some time they cooled to him they had no money to pay negro teachers.

Much good work has been done in the western sub-district, under charge of Brevet Captain Kay. The increase of 201 scholars, as shown by his report, is, under the circumstances, very large.

New schools.—The following new schools were started during the month: One at Crab Orchard, which, by the circumstance, is the headquarters of one of the most active bands of "Regulators;" one at Casey Creek; two in the Lexington sub-district, four in the Louisville sub-district, and one in the western sub-district. The school at Hardinsburg, Breckinridge county, has also been re-opened.

Teachers are much needed in the district under charge of H. C. Howard, and schools will be started as soon as they can be procured.

In February he says:

The month shows a gain of four schools and 570 scholars. This is a healthy increase, and the credit is in a great measure due to the teachers and agents, who have been active and energetic in their work.

Military protection.—Brevet Captain A. B. Brown, who has been in charge of the Bowling Green district only for the short space of six weeks, has already found twenty-two places where, with exertion, schools can be established. He says, however, that a part of them will require military protection, and it will take some time to complete the list.

Colored teachers wanted.—There is a great and crying want of teachers in this State. Public opinion should be made to procure teachers, both for the present and future, and these teachers should be colored persons. They should be taught, educated and fitted for the work in normal institutions.

New Albany Association.—I have examined the laws, charter, and general condition of the New Albany Educational Association, and, if it can be reorganized so as to have a certain number of reliable white men on the board of trustees, and a clear title to the ground can be secured, aid should be given, so that the association can establish a normal school. The board of trustees have informed me that they will accede to all your requirements, and make any arrangement or change in their organization that the commissioner may desire.

The disbursing officer reports as follows:

March 1868.

The removal of several local agents, together with a widespread apprehension among the freedmen that the bureau was to cease its operations altogether in Kentucky, resulted in the breaking up of a number of schools in the country. New ones, however, have since been established, and the result is an aggregate gain of four schools and 550 pupils over the number reported for any previous month. There are now 15,013 schools, having an aggregate attendance of 72,418 pupils.
Pay of teachers.—The average amount received by the 146 teachers is but a fraction over $3.00 per month. Fully one-half of this small amount must go for payment of board. It is not to be wondered at that great difficulty is found in securing teachers who are really competent. When the labor question is fairly settled the freedmen will be able to do better by those who instruct them. At present I think they are doing all that could reasonably be expected.

Sixty-eight destitute places.—There are reported 68 places now destitute of schools, in which there are not less than 60 children who would attend if teachers could be furnished free of charge.

Methods of aid.—Various methods are adopted by the officers of the bureau to secure as much aid as possible from the freedmen. In some places fairs are gotten up, proceeds going to the maintenance of the schools. Societies are formed, pledged to contribute a certain sum every month. Tickets are printed enabling the bearer to admission to certain schools, and these tickets are sold to parents able to "purchase" that they may give them to their children to pay the requisite tuition. Repeated efforts have also been made to secure for the schools their just proportion of the school tax, but in most cases without success.

Debts are taken to organize school districts, with trustees pledged to do all in their power for the proper maintenance of the school. But even if this is effected, the support of the teacher must come either from public or private benevolence, until the freedmen shall receive better pay, and learn lessons of forethought and economy.

Public sentiment.—Public sentiment generally is hostile to these schools. In some sections of the State the opposition, however, is manifestly lessening. This is specially noticeable in those places where the schools have been longest in operation. In the city of Lexington, for example, the teachers report a different sentiment on the part of the people from that exhibited last year. Then they were turned out of the hotels, and the general feeling toward them was exceedingly bitter. Now they are treated with civility, and quite recently a number of the wealthy residents of the place have contributed to the support of the school. Prominent members of the Episcopal church have also organized a Sabbath school for colored children, and meet with them each Sabbath to give personal instruction.

Thus it is that the faithful teachers of colored children are silently carrying forward the great work of reconstruction.

In June there was a gain in the aggregate of attendance of 213 pupils. This increase is not met with over the previous month, but as compared with the report for any month since the work of education commenced. No better proof could be furnished that the interest of the freedmen in the schooling of their children has not flagged.

T K NOBLE: REPORT ON EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN KY JULY 1868 5473-C

j w alvord, 6th semi-annual report on schools for freedmen july 1868, 1868

Officers of bureau.—It is but just to state that this sustained interest is due largely to the efforts of the officers of the bureau. Eight educational meetings have been held during the month, and the number of visits to the schools has been 62. By this means the importance of educational work has been kept constantly before the freedmen, and their efforts continually stimulated.

There are 65 school-houses in the State, and at least as many more are needed. Fifty places have been found where schools might be established but for the hostility of white citizens.

Aid from benevolent organizations and protection from the bureau are absolutely necessary for the instruction of the freedmen, and will remain necessary until proper provision for their education and just laws for their protection shall be enacted by the State.

As the school year has now closed, it may be proper to submit a statement of the progress made in the educational work.

It appears that during the year 66 new schools have been organized, 40 additional teachers employed, and the aggregate attendance increased by 1,000 pupils.

This extension of the work has been chiefly in the interior of the State. Schools were started first in the cities, then at the county seats, and there the work has been pushed into the rural districts. Wherever a score or two of children could be gathered, and the people would pledge themselves to pay the teacher's board, a building has been hired or a rude house erected, and thus the school has been started.

Training school.—There was purchased last year for the sum of $5,000 a lot of ground in Louisville for the erection of a building designed mainly as a training school for teachers. Twelve thousand dollars were appropriated to it by the bureau. The building was completed in January, and is an honor to the mechanists furnishing it, as well as to the bureau. In the simple elegance of its design, and the convenience and comfort of all its arrangements, it is surpassed by no public building of its kind in the city.

The term which has just closed has been attended by nearly 300 pupils, and their examination evinced their own industry, and the faithfulness of their instructors. I am confident that the school is destined to do a great work for the freedmen of Kentucky.

The First requisite.—The first requisite for an efficient school is a comfortable school-house. The history of the common schools of the north has demonstrated this, and in Kentucky the almost universal opposition of the white citizens to the education of the negro; the difficulty, and in many places the utter impossibility, on account of this opposition, of securing a suitable building; the poverty of the freedmen and their entire lack of experience in educational matters; all show the absolute necessity of securing for them during the existence of the
T K NOBLE: REPORT ON EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN KY JULY 1868  5473-D

j w alvord, 6th semi-annual report on schools for freedmen july 1868, 1868

bureau, school buildings which shall be permanently their own. Special attention has been given to this matter during the entire year.

We have said to the freedmen, "purchase a suitably lot, raise all the money you are able, and when you have done this set what subscriptions you can in the form of labor, and then the bureau will help you." The result of their efforts is that 39 school-houses, varying in site from 11' by 20 to 60 by 100 feet square, and costing from $25 to $125,000 each, have been erected by and for the freedmen of Kentucky the past year.

For the construction of these 39 buildings the bureau has expended $19,736.

In Frankfort the Episcopalian church contributed $200 towards the construction of the building, under the immediate supervision of the bishop.

Freedom paying. — With the exception of the aid above mentioned, the expense of putting up these houses has been met by the freedmen. Besides paying each month the incidental expenses of the schools and the board of the teachers, they have contributed towards the construction of the school during the year $44,400 for the construction of school buildings. Yet these are the people who are denounced as worthless, destined to be a perpetual burden upon the government, utterly unfit for citizenship.

Freedom managing. — There has been great progress during the year in the freedmen's managing schools for themselves. Slavery entailed not only ignorance but self-distrust. It broke a man's confidence in his own abilities, and the only way to restore this confidence is to put the man in the harness, start him in the right direction, and thus demonstrate that he is equal to the load.

When, therefore, new schools have been organized, the people have been called together and a board of trustees, composed of the most intelligent men among them, has been chosen, who should have the entire management of the schools and the superintendence of the proper officers of the bureau. A written contract pledges these trustees to provide a suitable boarding place for the teachers, to collect from the parents the monthly tuition of the pupils, to receive the rent paid by the bureau for the building and transfer it to the teacher, to decide what parents are too poor to pay tuition, and to make for such the prescribed application for free tickets issued from this office, and to perform all other duties as may be required of them by the officers of the bureau. This system has been adopted mainly to give the freedmen confidence, and to accustom them to manage their schools and do it properly. I have endeavored in this way to so familiarize them with the mode of organizing and sustaining their schools that when the bureau shall be withdrawn they shall not be utterly helpless, but have an experimental knowledge which will give them self-reliance and enable them to go on with the great work.

Death of priest. — Prejudice against educating the negro dies hard in Kentucky, but it dies. I find evidence of this in the presence of the leading men of the State at the inauguration of the Elizabethtown Normal School, in their hearty endorsement of the work which was published in each of the daily papers of the city, and sent into all parts of the State; in the fact that money has actually been contributed by white citizens for the construction of a negro school-house; that in the city of Lexington, where eighteen months ago Christian young ladies who came to the place to instruct the negroes driven from the hostel, contributions have recently been made by citizens to retain one of these very teachers; and that the Episcopal church has established schools in the three principal cities of the State.

This change in sentiment is, in my judgment, largely due to the influence of the schools. Wherever they have been longest in operation, there public sentiment is strongest in their favor.

Outrages. — I am compelled to confess that the opposition to schools for the negro is still very general and very bitter in many parts of the State. Under the head of outrages I ought perhaps to speak only of acts of violence; but when I remember that those engaged in teaching have come here in the spirit of Christ, I cannot characterize the treatment they have received as anything else than outrage. Even by preaching Christians they have been called upon to teach upon with scorn, and spoken of with contempt. In one instance, when they had secured a house for a teachers' home, they were compelled to vacate because the owner was a master-builder, and the crime of allowing his house to be occupied by intelligent Christian young women, engaged in teaching the ignorant, was ruining his business. Another house was secured, but taken from them when their occupation was known. In other sections the opposition has reached a very violent form. Two teachers from the State of Ohio, who were sent to the Henderson sub-district, were so threatened by white people that they returned by the first train. In the city of Bowling Green a school was opened by a Mrs. Turriburn, of Cincinnati. She was a Christian lady of agreeable manners and unusual culture, but not one of the 37 loyal families of the place dared to meet the solicitation of giving her a home. Even professing to be gentlemen insulted her upon the streets. Obloque looks and pictures were sent to her by mail, and as a last resort she was threatened with assassination if she was found in the city at the expiration of five days.

In Shepherdsville the teacher was so fiercely threatened that an officer had to be sent there to secure her personal safety. The teacher at Shepherdville was assaulted by the county judge,
and compelled to leave the town. In Crab Orchard the teacher was mobbed and driven from the place. In Franklin a mob surrounded the teacher's house, and he was saved only by the timely arrival of United States troops. Five school-rooms have been burned during the year and one blown up, evidently with the purpose of rendering the men, women, and children who filled it when the train was laid. All this in a Christian and civilized State, and in the year of our Lord 1868.

Legislation.—The general assembly of 1868 passed a law providing that all taxes collected by the State from negroes and mulattoes should be applied to the support of their papas and the education of their children. In 1862 the law was modified by a provision which entitled each colored child who should attend school for a period of not less than three months to receive $2.50 from taxes collected in the county where such child might live. The assembly of 1868 reduced the duties of the preceding assemblies, and passed a law providing that expended all taxes collected by the State from negroes and mulattoes shall be devoted to the support of their papas. Thus no provision whatever is now made by the State for the education of the freedmen.

EXPENDITURES.

Amount expended by the bureau for construction, repairs, and rent of school buildings $19,728 62
Amount expended by A. M. A. and W. F. A. C. 6,387 90
Amount expended by the freedmen 14,691 32
Amount expended by the Episcopal church 600 00

Total 41,415 90

REPAIRS OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

Amount expended by the bureau $1,088 62

SUPPORT OF TEACHERS.

Expended by the bureau for rent of buildings, the rent going to payment of teachers' salaries $15,861 44
Expended by the A. M. A. and W. F. A. C. 6,106 95
Expended by Episcopal church 900 00
Expended by freedmen 17,137 30

Total 40,005 70

Grand total 62,510 31

Also transportation for 49 teachers issued by General Howard, cost of which not known.

Of the schools in the State 113 are bureau schools, and the existence of nearly all the rest is dependent upon the bureau.

The regularity of attendance during the entire year has been remarkable, being nearly 90 per cent of the whole number enrolled. Although the attendance of any one school is less than 8,000, yet during the year at least 20,000 children have acquired the rudiments of an education.

These results are full of encouragement, and should the bureau be continued I shall look for still larger results from the efforts of the ensuing year.

We hope the State of Kentucky will appreciate this work for their colored population, and soon, without aid from the general government, carry it vigorously forward.

It is sufficient only to add the following single remark from the assistant commissioner:

The school work has been well done by Superintendent T. K. Noble.

The following extract from the correspondence of an intelligent colored man is interesting:

Our people are not satisfied with marching behind the rest of mankind, and claim that if they are born of fool and enduring they should be allowed to keep step with the march of events.

I am constrained to say that were it not for the presence of the Freedmen's Bureau in this
State, the educational policy instituted by the government would soon perish, and we should feel more keenly the misery of our situation after having tasted of the blessings furnished by its agency.

The following is the tabular statement from Kentucky:

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<tr>
<th>REGULARLY REPORTED.</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and night</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>8,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>8,592</td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>16,677</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRREGULARLY REPORTED.</th>
<th>Schools</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and night</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>16,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The freedmen sustain wholly or in part 158 of the above schools, and own 51 of the buildings. This bureau furnished 114 buildings for school use.

Sixty-nine of the above schools are graded, including two of the high or normal grade.

Of the whole number of teachers employed 383 are white and 502 colored, quite a number of whom received transportation from this bureau.

The attendance of the pupils has averaged 6,136, or nearly 76 per cent. of the number enrolled. Tuition, amounting in the aggregate to $10,240.20, has been paid by 4,343 of the pupils, being a fraction over $2.35 each.

This bureau has expended during the last six months, for rents, repairs, and material for school buildings in Kentucky, $12,772. The cost to all parties for the support of schools has been $24,798.70.

This State has exceeded its largest number of schools and pupils for 1867, by 133 schools and 3,220 pupils.
BRIEF HIST OF JACOB STREET A M E ZION METH CH LOU

In the year 1870 Rev. Arthur Bunch, who was assigned as a city missionary by the church, located in the northwest corner of Hancock and Chestnut streets, and organized an A.M.E.Z. Church. He had for his object the effort to establish the church of his services. Rev. Bunch was succeeded by Rev. H. C. Curry in 1874, who purchased a lot east of Hancock and Chestnut St. This was sold and a lot was purchased for on the north side of Jacob St., fifty of sixty feet from the corner west of Jackson St. The lot was purchased for a colored church building and the agreement was signed. Then the present site, where the church now stands, was purchased in May, 1874. In the mean time the frame church which stood at the corner of Hancock and Roseland was bought for $250 and moved to the newly purchased lot. The lot was moved and the church, known as Curry's Chapel, was re-erected.

The present church was dedicated on February 10th, 1916.
BRIEF BIOG JOHN L. WHEAT; BUSINESSMAN, CHURCH LEADER, YMCA, ETC (WHITE OR BLACK?) POST C W

general conference handbook; historical & illustrated, 1916

p. 121

Mr. John L. Wheat

For a number of years he has been an eminent layman, a man of whose services and religion. Since 1873 he has been associated with the T. C. & L. Co. As President of the company, he has directed the enterprise and brought the industries of the city, and has been one of the foremost public-spirited men and moral leaders of the city. He is at the head of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church. He is one of the leaders of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church. He has been a leader and prominent member of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church for the past 28 years; several times a delegate to the General Conference of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church; South, and was a prominent lay member of the Ecumenical Conference at Washington, D.C., in 1909.

Mr. Wheat has been known to the people at large through his splendid and successful work in the Methodist Christian Association. For over forty years he has been an active participant in the work and was one of its early leaders. He was a leader member of the International Committee and was President of the Triennial Convention.

...
W. H. LAWSON.

The late William H. Lawson, who was the Chorister for the General Conference of 76, and was a Foremost Citizen in Promoting Race Enterprises.

The late W. H. Lawson himself a genius and artist in photography and painting, was among the first to recognize the worth of N. R. Harper in musical uplift to the race, in Louisville and through his intervention caused Mr. Harper to cast anchor for life here. From the time N. R. Harper arrived in this city to the day of W. H. Lawson's death two years ago, they were associate and co-workers in the general musical uplift of the race. All of the oldest and most proficient Methodist choirs of the city, as well as the Christian Church, were established by Mr. Harper with the assistance of Mr. Lawson except the choir of Quinn Chapel A. M. E. The first pipe organs ever introduced among the colored people of this state in our churches, was through a general Musical Association throughout the city of which Mr. Lawson was the President and Mr. Harper the Director. It was this Association first known as the Philharmonic which, in the year 1873, produced to the country a May Festival in music which has never since been equaled by our people anywhere.

This same Association under the name of The Louisville Musical Association, "The Chor Maestro," the Louisville Choral Society has come down to the present day, with Mr. N. R. Harper as President of the Choral. But it is not alone in music that the career of Lawyer Harper has shone forth in the community. He was admitted to the Bar in this city Nov. 25, 1871, a period of forty-five years' experience in his chosen profession, being the first man of the race to display a regular printed sign to the public in any of the professions among our people. The first man of the race to be commissioned a Notary Public. The first man of the race to be a presiding judge of a court of record in Kentucky. He was one of the four colored men appointed to a state office by W. O. Bradley, Governor of Kentucky, with an office at the Capitol. He was the first colored man connected in 1902-03, with the Louisville Commercial Club. Some of the largest and most important property deals among our churches and other organizations have been handled by Mr. Harper, notably the saving of Adam's Chapel at the Courthouse door to the people of that congregation. The transfer of 15th St. Zion A. M. E. Church to Bascom 12th St. Church, the organizing and planting of St. James A. M. E. Church, establishing and qualifying the deed of Patent B. F. Hall, transferring Vine St. A. M. E. Zion Church to Jacob St. Tabernacle A. M. E. Zion, dissolving the legal tangle of old Center St. C. M. E. Church, and preparing the Chancery Court Judgment upon which the Chestnut St. C. M. E. Church rests.
In 1788 a movement to colonize the West spread over the Atlantic seaboard. From several parts of Maryland, Catholics had begun to move towards Kentucky as early as 1774. In 1785 twenty-five of a league of sixty families set out from St. Mary’s County to settle on lands which they had taken up at Pottinger’s Creek. The following year another party of Catholics settled at Hardin’s Creek. In 1787 Bardstown was the home of another cluster. Nicholas Miles, whose son later became Bishop Miles, the Father of the Church in Tennessee, settled at Froman’s Creek, about six miles northeast of Bardstown, in 1796. We are told that Miles took his slaves with him, a dozen or more, and it is not improbable that other settlers also had slaves.

We are assured that the most cordial relations existed between masters and slaves in the Diocese of Louisville. “Many of the wealthier Catholics owned slaves who attended the mission with their masters, kneeling along side of them at the confessional and the altar rail to receive Holy Communion. The pious custom of saying family prayers at morning and night existed very generally; and when the head of the house owned slaves they, too, were required to be present at these exercises. All knelt together in the same room and the father or mother of the family gave out the prayer and the others answered. Before or after these exercises the master would frequently enter into conversation with his slaves concerning the health of this one or the occu-
In Kentucky there were several settlements of Catholics who had gone there, beginning in 1774, to escape the intolerable conditions existing in Maryland: at Pottinger's Creek, Harden's Creek, Bardstown, Froman's Creek. Many of these settlers had slaves. We are assured that the most cordial relations existed between master and slaves. The names of Bishop Benedict Flaget, Father Stephen Badin, and Father Charles Nerinckx are luminous in Catholic care for the Colored in Kentucky. Father Nerinckx was founder of the sisterhood of "The Little Society of the Friends of Mary, at the Foot of the Cross," a community of nuns which, as shall be seen, was the first to attempt a colored sisterhood, and who opened a school at Loretto, Ky., which became an asylum "for old age, and decrepit and useless slaves." Bishop Miles, too, while a young priest in Kentucky, had great devotion to the Negroes and not a few were his penitents while he was stationed at St. Rose's Convent, Springfield, Ky. When, in 1833, Kentucky was stricken with a terrible plague, of Father Miles it was written that "the poor colored people were the objects of his special solicitude."

As early as the year 1824 an effort had been made to found a sisterhood to do for the Christian education of colored girls what the half dozen convent schools then in existence were doing for white girls. Father Charles Nerinckx, founder of the Sisters of Loretto in Kentucky, planned the establishment of a branch of his institute to be composed of colored Sisters devoted to the training of colored girls. He brought to Loretto from farms in the surrounding region five Negro girls to be trained for the noble career he had planned for them. Later in the same year, unfortunately, Father Nerinckx left Kentucky for Missouri for new missionary labors and his sisterhood was turned over to Bishop Benedict Flaget who appointed the Rev. Guy Chabrat as ecclesiastical superior of the community. Father Chabrat, convinced that the time was premature for colored nuns, released the five novices from their obligations and sent them home.

While this first attempt at the foundation of a religious community of colored nuns was not successful, at least it may be said that forty years before emancipation an endeavor had been made to incorporate Negroes into the highest form of Catholic life—the religious state—and to put education of Negroes on a permanent foundation. It represented the Catholic mind in regard to Negroes even during the days of slavery when they were generally debased.
p 103/ While returning from Salem to Boston in Oct. 1845 Lyell rode on the stage with two black men who were accompanied by two black women. /p104/ One, from Delaware said he had been educated in an "abolition college" in Ohio. The younger, who was still darker, had been a slave in Kentucky, and had run away. They were traveling to collect funds for a school for runaway negroes, near Detroit, and expressed great satisfaction that at Salem they had found "the colored and white children all taught together in the same school, this not being the case in Boston.

"He /the Delawarian/ then disanted on the relative liberality of feeling toward colored men in the various free states, and was very severe on Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio. I expressed surprise in regard to Ohio; but the Kentuckian affirmed that the law there afforded no real equality of protection to the black man, as he could not give evidence in courts of law, but must procure a white man as a witness." He told of planters in Ky "shooting their slaves, and other tales of Kentucky, the accuracy of which my subsequent visit to that state gave me good reason to question. But I could not help being amused with the patriotism of this man; for, however unenviable he may have found his condition as a slave, he was still a thorough Kentuckian, and ready to maintain that in climate, soil, and every other quality, that state was immeasurably superior to the rest of the Union, especially /p 105/ to Ohio, emancipation alone being wanting to demonstrate this fact to the world.

"This adventure confirmed me in the opinion I had previously formed, that if the colored men had fair play, and were carefully educated, they might soon be safely intrusted with equality of civil and political rights. Whatever may be their present inferiority as a race, some of them have already shown superior abilities to a great many of the dominant whites."

LYELL VISITS BLACK METHODIST CH IN LOU APRIL 1846: DESCRIBED SERMON CONTENT, ATMOSPHERE, CRITICISMS BY WHITES, ETC.

chas lyell, a second visit to the us, ii, 1849

p. 213 /

In the evening we were taken, at our request, to a black Methodist church, where our party were the only whites in a congregation of about 100. There was nothing offensive in the atmosphere of the place, and I learned, with pleasure, that this commodious building was erected and lighted with gas by the blacks themselves, aided by subscriptions from many whites of different sects. The preacher was a full black, spoke good English, and quoted Scripture well. Occasionally he laid down some mysterious and metaphysical points of doctrine with a dramatic air, and with a vehement confidence, which seemed to increase in proportion as the subjects transcended the human understanding, at which moments he occasionally elicted from his sympathizing hearers, especially from some of the women, exclamations such as "That is true," and other signs of assent, but no loud cries and sobs, such as I had heard in a white Methodist church in Montgomery, Alabama. It appeared from his explanation of "Whose superscription is this?" that he supposed the piece of money to be a dollar note, to which Caesar had put his signature. He spoke of our ancestors in the garden of Eden in a manner that left no doubt of his agreeing with Dr. Pichard, that we all came from one stock—a theory to which, for my own part, I could never see any ethnological or physiological objection, provided time enough be allowed for the slow growth of races; though I once heard Mr. A. W. Schlegel, at Loui, pronounce it to be a heresy, especially in an Englishman who had read the "Paradise Lost." "I could have pardoned Pichard," said the Professor, "for believing that Adam was the forefather of all the Africans, had he only conceded that the fairest of her daughters, Eve, never could have been a negroess."

Toward the close of the discourse, the minister said "that a protracted meeting would soon be held; but such assemblies were, in his judgment, becoming too frequent." He also announced that on Easter Sunday there would be a love-feast, which no doubt would be very crowded, "and where I hope you will all enjoy yourselves." He then said, "Sirs and Madam, I have now to warn you of a serious matter, but I see many of you are nodding, and let every one wake up his neighbor. The sexton, poor man, has more than he can do." This official, by the way, had been administering with his cane many admonitory taps on the heads of the younger part of the congregation, such as must have precudled them from napping for some time, if their skulls are not harder than those of their white brethren. There was a general stir, and two fat negro women, between whom my wife was wedged in (for the two sexes sat on separate sides), looked to see if she was awake. "There is a storm brewing," said the preacher, "owing to some late doings in Ohio, and I hope that none of the membership will get themselves into a scrape." The exciting topic on which he then enlarged was the late seizure, or kidnapping, as it was termed, of Jerry Phiney, who, after residing some years in Ohio, had been reclamed by the heirs of his owners, in consequence of some flaw in his letters of freedom, and brought back to Kentucky. An attempt at a rescue was for a time apprehended, but 500 dollars were soon raised and paid to secure his release.
LYELL VISITS BLACK METHODIST CHURCH IN LOU IN APRIL 1846: DESCRIBED ATMOSPHERE, SERMON, CRITICISM OF BLACKS BY WHITES, ETC (Lyell was quite fair in his views of blacks & whites, scientific)

chas lyell, a second visit to the us, ii, 1849

a plain, colloquial manner, his sermon would seem tame, and make no impression. They can not talk about the price of a pair of shoes, or quid of tobacco, without such gesticulations that you would fancy it was a matter of life and death they were discussing.” There was a second colored man in the pulpit, who delivered a prayer with a strong nasal twang, and very extravagant action. The hymns were some of them in rather a wild strain, but, on the whole, not unmusical.

When I commended the action of the black preacher as graceful, I was assured that he had successfully imitated an eminent American actor who had lately performed at Louisville. “These blacks,” said my informant, “are such inimitable mimics, that they will sometimes go through a whole sermon in the same style as they have heard delivered by a white man, only appearing somewhat to caricature it, because they are more pompous and declamatory; which in them is quite natural, for they are a more demonstrative race than we are. If he addresses them in

LYELL COMMENTS ON IMPORTANCE OF BLACK PREACHERS; SCHOOLS FOR BLACKS; A MIXED MARRIAGE UNAWARES, ETC

chas lyell, a second visit to the us, ii, 1849

I learnt that the domestic servants of Louisville, who are chiefly of negro race, belong very commonly to a different church from their owners. During our short stay here, an instance came to my knowledge of a master who, having an untractable black servant, appealed to a negro minister, not of his own church, to interfere and reprieve him for his bad conduct, a measure which completely succeeded. We were told of four Sunday schools for colored people in the city, and in one of them 170 children receive instruction. There are also other schools on week days for teaching negroes to read, both in Kentucky and Tennessee. When I communicated these facts to Americans in Philadelphia, they were inclined to be incredulous, and then said, “If such be the condition of negroes in Kentucky, they must be better off in slave states than in others called free; but you must not forget that their most worthless runaways take refuge with us.”

A recent occurrence in Louisville places in a strong light the unnatural relation in which the two races now stand to each other. One of the citizens, a respectable tradesman, became attached to a young seamstress, who had been working at his mother’s house, and married her, in the full belief that she was a white, and a free woman. He had lived happily with her for some time, when it was discovered that she was a negroess and a slave, who had never been legally emancipated, so that the marriage was void in law. Morally speaking, it was certainly not void; yet a separation was thought so much a matter of course, that I heard the young man’s generosity commended because he had purchased her freedom after the discovery, and given her the means of setting up as a dressmaker. No doubt the lady knew

years before she had run away from her owner. She had also concealed this fact from her lover, but at a time, probably, when her affections were deeply engaged. On the other hand, we may pity the husband who suddenly finds that he is disgraced by having made an unlawful marriage, that his children are illegitimate, and that the wife of his choice belongs to an inferior caste in society. This incident is important in many points of view, and especially as proving to what an extent the amalgamation of the two races would take place, if it were not checked by artificial prejudices and the most jealous and severe enactments of law. I found that many here believe and hope that the time of emancipation is near at hand; but I was sorry to discover that the most sagacious seemed to think that the blacks in these middle states will not be able to stand alone when no longer protected by enjoying the monopoly of the labor market.
Born and reared in the city of Baltimore, Md., and educated in the select schools of those days, also receiving the private instructions of the Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., a Lutheran divine, and the Rt. Rev. D. A. Payne, D. D., Bishop of the African Methodist Church, the writer, at an early age, manifested a desire to travel West. An opportunity presented itself in June, 1847. The Rev. James Harper, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who then had charge of the Fourth-street Colored Methodist Church, located on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Green Street, made application for a teacher to come to Louisville and locate, as there was a field of labor for such an one if desirous of benefiting his race. After mature consideration I accepted the invitation, and bade farewell to kindred and friends for “My Old Kentucky Home.”

I arrived at Louisville, Ky., June 21, 1847, after one week’s journey across the Alleghany Mountains by the National Road route in stages, the forerunner of the “iron horse,” changing horses every ten miles, and viewing the picturesque scenery that had presented itself to the millions of travelers who had gone this way before me. This scene caused my imagination to reach out in wonder and amazement at the great and stupendous work of nature, and the possibility of these rocks and mountains fleeing away at the final consummation of all things.

Arriving at Pittsburgh, the head of navigation, I took a steamer for Cincinnati, O. I was several days on the beautiful Ohio, and witnessed scenes that interested me very much. The coal mines on either side of the river, and the palatial steamers and barges heavily laden with products for the South, were my first lessons in this panoramic view.

Upon arriving at Cincinnati I was kindly received at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Crisp, mother and father of Mrs. Eliza Gordon, wife of the noted coal merchant. I visited Mr. and Mrs. Clark, the former a prominent barber in Cincinnati. Mrs. Clark, in later years, became the wife of Bishop D. A. Payne.

Upon arriving in Louisville I was kindly received by the officers and members of the Fourth-street Church, whose guest I was, viz.: R. M. Lane, David Straus, Wm. Butcher, Levi Evans, Frederick Myers, Anthony Frazier, Walker Wade, Caleb Christopher, Nathan Hardin, and N. B. Rogers. In addition to these, the citizens, generally, gave me a hearty welcome.

Robt. M. Lane taught school on East Street, between Walnut and Chestnut. He was originally from Ohio. I associated myself with him for six months. In January, 1848, I opened a school in the basement of the Fourth-street Methodist Church, situated at the corner of Fourth and Green streets. This move attracted considerable attention, from the fact that the locality was in the heart of the city.

The theater was on the southeast corner, and the negro church and day school on the opposite corner. I was advised by some persons not to open the school there, as it would be closed by the city authorities. For a few days we changed front, and occupied a small church on Center Street, in the rear of the Fifth-street Baptist Church. It was occupied by the Presbyterians, Rev. Bowman, pastor; but through the indefatigable efforts of Rev. James Harper and his white friends we were permitted to teach the school at the church on Fourth and Green streets, with instructions to teach no slaves without a written permit from their master or mistress. Of these permits we had hundreds on file; for amid the strictures of the laws and prejudices of the slaveholders to negroes learning to read and write, there were other Christians (white) who did not object, and would give
The writer, being a member of said church at the time of this occurrence, will give a sketch of its history.

Fourth Street Colored Methodist Church (now Asbury Chapel) has a history that no other colored church, perhaps, has passed through in this State. The property was purchased in 1845, at Chancery Court sale. The congregation was under the immediate control of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Colored ministers were appointed over colored congregations, with white presiding elders. Trustees of colored churches were white men; also many class leaders were white men. At the chancery sale a question was asked the judge, if free colored men could not hold property in trust for colored congregations? He answered, “Yes, if they were free.” They informed him that they would prefer colored trustees. He said if they would produce five colored men he would appoint them. The following names were presented to the court: R. M. Lane, Wm. Butcher, Levi Evans, James Harper, and David Strauss. The next important point was the drawing up of the deed, which was peculiarly drawn. A clause read, “Deeded to the Colored Methodists of Louisville, Ky., and their successors forever,” a clause that has given much trouble, both to the white wing of the Methodist Church and the African M. E. Church.

After the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1844, into North and South Methodists, on account of slavery, a large number of colored members were anxious to leave the Southern branch, but as their property was deeded to and held by the white trustees, they could not see their way clear to withdraw without leaving their property, which they did not wish to do. The congregation at Fourth Street was the only party prepared to enter the conflict for church freedom from the slaveholding power, and the peculiarity of the deed gave them this advantage.

In the fall of 1848 the African M. E. Church Conference met at Madison, Indiana.

Resolutions were passed by the officers and members of the Fourth-street Methodist Church to sever their connection from the white Southern Methodist Church and apply for membership in the African M. E. connection. A committee was appointed to meet in conference, viz.: Frederick Myers, Robert Lane, and Wm. Butcher, to present the resolutions asking for admission. They were received by the conference, Bishop Quinn, presiding, and the officers and members received into full connection. Rev. James Harper was appointed elder in charge for the conference year. This bold

Colored Methodists of Louisville, Ky., and their successors forever.” He claimed that they had no business there, and would enter suit against them for disturbing religious worship, for they were not colored Methodists. The pulpit scene was graphic. The white presiding elder ascended the pulpit; also the colored elder. One seized the Bible and the other the hymn-book.

The colored elder read “Jesus, Great Shepherd of the Sheep, to Thee for help we fly,” etc., which was sung with great power by the vast congregation. He prayed such a prayer as only he could pray, with responses from all the members over the house. At the close, the white elder announced his text: “Servants, be obedient to your masters.” The argument was unheeded, for they had concluded to come out of Egypt, though Pharaoh and his host pursued them. The matter was settled in the court; the decision sustained the colored congregation as the legal owners of the property.
HIST OF 4TH ST COL METH CH: ORG, SECEDES FROM SOUMETH CH; STRUGGLE OVER TITLE (1845-

This was the first victory gained in the State of Kentucky by a colored congregation withdrawing and taking the property with them, though it has given a precedent for several others in this and other States to make the effort. Several have been successful in this State since the war, and the freedom of the race declared.

For some time this event was a matter of rejoicing among the colored people. A grand reception was given Bishop Paul Quinn on his first visit after this accession to the A. M. E. Church. The parsonage of the Rev. James Harper (adjoining the church) was the scene of a great jubilee by the clergy of the city and vicinity.

SALE OF PROPERTY AND SPLIT IN THE CONGREGATION.

The preceding events moved on smoothly until the following fall. The location of the church was an enviable one, in a business point of view, and was coveted by the white Masonic fraternity. It was joining property on which they wished to build a magnificent temple and theatre, extending the entire block. They sent a committee to the pastor and trustees with a proposition to purchase the church property. Several conferences were held, and finally an agreement was made by the trustees to sell the property. The agreement read as follows: "That the Masonic fraternity agrees to purchase the property and build another church in lieu of the present structure. They agreed to locate the property within a certain boundary, viz.: not farther east than First Street, nor farther west than Seventh Street, nor farther south than Broadway, nor farther north than Market. Several months elapsed before a location was found, for the prejudice was so great against Negro churches in white settlements that when they learned for what purpose the property was wanted there would be an objection raised by the entire neighborhood. Finally the committee concluded to go beyond the boundary for a site. This resolution was not satisfactory to all concerned; yet the trustees consented, and a split or division in the church was the result. The first proposition to sell was drawn up under the administration of Rev. James Harper, but the succeeding conference removed him to New Orleans, La. Rev. Hiram R. Revels succeeded him, and under his administration the contract or first proposition was annulled.

Harper returned to Louisville in the spring of 1849. The dissatisfied parties met him and related their objections to the deal. They had several interviews with him, which caused the minister in charge of the congregation (Rev. H. R. Revels) to charge Harper with causing a disturbance in his congregation. A committee of elders was called; Harper was tried, expelled from the connection, and published in the papers as a refractory preacher.

Harper called his forces together and established an independent church. Each party were renting. The building was not completed during these troubles; but when it was
in the suit with the white Southern Methodist Church; that the church belonged to the Colored Methodists of Louisville and their successors, and not to the African M. E. Church. The lower court so decided in favor of the Harper party. An appeal was taken to the Court of Appeals at Frankfort, Ky. The opinion of the lower court was sustained, so far as the deed was concerned, but as the minister, officers, and members had joined the A. M. E. Church under a protectorate, and subjected themselves to the appointing power of the Bishop, therefore the A. M. E. Church Conference had sole control of the congregation, without the change of deed, and that Rev. James Harper must vacate. The litigation continued for several years, and a considerable amount was expended for court and lawyers' fees. Harper vacated, rented a vacant church on the next block, and had considerable following for awhile, but the congregation became dissatisfied and he removed to Baltimore, Md. His flock scattered and sought membership in the various churches of the city. So ended an unfortunate occurrence in the history of the A. M. E. Church in this city.

The officers and members of the A. M. E. Church took possession, and Rev. Frederick Myers was appointed in charge. He was succeeded by some of the ablest ministers of the connection, such as Rev. B. L. Brooks, Rev. F. Carter, Rev. J. M. Brown, Rev. John Mitchell, Rev. Knight, and others. Under their administration the church prospered. In 1872 the church was remodeled by the Rev. J. C. Waters. A heavy debt accrued, the contractor sued on the notes, and a long litigation ensued. During these troubles the church burned down (supposed by an incendiary). It was not insured and remained without a roof for many years. Rev. Bartlett Taylor succeeded in rebuilding it, but for years it seemed a drag on the connection, with forty years of trouble and not yet released. The deed seems to be the great stumbling-block in the way. The trustees give considerable trouble to the pastors, it is said, with few exceptions, who are sent there by the appointing power.

HR Revels

HIST QUINN AME CHAPEL IN LOU

HISTORY OF THE MOTHER A. M. E. CHURCH—QUINN CHAPEL.

The first African Methodist Church was planted in Louisville, in the State of Kentucky, then a missionary point, in 1840, by that venerable centenarian, Rev. Father David Smith, the members assembling from house to house, until a room over a stable on Main Street was obtained, and a congregation formed to worship in the name of Bethel A. M. E. Church. It has grown to be the leading church of the connection in this State, and has been pastored by the most distinguished ministers in the A. M. E. connection. It is among them the Revs. M. M. Clark, Dr. W. R. Revels, Hiram Revels, Dr. G. H. Graham, H. J. Young, J. W. Ashbury, J. Gazaway, O. P. Ross, Dr. B. F. Porter, Dr. Abbey, Dr. Evans Tyree, and many others of distinction.

In the early days of its organization it was considered by the community as an abolition church, which carried with it a stigma to deter the slaves of this community from association and affiliation with its members. The idea of an abolition church established in this city among slaves could not be tolerated by some slaveholders; hence they forbade their slaves visiting that Free Negro Church (as it was styled), though a few of their servants would attend. One member of the family of a slave-trader joined the church and attended regularly, and this trader had a pen in the city filled with slaves for the Southern market.

Locations—From the stable on Main Street to a frame on the corner of Eighth and Green streets, from there to Ninth and Walnut streets.

In 1854, from a little frame building was erected the present brick. The ground was purchased by the money raised by the efforts of George W. Johnson, Rev. Byrd Parker, and Rev. John A. Warren. The latter paid the last installment and lifted the mortgage. The brick building was one of the strong efforts of Willia R. Revels, who canvassed Indiana, Ohio, and portions of the East to raise money to meet the payments on the building. The Quaker Friends of Indiana gave liberally towards the building. They were so anxious to know that the money was being properly used, that at times they sent a committee to investigate. The desire of the Quaker Friends for the education of our race caused Dr. Revels to promise them that a school would be connected with the church for educational purposes, and for this reason they gave more readily.

The foundation of the new edifice was laid with some forebodings. The day appointed for digging the foundation was one of interest, as certain parties living on the same block had declared that a negro church should not be erected there—a nuisance to the neighborhood—but the people of God prayed that the work might go on in spite of every opposition, and God heard their prayers. Friends among the white people aided them, and the ceremonies were performed.
HIST OF QUINN AME CHAPEL IN LOU

Rev. Levi Evans, who is yet alive, dug the first spade of dirt. The brick work of Quinn Chapel was performed by colored bricklayers from Lexington, Ky., Col. Bayless, a boss bricklayer, superintending the work. The building was covered in, and the congregation worshiped in the basement for four years. The basement was dedicated by the late Bishop D. A. Payne (then Dr. Payne). Aaron M. Parker was the appointed pastor. A school was opened in the basement by W. H. Gibson, free and slave children taught—slaves by written permits. The Quaker Friends visited the school and inspected the work, to see that their donations were appropriately applied. In 1888, Rev. Willis Miles, of New Orleans, La., was appointed. He was a very affable and loving pastor. After his induction into the pastorate his anxiety was to complete the church and move up into the auditorium. He called together the officers, members, and teachers of the Sunday-school, and they, with the pastor, mapped out a plan for the completion of the building. The young people of the church and their friends organized a literary society known as the Chapel Relief, whose object was to discuss questions pertaining to our interest and the general improvement of the mind. Dr. W. R. Revels was the organizer of this society. Its influence was felt throughout the city, and by its members a large amount was raised towards meeting the large debts that had accumulated during the progress of the work and the completion of the building. At the adjourning of the Annual Conference the dedicatory services were performed by Bishops Quinn and Payne, Revs. W. R. Revels, J. M. Brown, John Turner, Willis Miles, and others.

The following is the roster of Quinn Chapel, A. M. E. Church, by succession:

First missionary, Rev. David Smith, the centenarian; first


HIST OF CENTER STREET METH CH IN LOU (OLDEST METH CH)

The Center-street Church is the oldest colored Methodist Church in this city, and like all other colored Methodist churches before the war was under the ecclesiastical control of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church. During the war, in the sixties, the members of this church applied and were received into the Zion A. M. E. Church, and continued in said church for several years without a change or transfer of the deed of property to said Zion A. M. E. Church. An effort was made to secure a change in the deed by Peter Lewis, Jackson Burkes, and other officers and members of Zion A. M. E. Church, but failed, from the fact that a large number of its members were opposed to changing their relations to the white Southern Methodist Episcopal Church. This party was led by Rev. W. H. Miles and others. Miles afterwards became Bishop.

On the 10th of May, 1879, the Methodist Church South, in a meeting of the General Conference, passed a series of resolutions with reference to the religious interest of the colored people, who were then under the control of that church.

One resolution reads as follows: "That the action of the last General Conference in reference to an ultimate organiza-
BRIEF HIST JACKSON ST COL METH CH

Like her sister Methodist churches, she, too, had her bitter with her sweets, in her early history. She was guided and pastored by the Rev. George Holland and Rev. Thomas, under whose Christian ministry many were added to the church. After the war, in 1870, they passed through a fiery ordeal, by the attempt of the trustees of the Colored Methodist Church South suing for their property, in order that they might hold it in trust for those that might desire to remain in said southern connection. To meet this litigation, they employed an eminent jurist, Hon. Judge Harlan, who defended them and gained the vexatious suit. Since then, they have been pastored by some of the most eloquent divines of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North), among them being E. W. S. Hammond, Marshall Taylor, Dr. L. M. Hagood, and J. H. Stanley.
The principal Baptist churches during the forties and fifties were the Fifth-street Baptist Church and the Green-street Baptist Church. Rev. Henry Adams, pastor of the Fifth-street Baptist Church, was, in his day, a very popular minister and a devout Christian. His congregation was large and imposing. He was also a revivalist; for weeks, and some times for months, his church was crowded with anxious seekers for redemption in Christ. He pastored that church for thirty-five or forty years, except for a short interval during the fifties he was called to Cincinnati to pastor Baker street Baptist Church, which was the leading church of that city.

The sentiment of that church was strongly anti-slavery, and many of its members were connected with the Underground Railroad. Politics was discussed and prayer meetings held for the liberation of the slaves. Bro. Adams was not accustomed to mixing politics and religion; hence there was a divergence of opinion. He resigned and returned to his old flock at Louisville. During his absence Rev. Campbell was pastor of the congregation. Rev. Adams died in 1872, his remains being rested in the white Baptist Church, Fourth and Walnut streets—a distinction that had not been tendered any other colored pastor of this State. Rev. Andrew Heath, who had been for several years assistant pastor to Rev. Henry Adams, was elected to fill the pulpit of the Fifth-street Baptist Church. A more devout Christian gentleman could not have been selected for the position. He was beloved by his congregation, and all who came in contact with Bro. Andrew Heath admired him as a minister and a gentleman. We were personally acquainted with him for many years, and sat up with him during his illness. He was a brother Mason.

Green-street Baptist Church—In the early forties the Rev. George Wells was pastor of that congregation. He was a very pious man and much beloved by his congregation. After his death several ministers officiated, until a regular pastor was chosen. Rev. Sneathen was called to Green-street Baptist Church. He was a fearless leader among the people, and a good church governor. The large brick edifice was built under his administration. He increased the congregation by his popularity. He died in the seventies, and his funeral was largely attended. Dr. Gaddy, successor to Elder Sneathen, is one of the leading Baptist ministers of the South, and a graduate of the State University. His sermons are always interesting, and he is beloved by his congregation. He has also improved and beautified Green-street Church during his administration, and it is a very popular church among the denominations.
York Street Baptist Church—This church was, in early days, occupied as a place of worship by the Fifth-street Congregation, Rev. H. Adams, pastor. It was then considered in the woods. After the Fifth-street Congregation moved into the heart of the city it was abandoned for years, until the Rev. W. W. Taylor occupied it. The Fifth-street Congregation claimed it and there was some litigation in regard to it. Rev. W. W. Taylor held possession until his death. A serious accident happened there in 1879, during a protracted meeting. The lower floor and gallery being crowded, it was thought that the pillars were giving away and a panic followed. A rush was made for the stairway, others jumped out of windows, and the result was eleven persons were killed.

The church has been remodeled and now in charge of Rev. Parrish, a very excellent and learned divine, and President of the Eastin-Norton Seminary. This church is now called the Calvary Baptist Church.

These churches mentioned were the old churches before the war, during the dark days of slavery. Since the close of the war a new era has dawned, and we have a large addition to our church properties and congregations.

Hist Col Presby CH in Lou: Comment on Andrew Ferguson, Black Presby CH Philanthropist

There was a small congregation of colored Presbyterians in Louisville in 1847, Rev. Jeremiah Bowman, minister. It was located on Center Street, between Walnut and Chestnut. It was not very prosperous. The pastor resigned and joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Several attempts were made to establish a church of this denomination, but its adherents worshiped with the white congregations, until Andrew Ferguson, a wealthy colored citizen, bequeathed to them a church with a complete outfit, and bore the chief expenses of the church, as the congregation was very small. At his death he willed to his relatives, church, and Orphan's Home, as follows: $1,000 and a city lot to each of his three grandchildren; $500 to his pastor, Rev. S. W. Parr; $100 to St. James Old Folks' Home, $100 to the Colored Orphans' Home, and $200 to Knox Presbyterian Church. We were personally acquainted with Mr. Ferguson. He was truly a Christian gentleman and a philanthropist.
This mission church and school continued for several years. Rev. Atwell and Miss Jennings married and resigned. Prof. D. A. Straker and a young lady assistant succeeded them. They continued church and school for some time, but finally closed and located in Washington, D. C. Another location was obtained for the mission, donated by Dr. Norton, on Madison Street, between Ninth and Tenth; Rector John Cook (white) had charge, under Bishop Dudley. The school was taught by Miss Cornelia Roxborough and Mr. Wilson, and improved in numbers. A third location was purchased, through the influence of Bishop Dudley—a large brick church (formerly the property of the Presbyterians). In thirty years, through a hard struggle, they have a large congregation. Rev. Brown, of New York, is the present rector.

The friends of St. Mark's Episcopal Church being desirous of helping that mission, offered their services to Miss Jennings to assist her in a concert to be given in New Albany, Ind. A hall was obtained and the date announced through the papers and hand-bills. The writer was selected as manager, Miss Jennings and Mrs. M. Y. Smith, soloist and pianist, assisted by W. H. Gibson, Jr. The audience had assembled and the concert in full blast, when the sheriff

of the county appeared and demanded our license. We had none. We stated it was a church concert. He stated that it made no difference; we must pay or shut up. We paid the license, as there seemed to be no other remedy; but it left us a very small margin for the mission. Our next concert was on this side of the river, where church concerts pay no license, and we had success.
BLACK ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN LOU

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COLORED ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

This church was erected on the site of the Old Soldiers' Barracks and Hospital, Broadway and Fifteenth Street. By the solicitation of a number of colored Catholics, Bishop Spalding, who then had charge of this diocese, employed me to instruct the first colored choir of the church at $25 per month. I performed that duty until I found that it would conflict with other duties in my church, then resigned. Mrs. M. V. Smith and W. H. Gibson, Jr., were my successors until they obtained a teacher of their own denomination. The membership has increased rapidly, and they have a large denominational day school attached, conducted on Catholic principles.

GIBSON LIST LEADING BLACK CHURCHES & MINISTERS IN LOU IN 1897

Quinn Chapel A. M. E. Church . . . . Rev. E. Tyree, M. D.
Young's Chapel A. M. E. Church . . . . Rev. Dent.
Twelfth-street Zion A. M. E. Church . . . . Rev. Seymour.
Fifteenth-street Zion A. M. E. Church . . . . Rev. Mason.
Center-street C. M. E. Church . . . . Rev. Luckett.
Old Fort Missionary Church . . . .

Fifth-avenue Baptist Church . . . . Rev. J. Frank.
Green-street Baptist Church . . . . Rev. Dr. Gaddy.
Calvary Baptist Church . . . . Rev. Parrish.
Center-street Zion Church . . . . Rev. Craighead.
Gladstone Church . . . . Rev. Scott.
Ninth-street Church . . . .
Eighth-street Church . . . .
Hancock-street Christian Church . . . .
OUR SUNDAY-SCHOOL WORK.

This branch of the church received less opposition, from a religious and literary point of view, than any other in which the negro could be engaged. It was at the Sunday-school gatherings that the Christians of the various white congregations would come and engage in this work, teaching the free and the slave to read the Bible, with Christian lectures, presentation of libraries, maps, and charts necessary for such work. They considered this "Home Mission" the heathen at their own door. This labor eliminated the stigma of Abolitionist, and all who felt disposed could engage in this noble and charitable work, in which we are proud to say many Christian ladies and gentlemen of different denominations joined in prosecuting.

The names that will be foremost in the memory of those who attended these Sunday-school gatherings are Mr. and Mrs. Bliss, and Mr. W. H. Bulkley and family. They spent a lifetime in the interest of the colored Sunday-schools of our city. Mr. and Mrs. Bliss are dead and gone to rest. Mr.

Bliss died recently in Cincinnati, O. Mr. Bulkley still lives, but he is too aged to work, and has retired.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNIONS.

In the early part of the fifties, the officers of Quinn Chapel, Ashbury Chapel, Center-street and Jackson-street M. E. churches organized a Union Singing-school for children, to alternate from church to church, every Sunday afternoon. The movement had a telling effect. "Music hath charms." Parents and children came from every direction, until often the churches could not seat the immense crowds. The singing was conducted by the writer, at that time the only vocal teacher of music for our children. It was conducted successfully until the breaking out of the Rebellion of 1861, when it was closed.
As citizens, we do not desire to patronize denominational schools, neither Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, or any other. We desire to send our children to schools which are free from the influence of any particular church or denominational influence. The remedy in this matter is plain. If our schools are to be conducted in church interest, let us have a man on the Advisory Board from each of our colored churches, in both ends of the city. If they are to take notice of the citizens in each ward, let us have a man on the Advisory Board from each ward. If this can not be done, then let the Advisory Board of the colored schools be abolished, and let the white trustees, whom we helped to elect, conduct the schools.

The petitioners succeeded in their efforts, and the colored board was abolished. Peace was secured by this action, and our Public Schools are the pride of our citizen, voisie with the best disciplined of any city in the country. Profs. Maxwell, Williams, Perry, Mazeek, Taylor, McKinley, Carter, and Miss L. N. Duvalle are the principals, with an efficient corps of teachers.

Washington Spradling was the leading colored man in business and the largest real estate holder. He was a barber by trade, but he made his mark as a business man by trading and brokerage, in connection with his shaving. His mode of making money consisted in buying and leasing lots in different parts of the city and building and moving frame cottages upon those lots. He also built several brick business houses on Third Street. Mr. Spradling had many peculiarities; his dress was very common, as he exhibited no pride in that direction. He loved to converse on law, and, though he was uneducated, was considered one of the best lawyers to plan or prepare a case for the court. He was very successful, and nearly every colored person who was in trouble (more or less) first consulted Washington Spradling; he selected the lawyer and prepared the case. He was seldom defeated, and, if so, he was sure to take an appeal. His customers were the first judges and lawyers of the State, and from long and constant contact with them he seemed to have acquired their inspiration. He was a Methodist by profession, being a member of the Jackson-street M. E. Church. In the early history of that church it was called Spradling's Church. He died in the year 1867 and his body was rested in the Jackson-street church, Rev. Hiram Revels, ex-Senator, preached the sermon. His wealth was estimated to be one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars, which was willed to his wife, children, and grandchildren.
DAVID STRAWS: BLACK BUSINESSMAN, BARBER, ETC, LOU 1840s-1868

David Straws, a prominent barber and an honored citizen, was conspicuous among the colored citizens. He was born a slave, but purchased his freedom, and by application to business acquired some very good property, one piece located on Sixth Street, an annex to the Louisville Hotel. He was a prominent member of the Fourth-street M. E. Church, and figured very prominently in the lawsuits against the white Methodist South and the Harper split against the African M. E. Church. He died in 1868 and willed his property to his wife, May Straws.

BLACK PAINTERS IN LOU: 1840s-1850s; PROPERTY OWNERS

Peter Lewis, George Sutton, and Willis Taylor were noted colored painters of their day. Peter Lewis, at one time, controlled the principal jobs of the city and employed many hands and apprentices. He acquired some good property, but lost it by security debts.
John and Berry Evans were noted shop carpenters. Jesse Meriwether was a noted carpenter. He was born a slave, but was freed by consenting to go to Africa, which he did in 1847, remained one year, and returned and lived and died here in sight of his liberators.

Bartlett Taylor was a noted butcher before the war. He had a stall in one of our principal market-houses and did a flourishing business. He was impressed and called to the ministry, closed out business, and joined the itineracy of the A. M. E. Church. He was successful in his labors and considered the church-builder of the Kentucky Conference. He is now numbered on the superannuated role, and has a comfortable home.

Wm. Malone is a boss bricklayer and controls a large patronage.

Adam Nichols, J. Morand, and Chas. Logan are boss mechanics, blacksmiths and wagon-makers.

C. B. Clay is a noted tailor on Broadway, and receives liberal patronage.

Henry Cozzens was a prominent barber in the Louisville Hotel, but changed his business to that of a confectioner. His confectionery and ice cream saloon was the resort of the elite among his people. For years the name of Cozzens' Saloon was known from New Orleans to Pittsburgh. He was also a great church man, and was in his glory when he had the clergy as his guest.

"Cain Bazil, Jackson Burks, Moses Lawson, James Tate, and Green Stevens were engaged in merchandising, running carpet and furnishing stores. They made comfortable livings and acquired some property. James Tate is the only one of this group that survives."
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John Morris, another noted barber, was a highly esteemed citizen of Louisville, and acquired considerable property.

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He was a very humane man and a Christian gentleman. Alexander Morris, his nephew, succeeds him in business, is highly respected, has held several important positions in the Government service, and is chairman of the Centennial Commission of the Colored Department of Kentucky at Nashville, Tenn. His brothers, Shelton and Alexander, were of the same profession—tonorial artists. Alexander died in New Orleans, La., of yellow fever, in 1848. Shelton acquired considerable property in Louisville, but closed out business and moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, in the forties, being accused of voting for Gen. Harrison for President; from Cincinnati he moved to Xenia or Wilberforce, where he engaged in farming. He died a few years ago, and left a widow and several children to inherit his property. The children and grandchildren occupy prominent positions in society.

BLACK BUSINESSMEN IN LOU: 1840s, 50s: SOME THROUGH 1890s

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Theodore Sterritt and Nathan B. Rogers, for many years conspicuous as barbers at the old Galt House, with the notable Major Throckmorton, were quiet and Christian gentlemen. Rogers acquired considerable property, and bequeathed it to his wife and children at his death, in 1801. J. C. N. Fowles and Austin Hubbard were prominent barbers. Hubbard died a few years ago.

Madison Smith conducted a stove manufactory and acquired considerable wealth. He closed business, moved to Indiana, and engaged in farming, where he died. His wife remained there, conducting the farm.

Green Smith was a leading plasterer, and employed a number of hands and apprentices. Many of the fine buildings of Louisville received the finishing stroke of his trowel.

Willis Talbot and brother, John Jordan, were first-class carpenters. Willis was born a slave, but acquired his freedom by his genius and skilled workmanship in wood. His master, Dr. Johnson, took him to New York to examine the fine buildings of that city, so that he could return and build him a house from the designs that they had examined. He was equal to the task and obtained his freedom. The building in that day was considered one of the finest in the city. He was noted as a great stair-builder, and he worked for the leading contractors, until his age retired him from labor.

The Fox Brothers, J. H. Taylor, and Wm. Watson controlled the undertaking business. It was introduced by J. H. Taylor in 1867. Mrs. Fox succeeded her husband and managed the business for many years. J. H. Taylor and Wm. Watson now handle the business of the various societies, churches, and the colored community generally.

George Brown and Daniel Clemmons were professional caterers, and their establishment, during the war, was the resort of noted generals and distinguished citizens. Their menu was such as the most fastidious might crave.

Frank Gray and Thornton Thompson are noted caterers, and they have acquired considerable property.

William Butcher, for upwards of thirty-five years, was with the firm of Bradley & Gilbert. He was connected with the office when Messrs. Bradley and Gilbert were apprentices, and much of the knowledge they acquired of the printing business was obtained under the tutelage of Mr. Butcher. He remained with them up to the time of his death. He was skilled as a pressman, working on the first Adams' presses that were shipped west of the Allegheny Mountains. He occupied a prominent position among his people—a devout Christian and charitable to the poor and needy. He was one of the first warrant members of Mt. Moriah Lodge, held many posts of honor, and died in 1892. He willed his property to his sister, at her death to be given to Mt. Moriah Lodge, F. A. Masons.
Among the harassing scenes that the system of slavery produced, there were, at times, here and there, a few oases, as it were, where the free people could assemble and rest from the environments from which the peculiar situation subjected them to during the forties and fifties.

The great highway between Pittsburg and New Orleans, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, on whose bosom floated the palatial steamers loaded with the products of those valleys, and giving employment to thousands of free colored men and women, had its clouds and its sunshine. Often, when arriving at New Orleans, the steward, or some one of his crew, would be arrested for coming into the State in contravention of the law. We have known men and women, free born, who would choose some officer of the boat to act as his master, in order to evade the law. At other times, for a sufficient sum of money, a white woman or creole would swear before a court that you were born in the State, or that she was your godmother; and when these subterfuges failed the free negro was sold, until some one redeemed him from the shackles of the chain-gang.

These cruel, unjust laws and punishments did not deter these free men and women from contesting and contending for the right to make a living on these great highways.

During the forties and fifties was the golden age of steam boating on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers among the free colored men and women. Music was furnished on all the steamers for the passengers, and colored musicians were always in demand, as the foreigner had not monopolized everything in that line as now. The colored artist of those days made a respectable competency during the boating seasons. Musicians from the East would come West and South, as they were in demand. Among them were members of the celebrated Frank Johnson’s Band, of Philadelphia, the same that escorted Gen. William Henry Harrison to the West in the forties, after his election to the Presidency. Prof. Johnson also visited England about that time, played before the Queen of England, and received from her a silver bugle. Among the most notable of those musicians playing on the boats were Prof. Anderson Lewis, George Hamlet, the “Ole Bull” of his race as a violinist; Elijah Smith, the renowned violoncello player; Edward Johnson, the clarinetist; Samuel L. White, the guitarist, and others of that celebrated band. These men were also composers, as we have in our library a number of pieces dedicated to the steamers Eclipse, Mary Hunt, A. L. Shotwell, and Falls City, by Geo. Hamlet.

The prominent stewards of our city were Wm. Rankin, Salin Stephens, David Clark, T. H. Miller, Jas. Dungy, Joseph Brady, David Wells, John Rankin, Conoway Barber, Leonidas Cox, Dalney Page, and Sullivan Clark. These men were highly respected by the citizens generally, and most of them acquired property and lived comfortably in their homes. The finest hotels in the country furnished no finer bills of fare than these stewards did for the Ohio and Mississippi steamers. This class of freemen were compelled to use discretion in their intercourse with their slave brethren. Sometimes close conversation or undue familiarity would cause suspicion from their masters, and if one should escape to Canada the freeman would probably be arrested as being connected with the Underground Railroad.
p 32/ Gibson "stealthily stole away by steamer" to the 1852 Free Soil Convention with only a few friends knowing his destination.

/p 33/ He met Fredrick Douglass, Wm Harlan Garnett, and Dr. Martin R. Delaney, three outstanding black leaders; also Henry Wilson, W.L.Garrison, Thad Stevenens, etc. This was his first visit to a National Convention.

KY LAW PROPOSED TO BIND FREE BLACKS (After Fugi Slave Law)

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This decision had its effect upon the large free population in the southern cities. The legislatures enacted oppressive laws, forcing them to leave the States or virtually become slaves. In our own State, Kentucky, there was a bill offered to bind out all free negro children until they were of age. This bill aroused the free families, and an exodus took place. Families left this city to look for other quarters of freer soil. Some went to Northern Ohio, Michigan, Canada, and others left in groups, prospecting for a place to settle, fearing that the bill would pass. The writer was one of a party who left the city and visited Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Canada. Some of the party made purchases in those States and in Canada. The writer and several of our citizens purchased in Chatham, Windsor, and London. The bill failed to become a law; for it had many opponents and friends of the free people in the legislature. A large number of the legislature were gradual Emancipationists, and hence would not support the bill.
PATROL SYSTEM IN LOU AREA; FREE BLACK ROUSTED AT NIGHT; UNEVENNESS OF THE PATROL SYSTEM

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It was an iniquitous system during those days of horror. It was customary for three or four of those guardians of the night to visit the houses of free families at midnight, search their houses, uncover females in their beds, and ask for runaway slaves, or negroes from free States here in contravention of the laws of the State. We have known instances, when such persons were found, in which they were imprisoned, fined heavily, or ordered to leave the State. These occurrences were immediately reported to our ministers of those days, and they would console their congregations by requesting fasting and prayer, especially on Fridays, for deliverance. You who read this history can judge whether their prayers were answered.

SLAVE BEING WRONGFULLY TAKEN SOUTH THROUGH LOU CANAL: CHURCH CROWD GATHERS; SHERIFF HOLDS HEARING

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Frederick Cranshaw, a slave, though entitled to his freedom, was kidnapped and placed in the hands of traders. Passing through the canal was a slow movement for boats in those days. The church people heard of the arrest—it was on Sunday—they hurried to the canal in crowds, singing and praying to God to stop the boat and deliver Bro. Frederick. The excitement grew so intense that the sheriff arrested the captain and had the matter investigated.

It was proven by the investigation that Bro. Frederick was entitled to his freedom. His chains were stricken off, and a great prayer-meeting held in the old Fourth-street Church, thanking God for his deliverance. We were personally acquainted with Bro. Frederick Myers. Cranshaw was the name of his owner, and he was often called by that name. He was a member of the Indiana Conference A. M. E. Church, and held prominent appointments in that State. He was a member of the Missouri Conference when last we heard of him. Frederick Myers is extensively known by the older citizens of Louisville. He also had charge of Asbury Chapel after the lawsuit between Harper and Strauss.
Three schools were taught at that time by colored teachers, viz.: R. M. Lane, Rev. Peter Booth, and Rev. Henry Adams; but as their schools were more on the outskirts of the city, they were not thought to be so objectionable. We opened a school on the corner of Fourth and Green streets, and trusted in God for its guidance and protection. We taught there for three years, until the building was sold, in 1851. During our location there we had school exhibitions, singing classes, night schools, and concerts, and without molestation. Mrs. Hoffman and Miss Cummings taught small private schools.

The greatest novelty was the first introduction of a musical instrument in a colored church in this city. Our music classes were led by a violin, and our concerts accompanied by an orchestra, composed of colored and white musicians. Prof. James Cunningham and Henry Williams employed German musicians in their bands. The Germans had not learned the prejudice existing against the negro in the forties.
THE SLAVE AUCTION-BLOCK, AS SEEN BY THE WRITER FOR THE FIRST TIME JANUARY 1, 1848.

Market Street was the scene of this American evil. Thousands wended their way thither to witness the separation of husband and wife, children and parents, never to meet again, perhaps, in this life. On the auction block the auctioneer cries, "A fine negro woman, Sallie, going at $500, $600, $700, with no incumbrance." Another, "with two children, can be sold together or separately;" and another, "Tom, a fine farm hand, ought to bring $900—he hired out last year for $300." There were hundreds sitting on the curbstone and in the market-place, with two or three children, and a baby at the breast, weeping. The husband sold in another direction, and mother and children crying, "don't take papa;" but their entreaties were in vain with those traders in human flesh. With this, our first view of the slave mart, we left, praying God that we might be saved from another such scene.

OUTSTANDING BLACK MUSICIANS IN PRE C W LOU

One among the colored artists in music was Henry Williams, the renowned violinist. But few distinguished white persons in the forties and fifties from whose parlors could not be heard the sonorous strains of Henry Williams' violin. He was employed to teach their sons and daughters quadrilles and mazourkas, and for years was the leading spirit of his profession. James Cunningham, Sr., successor to Henry Williams, for many years was held in the same high esteem as a musician. He was born in the West Indies and served in the British Navy. He was highly cultured. He furnished music for all of the stylish weddings, parties, picnics, etc.

His band was composed of white and colored musicians, among them Lewis Lily, H. Hicks, and William Cole. His children were also adepts in the art, two sons and a daughter proving to be quite proficient as musical artists. James Cunningham, Jr., is the leader of the best colored band in our city.
they began to harass him and his family by stoning his house from the rear and from the roof of the hotel. They would hurl stones through the windows and break the dishes on the table while he and his guests were at meals, and with other mean devices they continued to harass him until it became unbearable, as he had no protection. Ku-kluxing and lynching were then unknown, but this substitution answered as well. When he applied to the authorities for protection they advised him to leave the State, as this class would be a continual annoyance to him. Finally, our old friend bade us adieu. He moved to Cincinnati, O., where he and his wife engaged in business. They were aged and devout members of the Baptist Church. They died in 1879.

SPIRIT OF UNREST AMONG KY BLACKS 1855-60

The negro element was aroused at the crisis that seemed impending; they discussed these issues among themselves and concluded that a conflict was at hand, and that it would be safer to reside north of the Mason and Dixon line, and they were not very slow in going, many of them free and many slaves, the slaves taking the Underground Railroad.

From 1855 to 1860 a spirit of unrest pervaded this community among the colored citizens, yet they trusted God and persevered to do the right, looking forward to some miraculous change.
walking five miles up to the city. They finally concluded to move to Louisville, Ky., though there was a nucleus for a lodge left at New Albany with those brethren who lived in that city.

Our advent into Kentucky was with many forebodings, but we were not molested until the year 1859, about the time of the "John Brown raid." The excitement that prevailed in Virginia and all of the Southern States had extended to Kentucky. All free negro assemblies were closely watched. At one of our meetings the police made a raid on us and marched us to jail. The writer was secretary of the lodge. We were ordered to bring the books along, so that they could see what we were doing.

The jailer refused to put us in the castle, but directed us to the court-room. He sent for the police judge, who came and interrogated us, and dismissed us until morning. He took our words as our bonds to return. We returned in the morning, but they refused to admit us into court or try the case. So ended this farce or incarceration of negro Masons in Kentucky.

The Grand Lodge of Kentucky was organized in 1866 under the "National Compact."
some informalities in regard to the exchange of warrants. Another committee was appointed by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky to meet in Cincinnati with a committee from the Grand Lodge of Ohio and adjust this grievance, which was accomplished by the following committee on the part of Kentucky: W. H. Steward, Horace Morris, and Chas. Steel, Grand Master.

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**BLACKS PLAN CELEBRATION OF 15TH AMENDMENT IN FRANKFORT**

*The Louisville Commercial, April 12, 1870, p 1*

Frankfort, Apr 11, 1870. "Preparations for Celebrating the Fifteenth Amendment."

"The colored people of the counties of Franklin, Scott, Shelby and Woodford, are making preparations to have a grand celebration of the ratification of the fifteenth amendment, in this city, on Wednesday next. An extensive programme has been agreed upon, embracing a procession and speeches. Gen. Runkle, Gen. Jno. M. Harlan and Hon. C. Eginton and others have been invited to address them."
"The manner in which the colored people of Louisville and vicinity appreciate the Freedmen's Savings and Trust company is showed in the increased number of depositors and the amount of deposits in every monthly report. During the month of March over seventy depositors opened accounts with the bank, on Third and Walnut, having placed to their credit over $25,000. This shows plainly the exertions being made by the colored people to save their earnings and place themselves in a position that will fit them for the duties of the new life opening before them by the great changes in their political status. Deposits from five cents upward are received, thus affording an opportunity to the poorest to save something. If all the colored men who invest their earnings in the devil's catch-penny--the licensed lottery--would place the money they pay for lottery tickets (which bring them nothing but disappointment) in this bank, at the end of the year they would have a sum of money which would be of great benefit to them. The surest avenue to success and prosperity in life in these days, is the accumulation of wealth, and consequently influence. Let the colored people think of this vital matter more seriously, and if good resolutions are adopted it will redound to the elevation and incalculable good of the whole race."

"The Market-street Railroad and the Colored People.+ We don't know why we associate the Market-street railroad with the colored people in the above heading, for that road, by the orders of the managers, have nothing to do with the colored people, and the colored people per force have nothing to do with the Market-street road. We were forcibly reminded of this fact yesterday while riding in one of the cars on this road. A very respectable-looking, elderly colored man, two-thirds white, entered the car. (In the good old days when every man enjoyed the blessed privilege of walloping his 'nigger,' he would have been known as a 'yaller boy.') He was innocently reaching forward to put his fare into the bos, when the driver shouted, with a strong Milesian accent, 'Get out; you can't ride in here.' 'I wanted to get on the platform; that was all.' 'You can't ride on this road, any place--don't carry niggers.' + The man turned around, and went out, in doing which he murmured 'damn the Market-street cars!' We have no hesitation in saying that we feel that there is justification for a little profanity at times. We don't think damn is at all nice, but there are times when it is eminently appropriate. This was one of them. + The Market Street road don't want 'nigger-trade,' we understand. We and others differ with them upon this point. The stockholders in this road who have never received a stiver dividends from the road, would like to enjoy the benefits of a little of the same 'nigger-trade.' It might possibly assist in bringing about that interesting period which seems to be so far off--the announcement of the first dividends to stockholders. It is a chronic excuse of the management that the 'road
hardly pays running expenses.' The excuse was good for a long time, but there is a possibility of the thing getting old. The fact that the stock has to a large extent been brought up by parties directly interested in the management for one-third of its face, looks as if there was a hope that some time in the future it will pay something more than its 'running expenses.' There is a surmise on the part of a few that that time will come when all the stock owned by unfortunate outsiders has been absorbed by the very shrewd gentleman at the head of the Market Street railroad management.+

"May we hope that when that time comes they will not despise 'nigger-trade' or the black man's nickles?"

LECTURE FOR BLACKS IN LOU AT ELDER YOUNG'S CHURCH 1870

"Lecture to the Colored People by Col. Richard Realf.+

"There will be a lecture delivered to the colored people of Louisville on Thursday night at half-past 7 o'clock, at Elder Young's church, on Walnut street, near Ninth, by Col. Richard Realf, of Charleston, S. C. Col. Realf's name is a familiar one to those who remember and study the history of the old Abolition and Republican party in the past fifteen years. His ability and reputation as an orator is conceded, and his lecture will probably be replete with deep interest and much information to the class of people to whom he proposes to speak. His subject--'The Past, Present, and Future of the Colored Race'--is one that will call forth the eloquence of a man whose life for many years has been devoted to the welfare and advancement of the colored race of the United States."
"A Test Case--The Right of Colored People to Ride in Street Cars."

"The question whether male colored people have a right to ride on the street cars in Louisville, is soon to be tested. In other cities of the South and West, the question has long since been settled, and it is well that the law here should decide whether common carriers have the right to discriminate as to who shall ride in their conveyances. The wife of Early Smith, a colored man, was on Sunday last ejected from the street cars, on the corner of Eighth and Broadway. She was accompanied by her son, a little boy eight years of age. Early Smith has, through his counsel, Messrs. Josephs and Atchison, instituted suit against the railroad company for $10,000 damages, in the Federal court. This suit will be a test case, one that should have been made long ago, and will attract the interest of the bar as well as the citizens."

"Pardoned."

"A colored woman named Annie Garnet, who was charged with infanticide in September, 1869, and convicted of murder at the fall term of the Jefferson Circuit Court, was, through her attorneys, J. Hop Price and M. A. Walker, pardoned by the Governor yesterday. The Assistant Secretary of State, W. T. Samuels, yesterday dispatched to the counsel the Governor's action, and stated that the woman would be in Louisville last night."
The Louisville Commercial, May 20, 1870, p 4

The editorial says that there is a tendency of Louisville blacks to take "too many petty cases into court," "... the majority of them being unworthy of judicial investigation." They then have to pay attorney fees, court costs, and they lose more than they gain. Says black crowd the court rooms as spectators, women bring small children, etc. The time of blacks could be put to greater advantage.

BURDETT SAYS CHURCH, SCHOOL AT CAMP NELSON IMPROVING (1874)

G burdett to cravath, oct 1, 1874, from camp nelson, ama, arc, #45128

Yours of the 19th inst was received a few days since And it was with much pleasure that I received it But will make some appolges for not answering it at once. Our School is on the increase it is increaсing in numbers and in And our Church is in Better condition than it have ever been though we have had but few additions to the church this year. But the church has greatly increased in firmness and knowledge and our sabath School has increased greatly, and what we want is that we have more encouragement and I beleive we can do a work from this point that cannot be done from any other point in Kentucky. Father Hathaway is here and think if we had here an industrial School it would be of great interest to the State and Nation. And we intend to pray on until the Lord sends us men and means to accomplish a great work here at this place yet for me to believe that he has begun a good work at this place and that he will carry it on to perfection. Our Association met last friday. And the Brethern want me to go as a Missiinary out in the field for Kentucky And the church here at home wants me to Stay here or if I go at all to Spend a part of my time in the field and a part of my time at home But I think it would be wise to give a large part of my time in the way of setting forth our princibles as an association of christian ministers and Churches in Ky. And I do feel that I owe to my county and my God the Strength of my life and I am persuaded that the time is come for all who has a word to say in refference to the union of the Church to say on. Yours in Christ. Gabriel Burdett
"Freedmen's Celebration of the Fifteenth Amendment at Gap-in-Knob,+
On Monday, June 6th, the freedmen in Bullitt county celebrate the ratification of the fifteenth amendment, by a picnic at Gap-in-Knob, near Shepherdsville. The colored people of this city and all others are invited to attend. Every provision has been made to supply refreshments to those that will be present. Col. Sam. McKee, pension agent, has accepted an invitation to address them, and other prominent Republicans are expected to be present. As this will be one of the largest gatherings of colored people in the State, representatives of the race in Louisville should try to be present. Music and other agreeable features will be provided, and conduce to the pleasure and interest of the occasion."

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SOME FREED BANK FIGURES FOR LOUISVILLE FOR 1869

The Louisville Commercial, Jan 8, 1870, p 4

2,887-----no. of deposits
$211,345.25 ------amt of money deposited
$202,606.22 ------amt of money withdrawn
674--------no of new accts
1,074------no of permanent depositors
$3,437.82-----amt of interest paid
"Exercises of Frederick Douglas /s/ Lyceum at Fifth Street Baptist Church."

"After a few introductory remarks by the President, Q. B. Jones, Mr. Tate declaimed in an excellent manner a fine selection. Good music was furnished by the choir, led by the talented Madison Minnis, when Horace Morris was introduced and gave us his ideas with clearness /s/ and precision. His speech was quite eloquent and would favorably compare with the majority of those which we report daily. Mr. Morris had some sophomoric expressions, but in the main his ideas were well and gracefully rendered. The staple of his oratory was 'recovered freedom,' but he had no diatribe to utter against the white man; on the contrary, he said 'I do not believe we can afford to live at enmity with him; his interest is identical with ours; we wish no special favors; all we ask is a fair field and a fair fight.' On the whole, Mr. Morris' speech was well written, well delivered, and in excellent taste."

"After the remarks of the speaker quite an interesting debate followed. 'Will the introduction of Chinese labor be beneficial to the United States?' Q. R. Jones and Wm. H. Gibson in the affirmative, and A. J. Bibb and Austin Hubbard in the negative, which was decided in favor of the affirmative, that the 'introduction will be beneficial to the United States.'" Adjourned then.

"Disorderly.--Many colored people in the city are amusing themselves by giving balls, where noise and disorder are the prominent features. This kind of amusement is calculated to get these people into difficulty. Yesterday an old man named James Maddock, who lives on Marshall, between Hancock and Clay in a house lately sold by the Marshal of the Chancery Court, was brought up in court in company with two women and a man, charged with keeping a disorderly house. The Judge discharged all but the old man, whom he held on bonds to keep the peace."
THE LOUISVILLE COMMERCIAL, FEB 7, 1870, P 4

"An Appeal to our Colored Fellow-Citizens." This article says that blacks should stop contributing their money to this evil. It asked prominent black leaders to speak out against the lottery.

THE COLORED PEOPLE'S RIGHTS IN LOU (1870)

THE LOUISVILLE COMMERCIAL, MAR 28, 1870, P 4

"The Colored People of Louisville and Their Rights.+

"Yesterday afternoon, on Green street, near Ninth, a number of white boys amused themselves with stoning and insulting an inoffensive colored man passing along the street. The young rowdies demonstrated the fable of the frogs pelted with stones by cruel bugs, and seemed imbued with the spirit that it was perfect propriety to 'bust the d----d nigger.' The man endeavored to escape, but was followed by the urchins for some distance. We think that some police officer should have been present and made at least a half-dozen arrests to show the rising generation of Louisville that the colored man is no longer a subject of kicks and blows at the hands of the superior race; that he is entitled to peace, protection, and the pursuit of legitimate enjoyment in our midst. The spirit of oppression that crops out in the juvenile is the same that slumbers in the adults of a certain class of our people. The colored people of Louisville, since their emancipation, have shown a degree of earnestness and desire to conduct themselves properly and discreetly that deserve the highest consideration of every class of intelligent people. They have earned their right to cordial and respectful consideration by their general demeanor, habits of industry, and their disposition to educate and make themselves worthy of the gift of citizenship. We hope that the force of newly organized police will render the same justice and protection to the black man as to the white, and not overlook outrage or wrong, even if it emanate from the favored white race."
"The Picnic at Parker's Grove Yesterday.

"The colored people of Louisville and Jefferson county had a delightful picnic on the Louisville and Lexington road, about sixteen miles from the city, yesterday. A large delegation from the city and county were present, and the occasion was one of enjoyment throughout. Stirring speeches were made by Capt. J. F. Huber, the Republican nominee for Clerk of the County Court, Edgar Needham, Esq., Gen. E. H. Murray, and Capt. Mike Boland, the Republican candidate for Clerk of the City Court. The colored people were represented by speeches from Alfred Froman and Rev. Archie Burton. After the festivities were concluded, the large crowd dispersed quietly and orderly, well pleased at the manner in which the day had been spent. The colored people from various portions of the county manifested a desire for information, and a determination to express themselves at the election in August beyond all expectation."

"Gibson, the Colored Mail Agent.+

"W. H. Gibson, lately appointed mail agent on the Lebanon branch, made his first trip Monday last. The good people of Mt. Vernon, the terminus of the route, were stimulated up to the highest pitch of curiosity. An immense crowd of curious men, women and children assembled about the depot and hotels, all under the impression that Mr. Gibson would 'put on airs' and take possession of the best room in the hotel. They took down the hotel signs and awaited with feverish excitement the arrival of the 'coming man.' How great was their surprise and disappointment when Gibson arrived, and, after taking his mail to the post-office, quietly and unostentatiously went to the house of a worthy colored farmer, with whom he will board while he remains at that end of his route. On Tuesday everything was quiet—the excitement all gone. The people saw nothing to complain of, and everything was serene. No trouble is anticipated, and the people are beginning to learn that a colored man can perform his official duties without giving offense to anyone."
LETTER FROM E P MARRS TO COL PEOPLE OF SHELBY CO (July 1870)

The Louisville Commercial, July 29, 1870, p 2; E. P. Marrs to Editor of Lou Commercial, dated July 27, 1870, Shelbyville, Ky.

"Allow me to speak a few words to my colored fellow citizens, who are colored voters of Shelby county.

The election for our county officers is at hand, and you are about to exercise the rights of suffrage for the first time, and you are to be careful how you use it. You must understand that there are two political parties, the Republican and the Democratic. The party for which you should cast your vote, to all intent and purpose, is the Republican party, for the reason that they are the party of progress; and further, it is the Republican party which is willing to give you that right which is guaranteed to you in the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and which says that every man is endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

2d. The Republican party is the party which is willing to disburse all of the school funds equally among black and white. In fact they are the party of justice and liberty.

Will you have that for your party? If so, go for Judge Wheat and the whole nominations next Monday, and prove to the State and county that you are a part and parcel of the only political body of this country.

You have heard what Erasmus Frazier, the Democratic nominee, told you. He has told you most emphatically that he did not want the negro vote, and that the Democratic party of Kentucky did not solicit the negro vote. Why should he and all the balance of the Democratic party of Kentucky indorse the fifteenth amendment when it was known they really did not and that he (Frazier) had nothing to do with the radicals, carpet-baggers, &c. You know what the Democratic party is, because you are with them every day. Now I want you to let them know what you are on Monday. It is useless for me to say more, because the time is at hand. Respectfully, E. P. Marrs."
"When the Colored People Should Vote.+
"The polls will be open to-morrow morning at six o'clock, and remain open until seven o'clock in the evening. We would advise the colored people to cast their votes early. Vote before you go to your work, in order that you may lose as little time as possible. By voting early in the morning you will not come in contact with that class of people which may be disposed to make disturbance or trouble. See that every man is induced to come out and exercise this, his first, opportunity of using his right of suffrage.+

"Supply yourself with the Republican ticket, with the flowered back, and hand it to the judge of the election, announcing your desire of voting for the men on that ticket. +

"You will be asked if you wish to vote in favor of the park ordinance. If you wish to see the city lay out parks for the pleasure, health and happiness of her citizens, vote for the ordinance. But if you are opposed to these improvements, vote against them.+

"By all means go to the polls early, cast your vote and return to your labor."

"Colored Teachers' Convention.+
"A convention of the colored teachers of the State commences to-day at Quinn chapel. Several distinguished men of the colored race will be present and address the convention. Mr. John M. Langston, of Washington, arrived last night, together with other speakers of note. This convention will be able to consider upon the advancement of the school interests among the colored people of the State, and to judge of the progress made in the past year. It will, no doubt, be encouraging. As the Government has withdrawn its organized support of the educational interests of the colored people in this State, they will feel the necessity of providing against any deterioration of the school interest by taking such measures as will meet the wants of the future. We trust the convention will dispatch business promptly, in order that well digested speeches may be listened to, and good effect follow."
"The Committee on Colored Schools.+
"The president of the School Board last night appointed Messrs. Wm. Kendrick, Wm. Drysdale, John D. Pope, Dr. F. C. Lieber, and Dr. W. F. Miller as a standing committee on the colored schools of the city. The duties of this committee will of course be confined to the colored schools, and will prove of great benefit to this element. Although we believe that the committee will conscientiously perform the duties incumbent upon them, we feel that the president made a grave mistake in neglecting to put on this committee Mr. E. C. Bohne, the member from the Tenth ward, whose earnest zeal and anxiety to promote the educational interests of the colored people, would have been of incalculable benefit to the committee, and contributed largely to the educational advancement of this large class."

"Brutal Attack on Three Colored Men.+
"Last night, about 12 o'clock, three colored men were passing Sixth and Main streets, when four men, standing on the east side of the street, without any provocation, struck one of the colored boys, named George Hocker, in the face. When the boy was struck his companions ran across the street, followed by the ruffians, who caught John King, a bell boy at the Galt House, and knocked him down. After knocking him prostrate, they took a large stone, and struck him several times, nearly ruining his right eye, and inflicting a wound on his skull, which may prove to be of a very serious character. The ruffians then fled toward the river, followed by two white men, who blew a whistle vigorously for the police; but the rowdies escaped long before the police came up.+

"When an outrage of this character can be perpetrated at night on the streets, within a few steps of a big hotel, no one's life or person is safe. The attention of the authorities is directed to this incident."
The (AME) Christian Recorder, April 5, 1862, p 2 ("An Observer from Louisville to editor, March 1862) (Copy of pass)

Louisville to editor, March 1862)

Louisville has been noted as being one of the best Southern cities for privileges toward our people, but it has undergone many changes for several years - for the worst. When the rebellion broke out we were worshipping every Sabbath and once through the week, is our churches and when the legions of the North made Louisville their headquarters, it seemed that a new reign was instituted, and we worshipped in our splendid churches, almost ad limitam, and nothing said to the contrary, notwithstanding.

But lo! a sad change has taken place, the Northern army has proceeded southward, forcing its passage into the "Land of Dixie." Kentucky has been redeemed; "her white people are free" and her "free blacks are enslaved," and they have no more "rights that white men are bound to respect." Our condition so far is worse than before the war. Our churches are closed, and a free man cannot walk after dark though he has his free papers, with the great seal of the state and county, and owns thousands of dollars worth of property, (which some do) and pay taxes, and support the war, and be also loyal to the government. All of this has been brought about by a slaveholder and a negro hater, the Provost Marshal, whose name is Dent, he having control of the city since the removal of the headquarters of Gen. Buell to Nashville, and instead of hunting Rebels as there are thousands in the city, he has made the colored people his subjects of oppression and inhuman treatment. He commenced his cruel operations by ordering his provost guards, the cavalry men, to flog all colored persons out after dark, free or slave; so we were then pounced upon with the cow hide and cat-9nine tails in old "plantation style" without hinderance, for his order was supreme. He had many visitors the next day to inquire into his order: he replied, it was a "military" order and must be respected. All free negroes who had business out after dark, must have passes.

COPY OF PASS

Headquarters, Provost Guard, Louisville, Mar '62
By order of Lt. Col. Henry Dent, A. B., is permitted to pass from his shop on C street to his home on W street. This pass will be respected until 10: o'clock, P.M.

Selly Harvey,
Major, Pro. Guard.

Before one of these passes could be obtained you would be compelled to take some responsible white citizen with you, and then undergo the most severe and rigid investigation, as though the blacks were conspiring to overthrow the government; at first he refused to respect passes given by masters to their slaves, but after receiving some severe cusing, he concluded to respect white men. Mr. Editor, these are some of the ordeals we are passing through in the "neutral state of Kentucky,"
PROBLEMS OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE IN 1862

The (W.P) Christian Recorder, April 5, 1862, p. 2 ("An Observer" from Louisville to editor, March 1862)

Louisville to editor, March 1862

and we have yet to see the first remonstrance raised against it by the press; our daily editors are dumb; they open not their mouths; from their silence I judge it is approved by them. I think that if the government has any loyal people in her midst, it is the colored people, and they have done good service even in this city towards detecting smugglers and traitors, and the Marshal had at times been suspected of secession proclivities; I judge that he is now being revenged on the colored people for their faithfulness to the Union cause, as his guards have dispensed with fire arms and formed into "patrols" and instituted the cow hide and cat-o-nine tails, which seem to please them well, for they are very nimble and dexterous in chasing the blacks after dark, through the streets, on the movements of lines and alleys, as though they were riding down wild bulls, and when caught their cries and screams are heart-rending, but no one dare interfere for the patrol are dressed in "Uncle Sam's livery." Some here have been whipped unmercifully.

Our churches have suffered much since this barbarous treatment. He has told them to open on Sunday, but some have had the foolishness rated out to them after benediction, so many have concluded to stay at home, (since old Satan has been loosed) but we trust "only for a little season." Now you see the effect of the war in this direction.

PROBLEMS OF BLACKS IN LOUISVILLE IN 1862

The (W.P) Christian Recorder, April 5, 1862, p. 2 ("An Observer" from Louisville to editor, March 1862)

This is considerably worse than the old status, and if it is to continue, I think of all men we will be the most miserable. And as it regards the subject of emigration, such treatment as we have been receiving for two weeks, if not discontinued, we will be willing to go anywhere rather than suffer such degradation, and it is now the theme of many, "where shall we go? And where can we go?"

About three weeks ago, our esteemed and worthy brother, Rev. W.H. Clark visited us, and he preached and lectured in both of our churches and in two of the churches under the N.E. church, on the subject of Liberia, his tour while in that country, &c., &c. His lecture was highly interesting to our community from the fact that the information was general and satisfactory to nearly all who heard him, and he had crowded houses on each occasion. We were tendered the hospitality of the city by the mayor, and the police forbidden to disturb him;

he has proceeded to the capital of the state and other surrounding towns, where no doubt he will be treated kindly, but we venture to say, that on no other subject could he get permission to lecture in this state, hence the cause of so much mistrust among our people on the subject of Liberia and colonization.

The sympathy and prayers of our people have been for the ultimate triumph of the Union cause, but if these are the fruits we fear that we have not prayed aright, but we shall continue to pray, and also begin to work with our hands, and feet and legs. Perhaps our faith hath been without works, and if so, pray for us, that we may have
"Music Teacher for the Colored people.+

"We had the pleasure yesterday of listening to a young colored girl, named Miss Julia Britton, perform upon one of Chambers' pianos at the music store of Will. S. Hays. She executed with ease the most difficult instrumental pieces, and demonstrated that she possessed in an eminent degree a musical talent unusual in one so young. She played and sang at sight music at which many of our best amateurs would have hesitated. Her voice is clear and sweet, and rather well cultivated. She comes from Lexington to this city, at the solicitation of many of our colored people, to teach music. The professors of music in this city remember her when, several years ago, she played here in their hearing. The promise she then gave of becoming an excellent musician has been gratifyingly verified. She makes her home with her guardian, Peter Lewis, on Green street. We have no doubt that those of our colored people who have musical aspirations will avail themselves of the services of this talented young musician."

STATE OF AFFAIRS OF BLACKS IN LEX AREA OCT 1870 (ATHENS)

"A Letter from Colored Citizens of Fayette--About State Affairs."

"Lexington, Ky., October 1, 1870. +

"Editors Louisville Commercial: +

"We, the colored citizens of Fayette, beg leave to have our grievances made known through the columns of your paper. It is almost impossible for colored people to live in the Athens district; the K. K. K. are so bad that we colored folks are not safe at night, at our homes. +

"On last Saturday night this gang of outlaws came to Athens, and whipped and slashed the colored men and women. +

"Something must be done to stop this. The State guard are the ringleaders in all this K.K.K. No colored man or woman has been accused of any violation of any laws of the State; and, if we have been, we say let the law punish us, and not the K.K., so-called State guard. +

"We now call on Colonel William Brown to see that the colored voters in this district are protected, or they will all be driven from their homes. This is done for political purposes, and if there is not something done, none of us will be at home on the election day in November. If the United States Marshal will come to Athens and assure us of any protection, we can tell him all the names. +

"This state of affairs is outrageous, and will be worse if nothing is done. As we have no protection we cannot sign our names to this, but if the United States Marshal will come or send somebody, we will show him who they are. Where is Colonel Brown? Please publish this in your paper. +

"It is all done to drive us away and prevent us from voting, and save the election, as they did last August. Now if the Republicans are going to do anything, let them attend to this, or let Colonel Brown withdraw, in the name of God, in the name of justice, if better arrangements are not made. +"
"The Right of Colored Men to a Seat in the Walnut-street Cars--Arguments Concluded."

The case of the Fox brothers and Horace Pearce, three colored men, who entered a Walnut-street car Sunday afternoon and were ejected therefrom, was resumed yesterday afternoon. Colonel John Ward, counsel for the defense, making a lengthy and powerful legal argument, in which he cited numerous authorities to sustain his assertions. He placed the matter before the court in a light that left no grounds for doubt as to the nature of the case.+

"Mr. L. A. Wood, for the defense, followed Colonel Ward, going over nearly the same ground, and making a strong argument.+

"Mr. Samuel Atchison, for the prosecution, closed the case, holding that the case did not go beyond the simple charge or bounds of disorderly conduct, and arguing only from that view of the case.+

"The court announced that he would render his decision this morning, and ordered the court adjourned."

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**ACT OF ACTIVITIES BY THOS BROWN, IMPRISONED FOR STEALING SLAVES IN HENDERSON AREA 1850-54 PERIOD**

Thomas Brown, Brown's three years in a Ky prison, 1857

p 5/ Thomas Brown & family moved from Cincinnati to Henderson, Ky., in 1850. Mrs. Brown "kept a Millinery establishment and Variety Store" and made items for sale. Her husband peddled these materials on both sides of the Ohio R. /p 6/ in "... a small spring wagon, drawn by two horses. It had black oil-cloth curtains that could be fastened down tightly, as was necessary, to protect the goods from the weather, and that was all." They were members of the Meth Epis Ch and realized that some slave holders did not like them. They had been offered some "truly servile" jobs, but rejected those offers. Brown claimed the area had a "system of espionage that ended in the arrest of Mr. Brown, on suspicion of aiding the slaves, who, to a great number had recently escaped from the counties of Henderson, Union, Davies and Hopkins."

/p 7/ During his next to last peddling trip Brown was in Union Co. to deliver articles ordered and to sell other goods. On his return to Henderson May 28, 1854, he was accosted by two men & ordered to surrender on the charge of assisting a woman & her children to escape from Union Co. Brown asked to see their warrant; they had none & he refused. They followed him to Henderson & obtained a warrant. Brown was jailed 2 nights and one day in Henderson and then taken to Morganfield. Bail was set at $5000. Sent to County prison. Three witnesses appeared against Brown. /begin p 8/ Brown says witnesses were not creditable--an Indian, an Irish boy, and "Henry, a colored man who lived at Evansville." /p 9/ Brown's wife & children /begin p 10/ were ordered to leave by citizens of the area. They left for Princeton, Ind. /p 11/ poor condition of Morganfield prison. /p 13/ Pressure put on Brown to confess. Brought
Very early in the history of the "peculiar institution" some of the more industrious slaves began to secure personal freedom by purchasing themselves or relatives from benevolent masters who were willing to help the slave free himself from bondage. It was a courageous undertaking for a slave of comparatively little earning power to attempt the purchase, either of himself or some member of his family. This difficulty grew out of several circumstances. The slave had to work most of his time for his master and only his spare time, or overtime at nights, or on Sundays or holidays was his own.

Most masters of the better class afforded their slaves the opportunity for making a little extra, or pocket money. They were allowed small plots of ground, or truck patches, where they cultivated gardens, sweet potatoes, tobacco and melons being their favorite produce. Saturday afternoons were usually given over to them to work their patches, and at nights the more thrifty ones would cobble shoes, make foot-mats and brooms, and "shuck-bottom" chairs, which "were very comfortable and quite lasting." They cut cord wood and worked at other odd jobs when the season's crops were well up or harvested, and an industrious slave might in this way lay aside a competence, or even enough in time to purchase his freedom.
William C. Bullitt, the owner of one hundred slaves and a thousand acres of fertile land in Jefferson County, carried on extensive farming operations in the antebellum days and has left us an excellent picture of the slaves' farm work. In the book, *My Life at Oxmoor*, edited by his son, Colonel Thomas W. Bullitt, it is pointed out that “cutting hemp in summer and breaking hemp in winter was the hardest work done on a Kentucky farm. Yet they were the two kinds of work the negroes liked best . . . both were task work, and a reward followed good work. The task of a man in cutting hemp was a 'land' and a half across an eighty acre field. A 'land' was a span of about twelve feet wide, between light furrows. The task of a boy of fifteen or sixteen years was a 'land'—two-thirds of a man's work. When the task was finished, work was done for the day.”

After being properly “rotted” by lying on the ground for some time and receiving the fall and winter rains, the hemp was broken in the “hand-brakes”—shattered into short fragments of an inch, more or less. Around these individual brakes each evening, there would be a large pile of “herds” or “shores”—being the shattered fragments of the stalks, from which the fibre had been stripped. About dusk the farm wagon, often pulled by four horses, would go around the field to collect the hemp as it lay piled in “hands” or bales.

Before leaving the fields at the end of a good hemp-breaking day, the workers usually set fire to every pile of herds to get rid of them and to light the wagon.”

When hemp production was in its heyday in the Bluegrass, the burning hemp herds presented a picturesque and beautiful sight in the deepening dusk. Upon every hand could be seen the burning mounds of shives, from the roaring blazes in the near-by fields to the pin points of light on the distant horizon, while silhouetted figures moved to and fro as they ended their labors for the day, and the pungent odor of smoke permeated the cool night air.

“To stand on the front porch or the stile,” recounted Bullitt, “to see the fires light up; then hear in the distance, from one-third to a mile off, the voices rise, gently at first, but swelling in volume as they drew nearer; voices always strong, well modulated, and attuned to the spirit of the words; frequently sad, perhaps with a tinge of melancholy, always made a profound impression on me. . . .”
With the Bardstown scare just over and the Doyle insurrection still fresh in the public mind, the slavocracy of the Bluegrass clamored loudly for some new form of protection; more severe laws against the assembling of Negroes, against their learning to read and write, and against any form of anti-slavery agitation by white men. That slaves should be restrained from prowling about at night was considered by many to be a necessity, and more rigid discipline, it was felt, should be enforced in preventing the Negroes from congregating after dark in large groups. Special precautions were urged to be taken against fires, for it was commonly believed that discontented slaves often set them.

24. Sam, a slave of Charles Clark, of Lexington, was charged with "setting fire to and burning the Old & Phoenix Cotton Mills, the property of Andrew Caldwell," on April 1, 1839.—Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Sam, a slave, Fayette Circuit Court, File 1008, May 15, 1839.

The most disgraceful scenes ever witnessed in our city took place on Saturday night last, and except for the most unheard of yet commendable forbearance on the part of the whites, would have resulted in bloodshed, and the probable destruction of the negro suburbs of the city. The negroes held a large meeting at the Baptist Church on Dewees street, and were addressed by a number of speakers who detained the meeting till near 11 o'clock. They were then advised by several of the most prudent among their leaders to disperse and go quietly to their homes, but other counsels prevailed, and they took up the line of march down Main street singing "John Brown" with boisterous shouting, till they reached the Phoenix Hotel, when they commenced firing off their pistols in the air, and continued the riotous conduct until they reached Mill street, where several policemen attempted to arrest the leaders, when a negro by the name of Rand Johnson, struck policeman Landers over the head with a sword, crushing his skull, and at the same time another negro in the crowd shot him. He died from the effects of his wounds almost immediately. This outrage did not interrupt the march of the rioters, for they proceeded up Broadway as far as Second street, but at this point the fire bells sounded an alarm, which was the signal for the assembling of the State Guard, and in ten minutes the negroes had dispersed, and not one was to be seen on the streets. When it was found that poor Mr. Landers had died of his wounds, in the discharge of his duty as a special policeman, there was great indignation, but no attempt to retaliate on his murderers.
The Guards patrolled the streets during the balance of the night, and all day Sunday and Sunday night they were on duty, during which time the most perfect order was maintained. We should have said that Captain Hendricks, of the regular police, shot and arrested the negro who struck Landers with the sword, and lodged him in the watch-house. The organizing of the State Guard was a most fortunate thing for the peace and safety of the city, for they not only conducted themselves with the order and promptitude of veterans, as indeed many of them are, but they convinced the negroes that the lives and property of our citizens were not at their mercy. Except for this fortunate circumstance, we verily believe that a great calamity would have befallen the city during the demonstration of Saturday night, and as it was, great fear and alarm took possession of many for the time being. We will do Mr. Wm. Cassins Goolooe and Mr. Willard Davis the justice to say, that they opposed the procession and riotous demonstration, and endeavored to persuade the negroes to disperse, but they listened to more imprudent counsels, with the result indicated. This conduct of the negroes disgusted many gentlemen who had intended to vote the Radical ticket, and they expressed themselves as highly indignant, and said if such was to be the conduct of the negroes, that the line must be sharply drawn, and they voted the Democratic ticket. We hope that our city may be spared another such scene and such a narrow escape from a bloody riot, and it will be for the military organization has shown its efficiency, and the negroes are convinced that any riotous conduct on their part will be most signally and promptly suppressed. 

"While speaking of the State Guards, we cannot forbear thanking them in the name of our citizens, whose lives and property they have saved from serious jeopardy."

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ANTI-BLACK RIOT IN HARRODSBURG 1870

The Louisville Commercial, Ago 4, 1870, p 2

Harrodsburg, August 2, 1870

Editors Louisville Commercial:

Knowing you to be interested in our behalf, I write you in regard to the mob of yesterday. The rebels on yesterday took possession of the polls and intimidated colored people; and not only that, but seven or eight were killed and wounded. One colored man was shot and his throat cut from ear to ear. Two more have died since from the effects of their wounds. I can give you the names of nearly every man that was in the mob. Over two hundred shots were fired. The Republican candidate for county court clerk was beat over the head with a base ball bat, and fired a three times, and another Republican was made to leave the polls with threats, and was struck at with a stick, and had to run for his life, simply because he was there to see that the colored people got justice. Now, sir I can give you the name of the man who shot and killed Samuel Bowman, an inoffensive colored man, who was doing nothing under the sun. I can also give you the name of the man who shot William Wells, and the witnesses. I can do all this provided I have got soldiers to back me in this. I am a Union man, and profess to be a good citizen. I do not do this because of any prejudice I have for the rebels, but in justice to the colored people. Over three hundred Union men were driven from the polls, or the Republican candidates would have been elected. Our city ticket was elected by a handsome majority. You must not publish this with my name to it. If you did I would not live an hour.
At the September term, 1848, of the Fayette County Court, a number of "respectable citizens" were appointed "to lay off the county into suitable districts" for the establishment of a more efficient county patrol. These mounted patrols, of "discreet and sober men," went about at night watching the movements and particularly the gregarious habits of the slaves. It was deemed highly desirable to prevent them from meeting in groups or crowds, where they might air their grievances and hatch plots. Such an institution as the county patrol was based on good Negro psychology, for his superstitious fear of the "spirits" of the night was well known.

SLAVE PATROLS ORGANIZED IN LEXINGTON 1848

Patrols were appointed and they operated in many counties of Kentucky for the "public peace and good order of society." Their duties were to visit Negro quarters; to report and disperse all suspected and unlawful assemblies of slaves; to arrest all slaves found "lurking about" on another's plantation. Likewise, they were empowered to arrest all slaves "strolling from one plantation to another," or those found on highways, roads, or in towns and cities without a written pass from their master or overseer, or slaves found in the possession of any article of property, without such writing. Punishment for these offenses was meted out by the captain of the patrols, varying from "ten to thirty-nine lashes on the bare back."
For every slave apprehended by the patrols, and delivered to jail, so that his master might recover him, there was a reward of twenty-five dollars, and, if taken up by the patrol in another county, the fee for the arrest was fifty dollars. In most cases, the patrols were poor whites who owned no slaves, but they were backed up by all the power necessary to make their whips crack with a dreaded authority. True, these patrols, sometimes appointed by the court, sometimes self-constituted, were often overzealous in performing their duties. They had a very definite part in keeping the slaves confined to their own plantations and properly intimidated. Negro hunting, Negro catching, Negro watching and Negro whipping constituted the favorite sport of many youthful whites.

Some of the colloquialisms bestowed upon the patrols or patrollers were “patrole,” “padaroe,” “paderole” and “patter-roll,” but the sobriquet most used and perhaps best suited was “patteroller.” The familiar lines, “Run, nigger, run; run a little faster; run, nigger, run, er de patteroll ‘il cotch yer,” were literal admonitions to the black man. Many accounts are related by slaves, who, being caught away from their masters’ plantations at night without a pass, were seized by the dreaded “patterollers” and given the customary floggings, and, oftener than not, more lashes than the law prescribed.

Now and then one may run across an old slave who still remembers the song of the “patterollers” which they used to sing, with many variations, in the fields and in the cabins. One version runs:

“Run, nigger, run, de patteroll catch you,
Run, nigger, run, fo’ it’s almos’ day.
Massa is kind an’ Missus is true,
But ef you don’ mind, de patteroll catch you!”
There were many reasons why Kentucky masters did not allow their slaves to assemble in clandestine meetings at nights and on Sundays. Such meetings, it was thought, not only tended to make the slaves dissatisfied with their condition, but afforded opportunities for concocting mischief as well. Furthermore, well-behaved slaves were demoralized when brought into contact with the worst slaves of the community, often to the extent of running away and even preparing for insurrection. It was the duty of the "patterollers" to seize and whip every slave found away from home, unless on business or with the permission of his master or overseer, which had to be stated in writing.

The passes were usually brief and concise, and the following, issued to Sam, a young slave of Boyle County, is typical:

"June 13, 1854.
"Pass to Danville & return by sun-down my black boy Sam, age 24 years & stout made. He is sent on my business.
Rich. E. Stewart." 

While some of the black religious exhorters were viewed with suspicion by the whites, others were highly esteemed and given unusual privileges. One of these, for example, an old slave living at Lexington, was always supplied with a pass duly signed by his master, Edward McAllister. One of these passes which showed the implicit confidence of the master in his African preacher, read:

"Lexington, Ky.
August 6, 1856
"Tom is my slave, and has permission to go to Louisville for two or three weeks and return
EXAMPLES OF SLAVE PASSES

coleman, slavery, 1940

/ p. 100 Cont'd /

after he has made his visit. Tom is a preacher of the Reformed Baptist Church and has always been a faithful servant."

Once in a while, a slave pass from some less exacting master displayed unusual favor. It is difficult to understand why a master would allow such extraordinary liberties as are indicated in the pass of Lago, a slave of Mercer County:

"Harrodsburg, Ky.
June 8, 1858

"The Bearer, Willis Lago, a slave belonging to me, is permitted to go to any free state and there remain. He is black, about 47 years old and is tolerably fane.

Wm. Thompson."

Evidently aware that this unusual slave pass might not be accepted in Kentucky at its face value, Thompson had three of his neighboring slave owners certify to its genuineness: "The above pass," they wrote, "is all right as it should be and we are well acquainted with the owner and his slave.""
"Murder by the Kuklux"

"Murder of a Black Woman and Wounding of Her Husband by Masked Assassins"

"On Saturday a black man named John Sims came into this city with his thumb shot to pieces and a wound in his left arm, and went to his sisters, on Eleventh street, where he remained until Sunday, when he had his wounds dressed. We talked with the man, and he recites a tale of outrage and murder which is horrible to think of in these peaceable days."

"He lives on Isaac Johnson's farm, on Grand Riffle, two miles from Harper's Ferry, near the Kentucky river, in Henry county. He lived with his wife, and her son and his wife. He has lived there three years. At midnight on Wednesday last five men came to his house disguised, with masks on their faces, one of whom he recognized as Payne Stiggers, by his voice, and told him that they wanted him and his wife to go across the river. Sims and his wife arose and dressed themselves, and went with the party. When about three hundred yards from the house, part of the number said they would take the old woman back, and the party separated."

"They took John Sims over the river, and when they had gone about four miles told him to go ahead. As soon as he started the villains fired their pistols at the poor wretch, and he fell to the ground, with a bullet through his arm and his thumb, shattered. Feigning to be dead, the poor colored man was then dragged several yards, and at the suggestion of one of the villains, "Let us shoot the d---d nigger dead," they fired several more shots at him, and left him, as they supposed, a corpse. The poor creature crawled back home, reaching there by day light on Thursday morning, where his step-son greeted him with the horrible news that he had found his mother three hundred yards from the house, lying on the ground with a rope around her neck, and a bullet through her back, dead."

"Feeling that his life was endangered if he remained at the house he went on to Newcastle, and then walked to Louisville, where he arrived on Saturday night. He says that before the election the same party came to his house and robbed him of two guns and two pistols. They told him they had heard that he was coming to Louisville to report them, and they would stop it. The poor creature is an ignorant, quiet man, and hardly knows who to trust."

"The repetition of murderous outrages on colored people in Kentucky is becoming more frequent. Humanity calls on justice and law to put a curb on these desperadoes. The State authorities are insensible or two intensely highstrung to pay any attention to the murder of inoffensive black men. If the Federal Government is called upon to extend its powerful arm over this lawless State, the very suggestion is greeted with howls of rage and violence in Democratic papers, and Radical tyranny, interference with the sacred rights of Kentucky, and similar pleas are lavishly used. Yet, in but few instances have these papers had the moral courage to demand of the Governor that these outrages shall be punished and the perpetrators be brought to justice."

"The United States authorities will make an effort to ferret out these masked assassins of inoffensive people, and it may happen that justice will be than administered with unsparing hands."
"The Manner in which the Colored Vote was and was not Received."

The Effects of Unfair Appointments of Election Officers, and Injudicious Police Regulations--Sufficient Grounds Alleged to Contest the Election.

In the First ward the colored vote is very light. Early in the forenoon the colored people appeared at the polls, and were allowed to vote quietly. They exercised their right in an orderly manner and retired. The judges were very fair indeed; and the opposition, except in few instances, gave every facility to the voting, and mingled freely and cheerfully. We must say that the vote of the ward was not taken rapidly.

In the Second ward the colored vote is also light. Except the interference of a few irresponsible parties, the vote was cast quietly. As in the First ward, the clerks were slow, and the full vote of the ward was not taken.

In the Third ward, the stronghold of the Democracy and of the Germans, the vote of the colored men was recorded in a quick, gentlemanly manner by the officers. Previously the vote of this ward has never been polled. Of course yesterday hundreds were shut out. The officers gave every facility to the voters.

In the Fourth ward, the Republicans have a clear majority of about three hundred; but it was impossible to poll the vote in three precincts. In the forenoon, the judges were perfectly fair, but in the afternoon, by the pressure of opposition electioneers and violent demonstrations, the colored vote was kept out. A large number of colored men, who had waited for hours, were compelled to leave at last without exercising their rights. We know that in this ward the Republican party were not able to poll their vote on account of the limited number of precincts.

A colored man, named Johnson, voted in the forenoon in the third precinct of this ward, for the Republican nominees. In the afternoon he was induced to vote the Democratic ticket, and was detected by the officers, and arrested. He admitted the offense when identified by several witnesses, and was placed in jail.

Another colored man, named Neville Jordan, was charged with illegal voting, and placed in the Clay street station.

The Fifth is another Republican ward. With the Democratic officers appointed it was impossible to poll one-third of the Republican vote. In every precinct every obstacle was thrown in the way of the Republican voter. They questioned and cross-questioned, and finally swore them, while every white voter, whether he was entitled to vote or not was allowed to deposit his vote without hindrance. In this manner hundreds of illegal votes from Jeffersonville were cast in the Fifth ward. Besides all this, the action of the police, who were acting under orders from headquarters, deterred five hundred Republicans from voting in one precinct alone. For instance: at one time during the day we counted over one hundred colored voters waiting at the entrance while there were but fifteen whites. The police would not, under any circumstances, allow but five of each to enter the polls.

We do not know who was the originator of such a rule, but it was faithfully carried out. We cannot see why it was originated. That the colored voters were restive under the rule is not to
be wondered at. Had the judges attended to their duty and acted in an impartial manner, they would have changed this rule. We noticed a would-be Democratic candidate for Congress in this district officiating on the inside of the polls. He gave the judges the influence of his presence in keeping back the colored vote. We noticed also that white men—not voters—were allowed to crowd on one side of the entrance, while the colored voters were strictly confined to a line on the outer edge of the pavement. The conduct of the officers of election, in the Fifth ward yesterday, is of itself sufficient ground for contesting this election. In this connection we cannot refrain from commending the action of Captain Jack Gallagher, of the detective force. He was present on the inside of the voting place during the whole day, and acted in a perfectly fair and impartial manner. His conduct yesterday was in striking contrast to the partisan action of some of the police in other localities. In the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth wards, the colored vote was polled without hindrance. But in the Fifth ward a large number of illegal votes were cast. The militia were stationed in these wards ostensibly to preserve the peace, but the idea was to intimidate the colored vote.†

In the Ninth ward the conduct of the opponents of the Republican party were outrageous. The Republicans are in a large majority in this ward, and appeared at the different precincts at an early hour. This early rising and appearance at the polls of the Republicans irritated the opposition, and they immediately, with the connivance and assistance of the partisan police, gave out rules as to the manner in which the vote was to be received. The Republicans who were in the majority, offered them every facility to cast their vote. But they were not satisfied with this. They wished to cut out the Republican vote entirely. In this they were successful. As in the Fifth ward, they adopted a rule of admitting a certain and equal number of whites and blacks in the front door while hundreds of Democrats were admitted in the rear. When this trick was discovered the enterprising Republican who made it and expostulated, was hurried off to jail. The Republican majority in the Ninth ward is fully one thousand, but owing to the trickery of the opposition, but a fraction of the vote was polled. In proof of this, a Democrat and a prominent one at that, remarked that it was the most outrageous conduct he had ever witnessed. A lieutenant of police, when appealed to said that he "had made a rule that as the Republicans had the privilege of voting in the forenoon, the Democrats should have the polls in the afternoon." We judge his idea was to let the Republicans poll part of their vote, and allow the Democrats to vote up to and over them. As this matter will certainly be brought before the courts, we will not here introduce evidence to substantiate what we have stated.†

In the Tenth ward the action was the same as in the Ninth. In the Eleventh, the great citadel of the Democracy, every obstacle was thrown in the way of the legal Republican voters. The same can be said of the Twelfth.†
FIRST ELECTION IN WHICH BLACKS VOTE IN LOU 1870

The Louisville Commercial, Aug 2, 1870, p 4

"In this statement, as to the manner in which the Republican colored vote was and was not received, we have not exaggerated in the least. Our statements are made from the reports of eye-witnesses, and can be proven by hundreds of respectable men in the city."

CELEBRATION OF THE PASSAGE OF THE 15TH AMEND IN MT STERLING 1870

The Louisville Commercial, May 7, 1870, p 2, letter from Alfred Barnes

"Mt. Sterling, Ky., April 30+

Mr. Editor: Will you please give the following a place in your columns. We, the colored people of Montgomery county, celebrated the adoption of the fifteenth amendment to-day. It being a very busy time with farmers, there was not so large a turnout as there would have been at any other time. Notwithstanding all of that there was a good crowd. Alfred Barnes was appointed president of the day, and James W. French secretary, Edmon Gatewood marshal of the day; Nathan Tipton, Robert Tipton, Billard Brooks, and Charles Wood assistant marshals. The procession formed at the United Brothers of Friendship Hall, at 11 o'clock a.m. The United Brothers took the lead, and the rest of the crowd followed in regular procession, which marched through the town and out to the ground. We were sadly disappointed in not getting Hon. Wm. Wadsworth, of Maysville, and Elder Young and Hon. S. McKee, of Louisville. Neither of these were with us. Short speeches were made by Ben. Wadkins, C.Rany, Major Woods, J. Wilkerson, T. Oldham, George Hazelrigg, William King, C. Myers and Jos. Wyett, and also by F. Williams, an old white-haired colored man. He pointed to his white hair and said that he was in the evening of his life, and that he had worn his life out serving the white population, and he told how the colored people had been chained and separated from each other as if they were beasts. He said, although his time was short, if he lived to go to the polls to vote, although he may be so feeble as to have to crawl, he would raise his head and cry "Radical, Radical party," and if every true man would do his duty under the principles of the Republican party, the time will come when his old bones would be lying in the grave and the children of
CELEBRATION OF THE PASSAGE OF THE 15TH AMEND IN MT STERLING 1870

The Louisville Commercial, May 7, 1870, p 2, letter from Alfred Barnes

of many be dead, the Radical party would be the leading party of the land; that it had took us on its back and led us on to liberty. We must take them on our back and lead them into power. Everything went off quietly. No drunkenness throughout the day. The procession marched back to town, and when on the public square halted and gave three cheers for the Republican party and the fifteenth amendment, after which we marched to the front of Tenny Hall and halted. Calls were made for James W. French. He came forth and made a short speech on the duties of voters and the right that we had to rejoice over the fifteenth amendment, and the right to affiliate with the Republican party, after which all disbanded with good feelings.+

James W. French, Secretary

Alfred Barnes, President+

EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS OF BLACKS IN KY 1870

The Louisville Commercial, Jan 25, 1870, p 4

"A communication has been placed in our possession, by a friend from Greenup county, making inquiries regarding the "standing and respectability of an organization in Louisville called the 'State Educational Board;'" the party desiring the information stating that the colored people in his vicinity were not satisfied of the reliability of Mr. Gibson and Mr. Mitchell, who had communicated with them regarding establishing schools for colored people in their midst, and who required $2.50 from the citizens desiring the school, in furtherance of the objects of the board.+

"On consulting Co. Ben. P. Runkle, who has the educational interests of the colored people of Kentucky under his charge, he requested us to make the following statement: When the Colored Educational Convention met in Louisville last summer they organized a "State Educational Board," composed of prominent intelligent colored men throughout the State for the purpose of facilitating the educational interests of the colored people. The two active officials of that Board are Mr. Isaiah Mitchell and Mr. Horace Morris of the Freedmen's Bank, as Treasurer. These men are recognized by and under heavy bonds to the government for the faithful discharge of their duties, and the correct rendering of all moneys passing through their hands. Mr. Mitchell alone of the whole Board, is under salary, and is employed by the government. It is his duty to organize local boards in every section where a school is needed; he asks, as is required by the Constitution of the State Educational Board, that parties desiring to establish schools shall forward, to either Horace Morris or W.H. Gibson, $2.50 which is used in defraying the printing expenses of the Board. The colored people have been very backward in sending this small sum, as only about $50 have been received by the
EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS OF BLACKS IN KY 1870

The Louisville Commercial, Jan 25, 1870, p 4

Board. The minutes of the Educational Convention have not yet been printed, owing to the lack of means. The services and expenses of the members of the Board are defrayed by themselves. The colored people should take more interest, and contribute more freely to this Board than they have done. Mr. Gibson and Mr. Mitchell are highly respected and responsible men, and indorsed by the government. Any communication from them can be received as of the most reliable official character."

MURDER OF UNOFFENDING BLACK IN WOODFORD CO 1870

The Louisville Commercial, Aug 12, 1870, p 4

"Murder of Unoffending Blacks"

"A citizen of Woodford county gives us some interesting details of the murders of blacks near Versailles on Wednesday night. +

"Threats against the blacks had been freely made for weeks past. Eleven days ago, just after the election, a mob of whites fired into a crowd of blacks, who returned the fire. A war of races seemed imminent, but a peace meeting was held about a week ago and quiet was restored. +

"Soon afterward a militia company of whites was formed, and on Wednesday of this week this militia company received a supply of guns from Frankfort. On Wednesday night, about twelve or one o'clock, some twenty-five or thirty persons, armed it is said, with the State guns obtained from Frankfort, went to the house of Levi Parker, a colored man, and by threats of killing him, compelled him to tell them where James Parker and William Turpin, two influential Republicans, could be found. +

"They went then to the house of James Parker, and ordered him to open the door. He refused, but being threatened with death if he did not open, he consented. As soon as he complied with the demand three shots were fired at him, and one striking him on the breast killed him almost instantly. He fell or was dragged partly out, while his feet were inside, and thus in death he lay until 8½ o'clock yesterday morning. +

"The armed party then went to the house of the Rev. Wm. Turpin, who was also threatened with death if he did not open the door. He jumped out of a window and attempted to escape, but was fired on, and three
The Louisville Commercial, Aug 12, 1870, p 4

balls striking him, he fell dead. The assassins did not hunt after other victims, but left at once. Parker and Turpin each leave a wife and children to mourn their death.

"Yesterday inquests were held, and verdicts returned that the murder was by parties unknown. Threats have been made since against blacks, but they have been assured by leading whites that no more blacks will be murdered, and that they can stay in safety. It is reported that Judge Steel and other Republicans, believing that their lives are in danger, left Versailles last night.

"We give these statements as the come to us. If they are true, they reveal a most disgraceful state of affairs."

Black Minister Arrested in Lou for Tampering with Slaves 1856

The /Baltimore/ Sun, Dec 17, 1856, p 2

"Arrest of a Colored Preacher for Tampering with Slaves.+

"Louisville, Dec. 15.--On Saturday morning last Rev. Wm. Anderson, a colored preacher of the Methodist denomination, was captured on board the steamer Telegraph, with a carpet bag filled with incendiary documents. He had also been engaged in running off slaves about Carrolton. The documents in his possession implicate distinguished northerners. He was taken yesterday to Carrolton, where $600 reward had been offered for him."
"Slave Excitement in Kentucky---Execution of a Supposed Conspirator.+

"Louisville, Dec. 20.—A free negro was hung /sic/ yesterday at Cadiz, Ky., after being tried by the Vigilance Committee of the town on suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy. There are a number more in jail and some will be hung.-/sic/ Judge Cook has called his court for Christmas day. The excitement is very high."

"The Slave Excitement at Louisville.+

"Louisville, Dec. 24.—The Mayor has issued a proclamation stating that in consequence of information which shows a disposition on the part of the colored people to insurrection, all slaves will be imprisoned who are found from home after 8 o'clock at night during the holidays."
It
Dear Col. +
Although I am not much of a letter writer yet I thought that I would do my best and tell you what is going on in our loyal city.
The weather here has been for the most part very pleasant and since the first of the year we have no ice, however during the holidays, the weather was so cold that all of the ice dealers put up enough to last them during the Summer. The weather is so warm now that all of the trees and bushes are beginning to bud and the hyacinthes are coming up, and in our yard a crocus is in bloom and many more are up and will be in bloom in a few days. At school I have made several changes since you left and I am now reading in Latin the Eclogues of Virgil and in Greek the Xenophon's Cyropaedia. As yet we have no regular pastor for our church for both Mr. Smith and Dr. Van Dyke have refused the calls given them and now we do not know whom to call. +
A great many new army people have come here lately, as Gen. Terry brought quite a large staff with him and he has four maiden sisters and his mother living with him. Mrs. Halleck gave a reception to all of the army people, lately arrived, about two weeks ago. Washington's birthday was not celebrated here much and all that was done to commemorate it, was the closing of some of the schools and public buildings. +
At Sunday School we are not studying from the kind of books that we used last year but from papers about the size of large note paper, which contains lessons for the present month and as soon as the month is ended we get a new paper containing lessons for each Sunday in that month. I suppose you had a pretty gay time in Washington last week, father and mother thought of going there, a good deal this winter but the spirit did not move them enough to start them. There has been at Washington this winter some quite good friends of ours from Sing Sing namely Mers and Meiss Seeley who came to visit us last Winter and are expected here in a few weeks. The interior of our state is in literally a terrible condition and we rarely ever pick up a paper but that it does not give an account of one or more atrocities committed by the Kuklux. The other day a man admitted before court that he was a member of the Klan told also the names of others whom he knew had an interest in it. A few days after he happened to go home, which was in the interior and while there he was hung by the Klan. +
As it is growing late I will say good-bye. +
M.B. Belknap

"My Dear Col."

"I saw the President at Covington on Sunday but have been too busy since my return to write. Our interview lasted more than an hour and was quite satisfactory, though the way was not opened for me to say some things I desired. Our conversation related chiefly to the condition of affairs in some parts of this state where the Kuklux hold sway. I told him that in my opinion, the only way to ascertain the names of the Kuklux was through detectives who lived in the neighborhood of the operations — in other words the information must be bought from some of the gang or some of their sympathisers. I explained to him how difficult it was for the U.S. officers to accomplish anything with the inadequate means of their command. He said he would write to the Atty. Genl. and seemed to think that the fund under his control was the only one to be looked to. He said nothing about the secret service fund, and I of course did not feel at liberty to do so. But my opinion is that the Dist. Atty. ought to have quite a large fund and with it I believe he can do something. Wharton has done all that he could do, and is vigorously at work."

"There are some matters connected with this Kuklux business which embarrasses me. I must urge the Govt. to "go for" the Kuklux and yet I am being applied to defend as counsel, some who are charged with being Kuklux. I once thought I would have nothing to do with cases of this kind — but, upon reflection, I find that I must play lawyer in those as in other cases, and abandon good fees which I am not able to do while I was urging and Wharton to get after the Kuklux. Here came Howard Smith after me to defend his son. I could not resist his appeal, and did not feel that I ought to decline — and am glad that I defended his son for he clearly established an alibi and nobody believes him to have been guilty. The other cases are progressing (3 on trial), but not yet determined. The evidence is very conflicting and not enough yet developed to convict before a petit jury. At least it so strikes me. Consternation prevails at Frankfort just now. The investigation develops a bad state of affairs about Frankfort and in Franklin county."

"Referring to the interview with the President — your name was frequently up, but the President did not say anything from which I could gather a present purpose to make a change in his household. He has an exalted opinion of you, and knows the estimate placed upon you by the Supreme Court. The conclusion I came to was that you can obtain at his hands, almost any promotion whenever an opportunity presents. I am offered quite a number of claims to prosecute at Washington and if I can finish up my business, now on hand by November, I am half disposed to spend a month or so at Washington this winter."

"The Newcomb-Baxter contest rages furiously every day — result uncertain — but Baxter appears to be in the lead. My regards to you fondly,"

"J.M.H."

"I intended to say that the President impressed me as an honest, well-meaning man, with more intellect than I ever supposed he had. He has a clear well-balanced mind."

"In talking about the Ky. Election, he asked me if I knew Dr. I told him only by reputation. He then referred to a visit which M. made to
Horace Morris to B. H. Bristow, dated March 27, 1876, Louisville, in B. H. Bristow Papers, Lib of Cong.

Dear Sir;

I have refrained from writing to you to thank you for appointing me to the position I now hold for various reasons which I do not care to mention, but that I am grateful for the favors you have shown me I can assure you, and shall do all in my power to merit the good opinion you entertain concerning me. I am both glad and sorry that I am out of Washington; glad that I have escaped from the blighting influences which surrounds me there, but sorry that I cannot be there to help work up your cause. Free today from the immediate control, and chilling air of Department life, I can say what I could not say with propriety whilst there. I was only too anxious to get out of the band and into the Treasury for the reason that I thought that I could be of service to you, but after I had been there a short while I found that I was mistaken, and that like Ben Butler at Bermuda Hundred; I was bottled up and the stopper fastened down. I had no opportunity and the admiration from no selfish motive, not from any expectation of reward but is honest and sincere because I have confidence in you as an honest, representative American. My regret today is that I am not in a position where I can be of more service to you, for I know that Morton and Blaine, and Cuhlin are doing all they can to keep you from being the nominee at Cincinnati. You are not popular with the politicians for they know that they can not use you, but 9 out of ten of the honest people are for you. You know that conventions are controlled by politicians, and your friends have been relying solely on your well earned reputation with the people, instead of trying to control the machinery of the...
conventions. I confess that to me there has all along been too much displayed by those whom I know to be your friends. I fear they will discover their mistake when it is too late. Morton has his forces at work every where; Blaine is working throughout the north and your friends are satisfied for you to play Jupiter and hurl your thunderbolts at competition everywhere, without themselves making a move in your favor, expecting that you will be nominated on you merit. I fear they are pursuing an unwise course. I know that much as we deplore it trickery has to be resorted to in politics—else how can you hope to checkmate trickery? That "cut-throat game" you were playing with Genl. Grant and Blaine (according to the papers) has resulted in the of Genl. Grant and you hold both and the ace on Blaine! I ain't good at cards and can't tell you how to play them else I would! I can see though that you have got a " " in your hand!

I fear Pinchback will go over to the Democratic party, for I know him to be a man devoid of principle, and he resents deeply his rejection by the Senate. He is working now for Morton, but if Morton is not the nominee (and I do not think he stands any better chance than I do) he may switch off at any moment. I cannot see how any decent colored man can recognize Pinchback as his leader! He is the shrewdest politician among colored men in the country, but when that is said all is said. He was a tool of whensomuch, sharpened by him and finally cut his throat. There is neither honesty or gratitude in the fellow—he is for Pinchback alone.

Thanking you again for the kindness you have shown me, and asking pardon for writing so plainly I am very respectfully,
Harace Morris

THE ELECTION IN FRANKFORT 1870 (A Democratic Acct)

The Louisville Commercial, Aug 3, 1870, p 2

"From the Frankfort Yeoman +

"The Election Yesterday +

"There was more than ordinary interest in the election yesterday, and in consequence of the excitement prevailing in both parties for some days, preceding, it was apprehended in some quarters that disturbances would occur at the polls. Owing, however, to the judicious steps taken by the candidates in a meeting held last week, and the precautions observed by the appointment of an extra police force, and the closing of the liquor saloons, the day passed off with unusual quiet. We are happy to be able to record no casualties, and but little even of the ordinary disturbances incident to an exciting election. +

"As the first occasion on which the negroes voted, it was of course a day of unusual interest to them. In the election for county officers they voted, with but few exceptions, the Radical ticket, as was expected, and a very full poll was taken. In the race for city judge and marshal, there being but one voting place for the city, there was more interest and excitement than in the county election. The vote, however, was polled with rapidity as the morning advanced, and whites and blacks, Democrats and Radicals, elbowed each other with good humored earnestness in getting up to the poll; and though there was the usual scrouging, there was no fighting or brawls to mar the harmony of the day. In fact, as far as sobriety and public peace were concerned, we never knew an election where there was such a warm contest to pass off so quietly. +
"The only incident which occurred to give variety to the occasion, and cause any ripple upon the surface of the otherwise quiet scene, was the manifestation of a good deal of excitement on the part of the senior of the Commonwealth, Colonel Hodges, who, at one time, seemed to threaten disturbance at the city poll. Because his ticket did not seem to be getting as many votes as he expected, he charged around considerably before dinner, and threatened to have various parties indicted by the Federal Court for obstructing the polls, when there was no one who made more noise or did more during the day to create disturbance than he did. When the polls opened after dinner, he was there in strong force, and for some time they were exclusively held by Radicals, chiefly negroes, whose right to poll their votes in the order in which they came, none were disposed to dispute. But in the course of half an hour it became evident that the Radical game was played, and that they were hopelessly defeated. Seeing this, and while several negroes were in the very act of presenting their tickets, thereby showing that there was no plea of obstruction, the excitable colonel ordered the negroes to cease voting and leave the polls. They obeyed the order, and thus a number of negroes who would have had more than four hours in which to get in their vote, did not participate in the election for city officers. Some question had also been raised as to the payment of poll tax demanded as a requisite for voting, and Colonel Hodges announced it as his intention to let the election go by default, and contest it before the United States Courts. On the latter, point, however, he will have no ground, under the fifteenth amendment bill, as the negroes were not subjected to any demand not imposed equally upon the whites. As to obstructing the polls, intimidation, or any valid pretext for contesting the election even before the United States Court, it is all fudge. If there had been less rashness in counsel, and Colonel Hodges had been content to let his voters come in regular order, he would have gotten in their votes, but this would not do. The day was gone. Franklin county and the city had gone Democratic, and there must be some explanation. The old cry of fraud was raised, and if the negroes who did not vote have any one to blame for missing this maiden opportunity, it is to the leaders of their own party. An attempt was made to still further interfere with the election by trying to get Louis Weitzel, the Radical judge of election, to leave the poll, but having sworn to discharge his duty in accordance with law, he declined to desert his post. After this the day passed off as quietly as a Sabbath, except when the news would come in from the country precincts, and it was found that the Democracy were going to carry the county by six or seven hundred majority. Then lusty cheers went up from the court-house yard, and the faces of the Radical leaders and candidates lengthened with the shadows.+

"All hail to the Democracy of the county and city! Our ticket is triumphantly elected, and we doubt not the same good tidings will reach us from one end of the State to another."
The Colored People and the Street Cars.

"At a meeting in Asbury Chapel last night, the following resolutions were offered by Rev. J. C. Waters, pastor of the Asbury Chapel, and were unanimously adopted."

"WHEREAS, We, the colored people of Louisville, are and have been deprived of the privilege of riding in the street cars of this city, for no reason except the color of our skins, and,"

"WHEREAS, Several respectable colored men were recently rejected from the cars of the Walnut street line; therefore, be it"

"RESOLVED, That we believe the time has come when we should no longer tamely submit to this vile proscription, but should manfully, discreetly, yet firmly, demands our rights in all public conveyances, in common with all other law-abiding citizens."

"RESOLVED, That we regard the practice of permitting our wives, sisters, and daughters to occupy seats in the street cars, while we are thrust out upon the front platform, as an outrage upon right and simple justice."

"RESOLVED, That the time has passed when manhood should be recognized by the color of the skin and the crimp of the hair, and while we discontinue any action which would tend to a breach of the public peace, we pledge ourselves to use every lawful means in our power to break down this unjust discrimination against the many thousands of the law-abiding citizens of this city."

"RESOLVED, That we hereby appeal to a dispassionate public and the unprejudiced judgement of the several passenger railway companies whether it be just to compel us to pay the same fare as other passengers and not give us the same accommodations."

"RESOLVED, In order to further this matter and to secure unanimity of action, we hereby call upon the colored citizens of Louisville, and all others favorable to the cause of equal and exact justice to all men, to meet in meeting on this (Tuesday) evening in Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church, Walnut Street, near Ninth street, at eight o'clock, in order to take some action toward remedying this infamous wrong."
SLAVES 8-10 MILES FROM HOME CONSIDERED RUNAWAYS

coleman, slavery, 1940

All slaves found more than eight or ten miles from their master's message or plantation without a pass were considered runaways. The liberty of free Negroes, while they remained at home among their neighbors, was not questioned; but when they began to move about from place to place, they were usually suspected and often taken up and imprisoned as fugitive slaves. All unknown Negroes who could not produce their "free papers" were taken up as runaways. Free Negroes thus arrested were occasionally sold secretly and cheaply by unscrupulous patrollers to the despised "nigger traders." Naturally, both the patroller and the Negro trader kept secret all transactions of this nature, and many a free Negro was clapped back into slavery to remain so for life.

96. In certain sections of the Bluegrass, where the slaves were well-known and visited only in the immediate neighborhood, they were given tags which took the place of passes. "They let us go visiting on Sundays, or to church, but we were all tagged in case the patteroll got us."—J. C. Meadors, interview with Addie Murphy, an ex-slave residing in Lexington, August 15, 1958.

SLAVE PATROLS MORE ACTIVE ALONG OHIO RIVER COUNTIES

coleman, slavery, 1940

In the counties lying along the Ohio River it was necessary to take very strong precautions against the clandestine movement of Negroes in order to prevent wholesale escapes. "Strong and active patrols" were appointed, of "sober and discreet citizens not exceeding thirty," whose duty it was "to guard and watch the places of crossing the river, and to notice the condition and situation of all water craft upon the Kentucky shore of the Ohio River."
It was charged in certain litigation that "the wanton malice of the patrol" often manifested itself in central Kentucky, the largest slaveholding section of the state. There was living on the Leestown turnpike, "about a mile or three-quarters of a mile out of the town bounds of Lexington," an elderly farmer, Benijah Bosworth, whom his neighbors knew as "a very industrious & soberly man." His farm of one hundred and sixty acres contained, among other out-buildings, a two-story stone still-house and malt-house. Being in failing health and too old to tend the still-house operations, Bosworth rented the stone building during the spring of 1830 to an itinerant schoolmaster, Henry Hensley, who opened a country school.

During the following winter Hensley dismissed his little school "in consequence of the big snow," but planned "to resume it as soon as the weather broke." Being somewhat of a musician and having the building rented and not in use, Hensley decided to hold a "negro frol...
hear the groans of Hensley's fiddle above the rhythmic shuffle of the dancers' feet on the heavy wooden floor. Surrounding the house, Young and his party called upon the Negroes to surrender. Well knowing that they were in for a good whipping and, possibly, more serious punishment, the Negroes refused to surrender and, suddenly extinguishing the lights, made the most of their opportunity to escape.

Two pistol charges of "balls and buck-shot" were "wantonly fired" by the "patterrollers" into the darkened room, whereupon the frightened slaves "broke & began jumping out of the windows." Some of the hapless blacks "were caught & tied"; some "broke through the ceiling & hid themselves in the oats." When order was restored, it was found that Charles, the slave of...

59. Ibid., Deposition of Willis Hickey, of Lexington.
60. Ibid., Deposition of John Cluckton, of Sandersville, Fayette County.

John Brand, had been "shot through the head and died instantly," and several others lying about on the floor were suffering from gunshot wounds.

For the loss of his slave Charles, who "previous to his death was of great value, to-wit, of the sum of $600," Brand sued his neighbor Bosworth at the next term of the Fayette Circuit Court, and obtained a judgment of $500, but, upon the case being taken to the Court of Appeals, at Frankfort, the judgment was reversed, and Bosworth, who had vehemently denied from the first any knowledge of the slave frolic on his farm, was relieved from the payment of damages to his fellow slave-holder, John Brand."
Kentucky Reports
OF APPEALS OF KENTUCKY.

Bosworth vs. Brand.

[Mr. Crittenden for Appellant: Messrs. Wickliffe and Woolsey for Appellee.]

FROM THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR FAYETTE COUNTY.

Judge Nicholas delivered the Opinion of the Court.

This was an action on the case, in which Brand obtained a verdict and judgment against Bosworth, for the value of a slave killed on Bosworth's farm, at a negro frolic, or dance. The case, when stated most favorably for the verdict, is, that Bosworth permitted some fifty negroes to assemble and dance at an out-house; that a patrolling party surrounded the house about midnight, for the purpose of apprehending the negroes and breaking up the frolic; that the negroes refused to surrender when called upon to do, and endeavored to make their escape; that one of the patrol, without any necessity for so doing, wanting only fired a pistol, loaded with balls and buck shot, into a dark room, crowded with negroes, and thereby killed the slave of Brand.

By the eighth section of the act concerning slaves, 2 Dig. 1151, it is declared, "that if any master, mistress, or overseer of a family, shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave, not belonging to him, or her, to be and remain upon his, or her, plantation above four hours at one time, without leave of the owner or overseer of such slave, he, she or they so permitting, shall forfeit and pay two dollars for every such offence; and every owner, or overseer, of a plantation, who shall so permit or suffer more than five negroes, or slaves, other than his or her own, to be and remain upon his or her plantation or quarter, at any one time, shall forfeit and pay five shillings, for each negro or slave, above that number; which said several forfeitures shall be to the informer, or the only person in whose favor the same are given in the bill that is brought in, not to be eligible to the profits of the same; that if any such Negroes or slaves as aforesaid shall be killed in the performance of the act of their masters, mistresses, or owners, the said Negroes or slaves shall be deemed to have been killed in the performance of the act aforesaid, it being the duty of the owner, master, or mistress, of such slave, negro, or Negroes, to cause the same to be executed, and the owner, master, or mistress, shall be liable for the value of the slave so destroyed—the death and damage being the direct and immediate consequence of the shooting, and not the probable or natural consequence of the unlawful act of the defendant.
and recoverable, with costs, before any justice of the peace of the county where such offence shall be committed."

That this act renders the conduct of Bosworth illegal in permitting the assembly of negroes, and that it renders him liable to the penalty therein named, to be recovered in the manner therein prescribed, there is no doubt. But that he is liable for every accident or injury happening to the slaves of others whilst so assembled, or in going to or coming from his farm, is an inference by no means so obviously deducible therefrom. The interests of slave owners and the general peace and good order of a community circumstances like ours, may have required the legislature to prohibit such assemblies of negroes, even for the purposes of innocent recreation; but it is difficult to strain the fault of him who permits them, beyond that of a mere malum prohibitum. The legislative prohibition is accompanied by its own prescribed sanction, and we are not prepared to admit any motives of policy that should induce the general law to apply any additional penalties in aid of that sanction. Bosworth must be responsible, or not, for the value of Brand's slave, according to the principles of law applicable to all torts. There is nothing in the act quoted, which attaches any such penalty to this particular tort.

It is true in the general, that a man is entitled to reparation for every damage he sustains from the unlawful action or omission of another. But the damages must be the direct and immediate, or at least, proximate and natural consequence of the act or omission complained of. It will not do to carry it to every consequence, however remote, which can be traced to the particular action or omission, and much less to such things as are not a natural consequence, and may have arisen from other and extraneous causes.

Thus, it is said, Buller's *Nisi Prius*, 25, "that if one whip my horse, whereby he runs away with me, and runs over a man, he may have an action against such person, for the whipping was an act of folly, and he ought to be answerable for the consequence. *A fortiori,*
asserting such liability. And here, in the not attending to the important distinction between the assumption, and non assumption, of illegal control over the slave, lies the fallacy of the argument of the learned counsel in favor of the verdict, and exists the want of analogy between this case and all or most of those to which he attempted to liken it.

If one man takes the horse of another without authority, he is a tort feasor all the time he detains him, and if the horse be killed whilst in his possession, by however improbable or unexpected a casualty, he is responsible. Not so, however, if the horse had strayed upon his farm, and was there permitted to remain merely.

The true view of the case is, that the permitting the negroes to assemble and remain at the frolic, was not, properly speaking, the cause of the death. The cause was the wanton malice of the patrol; and if that had been produced by drink given by another, that other would have been a much more proximate cause of the death, than either Bosworth or the frolic; yet we presume no one would contend for the liability of the giver of the drink. If one invites another to dinner, and the guest, whilst on the way or at the dinner, is wantonly killed, it cannot be properly said of the giver of the feast, that he caused his death.

It is illegal to cut a ditch across a public highway, and he who does it, is liable for any special damage another thereby sustains; for instance, if a slave should be killed or maimed by falling into the ditch. But if a slave, whilst merely detained there, is accidentally killed by the going off of a gun or by the wilful malice of another, his death could not properly be ascribed to the digger of the ditch. Yet it would follow that he, and all others similarly circumstanced, would be responsible for the slave, if we were to visit such liability upon Bosworth.

By a post revolutionary English decision, the setter of a trap in which a dog was killed, was held responsible for the dog, because it was set so near to the ground of the dog's owner, that the bait could be smelt therefrom, and the dog did but obey his instinct in following the lure that was set for him. Now, the permitter of a negro frolic is distinguishable from the setter of the trap in two important particulars. A negro is not a mere brute, with an instinct in lieu of reasoning properties, and destitute of rational qualities, to restrain the impulse of his appetite, nor does the frolic necessarily carry with it such perilous consequence to him, when visited, as did the trap to the dog. But without the aid of these distinctions, suppose the dog had been accidentally or wilfully killed by some third person, before he reached the trap, would the setter of the trap have then been responsible. Or, to make the cases more completely analogous, suppose (in lieu of the trap,) the bait had been merely fastened to a tree, and that, whilst in the act of eating the bait, he had been shot by a third person. How would the case then have gone? It is impossible to presume the setter of the bait could have been held liable. If not, then that case is conclusive of this; for it will be vain to attempt to distinguish them. The same law determines both. It was as illegal to lure the dog, as the negro, from the premises of his owner to those of another.

We will not prolong the discussion, for where a case falls so obviously and widely apart, from the rule of principle within which it is attempted to be brought, as this does, it serves little the purposes of illustration to suppose others only equally so. The mind that infers liability in the one, will do it in the others also.

In our opinion, the verdict was without sufficient evidence to sustain it; and the jury should have been instructed to find for the defendant, as was requested on the trial.

The judgment is reversed, with costs, and the cause remanded, with directions for a new trial, consistent
HENDERSON TOWN WATCH; SLAVE PATROL

coleman, slavery, 1940

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Slaves living in the country were kept in their places

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by the "patterollers," while those in the city were restrained by the town watch, an equally effective law-enforcing organization. In Henderson it was the duty of the town sergeant "to punish with any number of lashes, not exceeding twenty, all or any negro slaves found in a grog shop, grocery or other places where spirituous liquors are retailed... or those who may be found on the streets of this town after ten o'clock at night." 42

42. The town watch of Bowling Green, Kentucky, in 1825, consisted of "one Captain, one Lieutenant and as many privates as the Trustees may allot." Ten lashes on the bare back was the penalty for slaves caught on the streets of Bowling Green after 10 p.m.—Minutes, Town Trustees, Bowling Green, September 9, 1825.

LOUISVILLE TOWN WATCH; PATROL

coleman, slavery, 1940

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And in Louisville, after the tolling of the bell on the Fourth Street Presbyterian Church each night at ten o'clock, all slaves found away from home were liable for fifteen lashes and imprisonment for the rest of the night, with a possible whipping the next morning "when the watchmen could see how to lay the lashes on well." 44
"All slaves caught on the streets of Lexington after the watch-bell rang at seven in the evening were subject to the punishment of '35 lashes well laid on the bare back' at the public whipping post."

In the northeast corner of the Fayette County courthouse yard stood the whipping post "of black locust one foot in diameter, ten feet high and sunk two and a half feet in the ground." Samuel R. Brown, who visited Lexington in those early days, saw this instrument of torture and noted in his journal that the public square was "occasionally the scene of a barbarous practice; for it is here that incorrigible or delinquent negroes are flogged unmercifully. I saw this punishment inflicted on two of these wretches. Their screams soon collected a numerous crowd—I could not help saying to myself, 'These cries are the knell of Kentucky liberty.'"
Some years later, when Fayette County had grown to be the largest slaveholding county in Kentucky, its Fiscal Court at a special session in May, 1847, ordered that the "three-pronged poplar tree in the court-house yard immediately north of the [Wm. T] Barry monument be and the same is hereby established the public whipping-post of this county." "Vigorous floggings at this whipping post were familiar sights to those who passed along the public square, and the occasional visitor could see enough to know that, even in Lexington, slavery had its darker side.

Free Negroes were required to have with them at all times and in all places their certificates of freedom, or free papers, and present them for inspection when called upon by the town watch or "patterollers." Usually written on parchment, the certificate set out the name, age and description of the Negro, together with the date and place of his emancipation. Perry's certificate of freedom, splendidly preserved despite its age and constant handling, reads:

"State of Kentucky
Jessamine County

I Daniel B. Price, clerk of the County Court for the County afd. do certify that Nathaniel Dunn, Executor of James Dunn, dec'd, at the November County Court, 1838, produced and acknowledged in open court a deed of Emancipation to Perry, a negro man twenty-three years of age, five feet and
EXAMPLE OF FREE NEGRO PAPERS 1838

coleman, slavery, 1940

one-half inch high, black complexion with a scar in his left eye-brow, and I do certify that the said boy Perry is entitled to full freedom and all the privileges of a freeman as full as if he were born free. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of said Court, this 26th day of November 1838.

[SEAL]

Daniel B. Price, C. J. C.
By A. M. Poage, D. C.

SOME FREE BLACKS REQUIRED TO CARRY GOOD BEHAVIOR PAPERS

coleman, slavery, 1940

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"In some instances, in addition to their certificates of freedom, free Negroes were required to show a certificate of good behavior, signed 'by some white person of respectable character,' usually from the same neighborhood in which such freedmen resided."
Despite the watchful vigilance of the "patterollers" and the town watch of the cities, there appeared from time to time accounts of intended slave uprisings and insurrections among the largest slaveholding counties of the state. On October 13, 1848, the Western Citizen announced, under the caption "Stampede Frustrated!" that "about forty negroes had made arrangements to leave their masters in Woodford County on Saturday night last," but, the Paris paper continued, "the plot was discovered in time to defeat its execution." From some of the Negroes involved it was later learned that they had all been furnished with forged passes at the hands of several abolitionists working in the neighborhood, who had planned for each slave "to steal his master's horse and cross the Ohio River before daylight."

"TO OWNERS OF SLAVES!
"Notice is hereby given, that from and after this date, no slave will be permitted to come to Paris, day or night, without a written pass from his or her owner, and that no slave will be permitted to sell anything in town, without a written permit specifying the article for sale, and all slaves living in town will be required to retire from the streets at nine o'clock P.M. Any infringement of the above orders will be punished with stripes.
A. D. Sebree,
James Elliott, Patrols."
Throughout the fall of 1856 a series of startling allegations regarding slave insurrections broke through the habitual reserve maintained on the topic by the Southern press. Wild rumors of an all-embracing slave plot, extending from Delaware to Texas, with its execution set for Christmas Day, spread through the slave-holding states. Kentucky came in for its share of participation in this wide-spread plot.

At Hopkinsville, the county seat of Christian County, the situation was tense. From many lips came the ominous words: "The negroes are marching on us!" Telegraph poles were cut down and communications were severed. About one hundred and fifty armed men left for the settlement of LaFayette, in the southern part of the county, under the command of Captain James Jackson and Sheriff Gowen.50

are the ones to be the most active in the destruction of their masters' families. Canton Dispatch, 12-10-1856

RUMORS OF SLAVE PLOTS 1856

During the first week of December of the same year, rumors of slave plots spread into Henderson County, on the Ohio River, where it was believed that the holidays would unloose open revolt upon the whites.51 Another Christmas Day plot was revealed by a Negro boy in Campbellsville, in Taylor County, where considerable discontent had existed among the slaves.52

At Cadiz, in Trigg County, it was alleged that another center of a slave plot had been discovered. A free Negro preacher, Solomon Young, declared to be the "generalissimo" of the plotters and a notorious character, was hanged on December 19. The responsibility for the plot was attributed to "Locofoco" orators and newspapers. As excitement blazed, a vigilance committee began wholesale arrests of suspects and a special court session was called for Christmas Day.53

Similar excitement was betrayed near Russellville, in Logan County, where a Negro, employed in one of the ironworks across the border in Tennessee, was whipped to death after remarking that he knew all about the plot but would not tell.54 Even in Carter County, in the ex-
treme northeastern part of Kentucky, alleged slave plotters were being caught and subjected to severe whippings.55

At Carrollton, in Carroll County, some fifty miles northeast of Louisville on the Ohio River, considerable furor was aroused over the alleged plots engineered by

the Reverend William Anderson, a colored Methodist preacher, who was also accused of aiding fugitive slaves to escape to the North. After a reward of six hundred dollars had been offered for his apprehension, he was captured with documents in his possession implicating "several distinguished Northerners." His examination, however, proved disappointingly innocuous and he was discharged.56

Another exciting Christmas plot involving some two hundred Negroes was discovered in Wyoming, a settlement in Bath County. Forty Negroes, fully armed, were arrested at a colored festival. Their plan was to assemble all the slaves at White Oak Creek and then to fight their way to Ohio.57 It appears from the news items and editorials of the contemporary press that the year 1856 was exceptional for the large crop of individual slave crimes reported, especially those directed against the life of the master. It was estimated that at least ten or twelve alleged leaders of insurrections had been hanged in six Kentucky counties and that many more were awaiting trial who might ultimately share the same fate.58

56 Bollinger Enq.,
Dec 17, 1856.

57 Mississipp Whig,
Dec 26, 1856.

58 Magrill Enq.,
Jan 6, 1857.
ANTI-SLAVERY WHITES DRIVEN OUT OF KY AFTER JOHN BROWN RAID
coleman, slavery, 1940

Clashes and disturbances were now taking place in various parts of Kentucky between the anti-slavery advocates and the slaveholding element. These occurrences were traced at the time directly to the John Brown raid. Especially noted at this time was the increased distrust shown toward the free Negroes and the keen hostility exhibited toward the abolitionists.

Thirty-six anti-slavery zealots, after being stripped of their property and every means of livelihood, were driven out of the state from Berea, in Madison County, late in December, 1859, by the incensed slaveholders of that neighborhood. In the preceding October William S. Bailey, of Newport, Kentucky, owner and editor of the anti-slavery newsheet, the weekly Free South, was openly attacked for his alleged views on Brown's raid. His office was set on fire and destroyed by an angry mob of slaveholders and slaveholding sympathizers, and the presses were smashed and the type dumped into the Ohio River.

RUMORS OF INSURRECTION IN CYNTHIANA 1859
coleman, slavery, 1940

Threats of a servile insurrection in Cynthiana, following the Brown affair, occasioned grave apprehension and "the excitement increased nearly to a panic." Farmers and slave owners of Harrison County were warned "to attend closely to the assembling of their negroes" and to prevent any undue gathering of slaves. The growing excitement reached a high pitch, when the postmaster received an anonymous letter warning the citizens that an insurrection was about to break out in their midst, that some eighty slaves from Harrison County, and as many from Bourbon and Fayette, had been furnished with guns and were ready to rise and slay their masters. "This insurrection," further warned the menacing letter, "is about to take place of such a magnitude that the Brown tirade is but a flea-bite in comparison." It was rumored about the streets of Cynthiana that the abolitionists planned to burn the town."
In searching the files of old newspapers and courthouse records, it appears that in Kentucky, and especially in the Bluegrass region, where Negro bondage was of a milder form, there were uprisings and rumors of uprisings throughout the entire period of slavery, all of which goes to prove that, even though Kentucky slaves were given kindness and light work, these things did not always bring contentment or reconcile the enslaved Negroes to their lot.

89. Cincinnati Daily Commercial, May 11, 1861. In this issue was the stirring news of a Negro insurrection in Owen, Gallatin and Henry counties which, like so many others, came to naught.

Extra police were employed in the cities of the Bluegrass and the ranks of the "patterrollers" were swelled with new recruits. Well armed, they rode all night, bringing in many suspected slaves and a few whites who had been talking to the Negroes. After a week, however, of intense strain and frantic excitement, conditions became normal once again, and, after running down all the rumors and clues, it was found that the intended terrible uprising had little basis in fact.
Most common of the slave sales were those made in the settlement of estates, runaway slaves sold for their jail fees and, occasionally, Negroes levied on and sold to satisfy the demands of their masters' creditors. Some slave owners, greatly abhorring the practice of public sales, sold their Negroes privately, while there were many families throughout the Bluegrass region who proudly boasted that they had never sold a slave, either publicly or privately.

In a large proportion of local sales the slaves sold were disposed of by the sheriff, court commissioners, or administrators and executors of estates, rather than by their owners. After ample notice had been given through the local press, the sale was usually conducted in the public square, near the courthouse door. Here the slave dealer or his agent was always present to pick up a good bargain, if the opportunity presented itself.

There were, naturally, some unscrupulous masters who cared little for the fate of their slaves or the division of families:

"I wish to sell a negro woman and four children. The woman is 22 years old, of good character, a good cook and washer. The children are very likely, from 6 years down to 1 1/2, I will sell them together or separately to suit purchaser.

J. T. Underwood."
Runaway slaves, when apprehended and lodged in the county jails, were advertised in the papers and, when not called for by their owners after six months, were sold for their jail fees. James Harrison, sheriff of Jefferson County, advertised:

"NOTICE: I will on the first Monday of May, 1846, before the court-house door, in the city of Louisville, sell to the highest bidder, JOHN, a runaway slave, 18 or 19 years of age, rather heavy made, supposed to be the property of Daniel McCaleb, residing on the coast some twenty miles below New Orleans."

---

Philip Swigert, master commissioner of the Franklin Circuit Court, in the fall of 1838, announced through handbills that, by virtue of a decree of said court in the suit of John Samuel's infant heir against Samuel's adult heirs, he would sell certain slaves at public outcry:

"Look At This!!
Public Sale of Land & Slaves!

On Monday, the 8th day of December next, at the Court-House door, in the town of Frankfort.

Slaves to be sold on a credit of one year. All of them likely, and some of the boys have been accustomed to working in a hemp factory.

Philip Swigert, Comm'r."
Under the terms of many wills it was frequently necessary for the executors to sell slave property in order to make proper settlement of the estate involved. The customary procedure is revealed in the "For Sale" notice of John Clark, master commissioner of the circuit court of Kentucky's largest slaveholding county:

"SALE OF NEGROES. By virtue of a decree of the Fayette Circuit, the undersigned will, as Commissioner, carry into effect said decree, sell to the highest bidder, on the public square in the city of Lexington, on Monday the 10th of March next, being county court day, the following slaves, to wit: Keiser, Carr, Bob, Susan, Sam, Sarah and Ben; belonging to the estate of Alexander Culbertson, deceased. The sale to be on a credit of three months; the purchaser to give bond with approved security. The sale to take place between the hours of 11 o'clock in the morning and 3 o'clock in the evening.""
APPEARANCE, SKILLS DETERMINED PRICE OF SLAVES

coleman, slavery, 1940

p. 121

Of course, the prices of slaves varied widely in Kentucky according to their physical condition, actual or reputed qualities, age and color. There was no precise standard. For male field hands, or "young bucks," the prerequisites for good bids were youth and strength, reliability and skill; for young "wenches," health and fecundity. Looks counted much, especially in the color of the octo- and quadroon girls, as Robards called his "choice stock," these "fancy girls" often selling from $1,200 to $2,000 and, in some cases, even more.

9. The following figures are based on the appraisals of slaves in the settlement of estates in Fayette County from 1845-1847, from the Fayette County Court, Will Book R, pp. 85, 88, 136, 159, 161, 220, 238:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Price Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male slaves, from 3 to 9 years old</td>
<td>$150-250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 9 to 13</td>
<td>$250-350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 13 to 19</td>
<td>$350-475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 19 to 35</td>
<td>$750-900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 35 to 40</td>
<td>$900-1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 40 to 60</td>
<td>$1200-1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female slaves, from 3 to 10 years old</td>
<td>$100-300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 10 to 16</td>
<td>$300-400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 16 to 25</td>
<td>$500-600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 25 to 45</td>
<td>$600-900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;       , from 45 to 60</td>
<td>$900-1200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COLEMAN: SLAVE PRICES HIGHEST IN KY 1845-1860

coleman, slavery, 1940

p. 122

During the decade and a half prior to the Civil War, slaves brought better prices in Kentucky than at any time in the history of the "peculiar institution." Cotton and sugar planters of the South were realizing enormous returns from their plantations and the demand for Kentucky-born slaves became so great that there were ten purchasers for every slave offered for sale. With this inflated demand for Negroes, prices increased from one hundred to one hundred and fifty per cent for the ten years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War.
An idea of the top prices of the time may be gained by noticing a few sales. In Harrison County, in 1858, slaves were sold by the master commissioner to settle the estate of George Kirkpatrick: Peter, twenty-three years old, brought $1,290; Tom, sixteen years, $1,015; while Emma, aged twelve, was sold for $865. And in Henderson County, in the same year, those attending the public auctions marveled at the keen bidding and high prices paid for sound and likely slaves. There, George, age thirty-five years, brought $1,200, and the highest price of several sales was the "likely boy, Andrew, who fetched $1,500."  

High prices continued to be paid for slaves in the commissioners' sales in the settlement of estates in Bourbon, Scott, Clark, Franklin and Fayette counties and, probably, the all-time record for high prices was reached the following year (1859) when Negroes were sold at public auction in Lexington, April, 1859, to settle the estate of Spencer C. Graves:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>$1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick</td>
<td>21 years</td>
<td>$1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>50 years</td>
<td>$480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>31 years</td>
<td>$1155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billy</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>$1140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>$1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidella</td>
<td>31 years</td>
<td>$1220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>$1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>$1150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These peak prices for slaves sold in Kentucky were in no wise related to, nor indicative of, the value of slave labor in the state; but were values determined chiefly by the increased demand for Negro cotton hands in the Southern states.
Closely akin to transactions involving purchase or sale was the hiring out of slaves, which was a transfer of their services for a stipulated time. Some small slave owners made it their business to hire out all their slaves, both men and women, at rates varying from $75 to $150 a year and board. Churches were known to own and hire slaves; in many instances the revenue raised by such means helped pay the pastor's salary and other expenses.

In Henderson, Mt. Sterling and other Kentucky towns, the first day of January usually proved an interesting occasion. Large crowds of slaveholders and would-be slaveholders, as well as inquisitive rustics and idle bystanders, congregated in the county seat, knowing it to be the day for the hiring of Negroes. A block, or box, was usually placed at the most central point of the principal street or public square, and from this improvised stand Negroes—men, women and children—were hired to the highest bidder for the ensuing year.

Because of superior skill or special training, many slaves were hired out, and many were known as “town servants,” those hired to work as cooks, washerwomen, ironers, housemaids, hotel waiters, porters, draymen and plain mechanics of all kinds. Slaves of this sort not only were valuable assets to those who hired them, but were equally valuable to their owners. Often they were accorded a considerable measure of liberty and privileges. At Thanksgiving and Christmas they were allowed to visit their families and friends on the old plantation, and might by harder work and doing odd jobs earn considerable money of their own besides what they gained for their master. Some slaves in this way saved enough money to purchase their own freedom after years of labor.
Whether the slaves were hired out from the auction block or privately, their "rent papers" were usually drawn in the form of a promissory note, which stated the length of the lease, the consideration and the stipulations for clothes and medical attention:

"$130. On the 25th day of December 1854, I promise to pay to Mrs. Mary H. Breckinridge, the sum of one hundred and thirty dollars for the hire of her negro man Thomas, as a waiter in a hotel in Lexington for the year 1854. I am not to hire him out without the consent of his owner. I will also treat him well, and board & lodge him comfortably, providing for him whatever is needed during the year in both respects. I am to clothe him comfortably, winter & summer, & return him at the end of the year with a sufficient supply of good & reasonable clothing of all kinds. If he should be sick I am to be at the expense of taking care of him & pay the Doctor bill, but if he should die, the hire to stop from that time. Sanders D. Bruce." 28

28. In larger cities "general agents" made it a business to hire Negroes on commission, usually varying from 7 to 8 per cent. E. H. Dean, of Louisville, advertised in laconic terms: "Wanted to Hire—five hundred negroes of all ages, sizes and sex, for the ensuing year."—Louisville Democrat, December 29, 1859.

And in another case David Marsh and James L. Allen, of Lexington, hired a female slave, Sally, for the year 1853, and carefully specified the clothing they would furnish:

"$61.80. On or before the 25th day of December 1853, we or either of us promise to pay Charles D. Carr, or order, sixty-one dollars 80/100 cents for the hire of a negro woman Sally, and promise to give her the following clothes; two shirts, two summer dresses, one plaid linsey dress, two pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes, one winter dress and one blanket and pay her physician's bill and return her at said time. In case of death, her hire to cease from that date. Witness our hands this 19th day of January, 1853." 29
COLEMAN: COURTS USUALLY UPHELD RENTER'S SIDE IN CASES INVOLVING SLAVE HIRING

Even with good treatment promised their slaves in the rental contracts, owners were occasionally in litigation over the loss of their blacks by death, which, as they charged, was due to improper medical attention during sick spells or from ruthless overwork. However, the courts of Kentucky usually upheld the renter's side of the case in suits over the death or loss by running away of a hired slave.

A. McCoy vs. Edward McAllister, Fayette Circuit Court, File 1365, August 28, 1853. This suit grew out of the rental of the defendant's slave, Henry, who, as the plaintiff charged, was "a confirmed runaway." McCoy alleged that Henry "repeatedly ran away and was absent a greater part of the time he was hired." The court held in favor of McCoy for damages of $66.95 for "ketching the runaway slave Henry," who was apprehended in Greenup County.

BLACK TRAINED IN LAW FOR SALE 1849

Readers of the Louisville Courier had their attention called to a very unusual slave sale, which the local papers captioned: "Negro Lawyer at Auction!" which, no doubt, created some amazement among members of the local bar, as well as general discussion:

"There will be offered to the highest bidder, at the office of J. S. Young, on 5th street, this morning at 9 o'clock. A valuable yellow man, supposed to have his blood fully half mixed with the Anglo-Saxon, stout and active and weighing 175 pounds. A very good rough lawyer; very healthy, and title good—said negro is not fitted to practice in the Court of Appeals or in the Court of Chancery, but take him in a common law case, or a six-penny trial before a County Magistrate and 'he can't be beat.' Said yellow man can also take depositions, make out legal writings, and is thoroughly adept at brow-beating witnesses and other tricks of the trade."
On another occasion, several years later, the Reverend William Pratt was approached by Nancy Lee, a slave, who was in great distress because her two daughters were doomed to be sold, and most likely to be taken South. Tony Lee, the father of the girls, had been successful in purchasing their freedom and, just before his death, turned over the papers to them. Negro traders visited Nancy, the mother, and through a ruse secured the daughters’ “free papers” and destroyed them. The girls were then offered for sale at public auction on Cheapside at the next county court day, February 13, 1860.

Mr. Pratt noted in his diary that the girls were “17 and 19 years old, handsome and active,” and added, with a note of encouragement, that friends of the old Negro woman “had seen negro traders and had persuaded some of them not to bid on the girls.”

As Letty, the oldest girl, was first offered for sale, the Baptist preacher opened the bid with $800. Some one bid higher. Pratt continued his bidding until one thousand dollars had been reached. Then, the Baptist divine

stepped upon the auction block, explained the situation and begged the bidders to withdraw, but, when the bidding was resumed, the traders ran the price of Letty up to $1700, and the girl was “knocked down” to the Lexington slave-trading firm of Northcutt, Marshall & Company.

When the second girl was put on the block, she was “bid off” in the same manner for $1600 by a slave dealer from Covington. “Such scenes are shocking to our moral natures,” lamented Mr. Pratt, “if God’s curse does not rest on that concern [Negro traders], then I am no prophet. Negro traders are the greatest curse to our land, and I do wish the city council would impose such a tax as to drive them from our midst...”
Despite adverse public sentiment, however, slave sales continued and "nigger traders" of Kentucky plied their infamous traffic in human beings until well into the Civil War period. As late as the summer of 1864, when it seemed apparent to many that the Confederate States were doomed, there was an occasional slave sale made by some commissioner in the settlement of an estate. Even though slave values had depreciated to almost nothing, there were those, nevertheless, who still believed the institution would survive, or, if emancipation was enforced by law, that compensation would be paid for the liberated slaves, and human chattels were now and then offered on the Lexington market:

"FOR SALE—8 likely negroes, consisting of two women, both likely and good cooks, one ironer and washer, one boy 13 or 14 years—balance younger children of both sexes—all healthy; of good family and likely."  

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SLAVE TRADER JUST NORTH OF LEXINGTON 1816

S. Edward Stone, who lived in the delightful old house known as "The Grange," four miles north of Paris on the old Limestone Road (Maysville), was one of the earliest to notify the public that he was in the "nigger trading" business:

"CASH FOR NEGROES!

"I wish to purchase TWENTY NEGROES, BOYS & GIRLS from 10 to 25 years of age. A liberal price will be given for those answering the description on early application to the subscriber.

EDWARD STONE,
Living on the Limestone Road, 4 miles from Paris leading to Millersburg."
FOREIGN VISITORS OBSERVE SLAVE TRADE DOWN RIVER 1818

Just when Kentucky's slave trade with the Cotton Kingdom began is not definitely known, but, as early as 1818, Fearon, the English traveler, noted having seen fourteen flatboats loaded with Kentucky slaves on their way down the Mississippi River to Southern markets.

Estwick Evans, while visiting in the South during the same year, observed the growing traffic in slaves: "They are the subject of continual speculation and are daily brought together with other live-stock from Kentucky and other places to Natchez and the New Orleans markets."

DESCRIPTION OF SLAVE COFFLE IN LEX AREA 1822

Four years later, in 1822, the Reverend James H. Dickey, traveling on the road from Paris to Lexington, encountered a coffle of slaves: "Having passed through Paris, in Bourbon County, Kentucky, the sound of music, (beyond a little rising of ground) attracted my attention; I looked forward and saw the flag of my country waving. Supposing I was about to meet a military parade, I drove hastily to the side of the road; and, having gained the top of the ascent, I discovered, I suppose, about forty black men, all chained together after the following manner: Each of them was hand-cuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file.

A chain perhaps forty feet long, the size of a fifth-horse chain, was stretched between the two ranks, to which short chains were joined which connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, about thirty women, in double rank, the couples tied hand to hand. A solemn sadness sat on every countenance, and the dismal silence of this march of despair was in
DESCRIPTION OF SLAVE COFFLE IN LEX AREA 1822

coleman, slavery, 1940

Interrupted only by the sound of two violins; yes, as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece; the second couple were ornamented with cockades; while near the center waved the republican flag, carried by a hand literally in chains.

These slaves, as the traveling divine later learned, belonged to the "nigger trader" Edward Stone, and were on their way to Paris to be joined with a larger coffle being collected for a shipment to the Southern markets, probably New Orleans."10

LEX PLANTER DENOUNCES SLAVE SELLING 1822

coleman, slavery, 1940

Writing under the pen name of "Philanthropist," a Bourbon County planter described through the columns of the Western Citizen a "revolting spectacle" he had recently witnessed in Paris. "I mean," said he, "the diabolical, damning practice of SOUL PEDLING, or the purchase of negroes and driving them like brutes to [the Southern] market. This is a kind of business commenced at first on a moderate scale, in Kentucky, but now grown so enormously as to become truly alarming. Oh conscience! Has remorse totally lost its sting?" 11
Court day in Paris, September 17, 1822. Those who visited the county seat on that busy day saw "between seventy-five and one hundred miserable wretches galling under the yoke of despots, doomed to leave their homes, their country and loved ones, rendered dear to them by the strongest ties of nature, from the earliest dawn of life."

Chained and closely guarded, "these slaves," as the account runs, "were paraded on the public square in front of the courthouse, the seat of justice. Over their heads waved the Star-Spangled Banner, the flag of freedom, the Eagle of proud America over a set of poor unhappy slaves, fettered to misery, to despair, who have never known liberty, save in dreams of the night, or the airy visions of the day..." Clearly indicating the strong sentiment against "nigger traders" was the caustic admonition hurled at those operating in Paris: "May the arm of retributive justice soon fall upon the heads of those aliens from refined society, for the heaven-daring, hell-deserving traffic they are engaged in."

No aspect of slavery was more objectionable to the great majority of the people than that of buying and selling slaves for profit. To be known as a "nigger trader" was about "the last word of opprobrium" that "could be slung at a man." This "state of opinion," as Professor Shaler observed, was very general "among the better class of slave owners in Kentucky."

Another writer characterized the Negro traders as "miserable anti-human critters, walking on two legs and looking like men, called nigger droviers." The business was brutalizing in the extreme. "Nigger traders" were constantly called upon to engage in the separation of families, to enforce discipline under adverse circumstances over slaves who in many cases were selected for sale precisely because they were unruly or hard to manage. Few high-minded men would engage in such a business, and those who did were usually

17. "Their admission into society, however, is not recognized. Planters associate with them freely enough, in the way of business, but notice them no further."—Ingraham, The Southwest, II, 245.
demoralized by its demands. To succeed among ruthless competitors, the "niggah tradah" soon learned to drive hard bargains and became as adept at covering up the defects of his Negroes as ever was a Yankee horse trader in making light of blemishes in horseflesh. In spite of all this, there were those who were willing to endure the odium that was universally heaped upon the "nigger traders" in order to reap the large and tempting profits derived from the business.

In 1833 the editor of the Western Luminary expressed his indignation at the sight of a large cofle of slaves passing through the streets of Lexington on their way to be sold South: "Last week, a number of slaves were driven through Main Street, of our city, among them a number manacled together, two abreast, all connected by and supporting a heavy iron chain, which extended the whole length of the line. . . ." This "nefarious traffic" in slaves, as the Presbyterian Church denominated it, was a "flagrant violation of every principle of mercy, justice and humanity." Other religious sects of the Bluegrass strongly voiced similar sentiments against the traders.
There lived some miles above Louisville an old colonel, veteran of the War of 1812, whose large plantation was well stocked with slaves. This old soldier was known far and wide as a very cruel and harsh "slave-breeder," selecting, as was his custom, his healthiest and most vigorous young mulatto girls for breeding purposes, in the same way that the basic livestock of the farm was chosen. With new human stock coming on all the time for the markets, this Kentuckian enjoyed a very profitable business and, no doubt, looked upon it all as quite lawful and customary.

As early as 1833 two Lexington slave traders, Pierce Griffin and Michael Hughes, were doing business at Natchez, the chief slave market of Mississippi. From the tax returns of that year, which represented one percent of the gross sales of all "transient merchants" and "vendors of slaves," it appears that Griffin sold over six thousand dollars' worth of slaves, and Hughes' sales totaled fifty-four hundred and ninety-two dollars.
During the succeeding years many slave traders came to Lexington, which was centrally located, surrounded by, and well connected with, other slaveholding counties. Robert Wickliffe, familiarly known as the "Old Duke" and the largest slaveholder in the Bluegrass, appeared before the legislature in 1840 and severely denounced Kentucky's growing slave traffic with the Cotton Kingdom and its attendant evils.

"We most ardently hope," concluded Mr. Wickliffe, "that for the honor, as well as the security of our state, our next Legislature will put a stop to the abominable traffic. We believe that, generally speaking, slaves are treated with more humanity in Kentucky than any other state in the Union, and could the horrid practice of driving them like cattle to market be broken up, a great blot would certainly be wiped off our moral character." Wickliffe's urgent appeal to the General Assembly seems to have met with little success in stamping out the "down the river" traffic in human beings, or dampening the spirits of the "nigger traders," who, in many cases, were secretly financed by some of the most prominent men of the time.

## Records of Slave Trader for Sale of 13 KY Slaves in South 1843

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Master</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R. Taylor</td>
<td>Bourbon</td>
<td>$385.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Berry</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>$337.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsh P</td>
<td></td>
<td>$350.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockwell C</td>
<td></td>
<td>$290.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either L</td>
<td></td>
<td>$350.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKinney</td>
<td>Rich'd</td>
<td>$700.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Watts</td>
<td></td>
<td>$520.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evins of Clark</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>$440.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massie C</td>
<td></td>
<td>$450.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either L</td>
<td></td>
<td>$660.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Carter</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$5,292.50
These slaves were sold by the Kentucky traders at the Natchez market during the winter of 1844 at the following prices:

"1844 Hughes & Downing—Sale of Negroes at Natchez,
Ester & Sealy to McMillen .................................. $1200.00
George, blacksmith for ...................................... 1500.00
Sam for .................................................................. 600.00
Willis & Nicey for .................................................. 1200.00
Big Peggy for .......................................................... 600.00
George bricklayer & Little Peggy ............................ 1400.00
One boy got of Evins, sold for .................................. 540.00
Joe, got of Carter in Nicholas [County] ...................... 500.00
One boy got of Massie C .......................................... 500.00
Jane, got of Either, sold for ...................................... 565.00

\$8,695.00 \[29\]

Thus, it appears that this slave-dealing firm cleared about $3,400 on their first shipment of slaves to the South, but out of the profits of this sale came the expenses of the trip from Lexington to Natchez:

"Expenses—Hughes & Downing shipment, 1844
"Jan. 5 Jail Fees at Lexington ................................. $51.00
" 6 Passage to Frankfort ....................................... 17.50
" 6 Drayage ......................................................... .75
" 7 Clothing in Louisville ...................................... 46.50
" 7 Shoes 4 pair, & stockings .................................. 7.75
" 7 Tin ware & utensils ........................................ 2.25
" 7 Spoons, knives, &c ........................................ 2.75
" 7 3 barrels meal, 1 barrel flour ............................ 7.75
" 7 Candles & soap ............................................. 3.35
" 7 Potatoes & bucket ........................................... 1.37
" 7 Beans, coffee & tin bucket ............................... 2.07
" 7 Oysters, vinegar & crackers ............................. 2.00
" 7 Bacon, Oil & Whiskey ...................................... 19.42
" 16 Passage on Decater .................................... 40.00
" 17 Bread & white sugar ..................................... .87
" 17 Storage & Agent's board ................................ 9.37
" 18 Doctor's Bill on boat .................................... 1.50
" 18 Passage from Vick'sbg to Natchez .................. 15.00
" 18 To wood & sugar .......................................... .87
" 23 Bread, wood & sugar .................................... .87
" 23 3 Days house rent ........................................ 2.00
" 28 Storage ..................................................... 1.00
" 26 Nails & brands ........................................... .37
During the years 1840–48 the slave trade in Kentucky was conducted quietly, and there seems to have been little or no public sentiment exhibited against the business. In its methods slave dealing did not differ greatly from ordinary livestock trading, for, when unable to drive a bargain privately, the trader always had recourse to the public auctions.

Even with the expense account of $257.72 deducted from the proceeds of their sales, Hughes & Downing cleared more than $3,000—quite a nice sum in those days for their first slave trading with the Southern markets.

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**27 Bill of Sale**  
Feb. 5 Expenses & Fees  
10 Nails, Brands, &c  
17 Blacking, Tea, Meal & sugar  
18 Coffee 62, Ferriage 75  
24 Drayage & Ferriage  
27 Passage up the River  
28 Passage to Lexington

$257.72

Even with the expense account of $257.72 deducted from the proceeds of their sales, Hughes & Downing cleared more than $3,000—quite a nice sum in those days for their first slave trading with the Southern markets.

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**27-70 Hughes Adm'r vs. Salem Downing, Fayette Circuit Court, File 1880, January 12, 1853. Deposition of Salem Downing.**
In 1849 the Kentucky legislature repealed the Non-Importation Act of 1839, and slave dealers and "nigger speculators" in consequence were overjoyed, for it meant that slaves from other states could then be brought into Kentucky and sold either in the markets or out of the state. Having set aside the Non-Importation Act, the legislature went still further and passed an act absolving from punishment all those who had theretofore violated this act. This repeal virtually converted Kentucky into an active slave mart for the Southern states.

New traders were now attracted to the "nigger trading" business, and the profits to be gained therefrom caused the traders to disdain social ostracism and to advertise openly. Lewis C. Robards, the well-known slave dealer of Lexington, now carried a standing advertisement in the local papers: "I wish to purchase a lot of merchantable negroes for which I will pay the HIGHEST CASH PRICE. Persons having negroes can find me at the Phoenix (Chiles) Hotel. L. C. Robards."

Other dealers were now moving to Lexington and opening up their stands; James G. Mathers operated a slave jail on East Main Street and John Mattingly had Negroes for sale at McGowan's jail, corner of Short and Mulberry streets. Traders became bolder and competition keener, while newspaper columns were filled with dealers' announcements. The traders were now making the most of their opportunity: "200 Negroes Wanted! —Men, Women, Boys & Girls, from 12 to 30 years of age," read the want notice of J. M. Heady, a newcomer to Lexington in the slave-dealing business. He significantly added that he would "at all times pay cash and the highest price."
Citizens of Maysville were surprised and somewhat shocked when they saw the steamer Herman from Charleston, Virginia, land at their wharf on November 4, 1849, with forty-four Negroes, men, women and children. According to the local newspaper, "seventeen had handcuffs on one hand and were chained together, two and two," and were being conducted through the streets of Maysville "for the interior of the state, under the charge of two regular [Negro] traders." 37

It is more than probable that this shipment of slaves was on its way to Lexington, which by 1849 had become the largest slave market in Kentucky. The Bluegrass, with Lexington as its center, was still the largest slave-holding section of the state and was more favorably situated for the slave dealers than the river towns of Louisville, Covington, Paducah or Maysville. In these towns the risk of slaves slipping across the river into free territory was far greater than at the inland city of Lexington.

37 Maysville Exp. 11-6-1849

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By 1848 Lewis C. Robards had attained the position of the leading "nigger trader" of Lexington, and the following year he rented the slave jail of William A. Pullum, the veteran dealer, who gave notice that, on account of ill health, he had leased out his "old stand" near the Bruen House, which faced Broadway with the slave "coops" fronting on Mechanics Alley." To all of his old friends and customers, Pullum warmly recommended his new lessee, who, as he stated, was now ready to "keep negroes by the day or week for anyone wishing to confine them in jail for sale or for other purposes." 40

Robards remained at "Pullum's old stand" on Broadway through the years 1849 and 1850, where, in his yard facing Mechanics Alley, he kept the common run of his slaves. Here the Negroes were confined in vermin-infested slave pens or "coops," eight feet square, seven

39. Lexington Observer & Reporter, May 5, 1849. This two-story red brick building on Broadway was used by Robards as a residence, and he kept his slaves in the rear yard. It was torn down in 1902, and the Elks Club building (now Peerless Laundry) occupies this site at 149 N. Broadway, immediately north of the Opera House.

feet high, erected on damp brick floors, with small barred windows near the roof and with heavy, iron-grated doors.

Business continued to grow for Robards, and in the spring of 1849 he leased, as a jail, the old Lexington Theatre on West Short Street, where, in the earlier days, Bluegrass society had witnessed the most popular plays of the time. Within two years he had purchased this property, made extensive improvements, and advertised it as “the largest and best constructed building for a jail in the West.” He took particular pride in the rooms, recommending them as “large and airy and neatly furnished.” “This establishment under Robards’ able management was a busy and select slave market.”

In comfortable and well-furnished apartments on the second floor of a two-story brick building adjoining the old theatre site, Robards kept what he called his “choice stock” of female slaves. “After dinner visited a negro jail,” wrote Orville H. Browning in describing this exclusive barracoon. “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 needlework awaiting a purchaser. The proprietor made them get up & turn around 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...”
Robards' "choice stock" of beautiful quadroon and octofoon girls, of which Senator Browning speaks, was indeed the talk and toast of steamboat barrooms, tippling houses and taverns, even as far away as old New Orleans. Over the mint julep, planters' punch and other potent beverages which make men reminiscent, many short-necked, beady-eyed Frenchmen and gangling hawk-faced Kentuckians and Tennesseans swapped vivid stories of the "inspections" in Robards' jail, where the "choice stock," stripped to the skin, dumbly submitted to the leering gaze and intimate examination of traders ostensibly interested only in the physical soundness of prospective purchases.

Obviously Robards' "choice stock" was of the class known everywhere as "fancy girls"—prospective mistresses—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. . . ."

Delphia, a handsome mulatto girl of eighteen, was sold by Robards during the late summer of 1854. This female slave, as was the custom, was subjected to a very rigid physical examination before leaving the jail. Her "small hands, tapering fingers and the beautiful proportions of her body" were "commented upon by those present." "Robards, in proof of her inspection before witnesses, warranted her "sound in mind and body, and a slave for life"; but, on the trip to New Orleans, in a gang of eighty slaves, Delphia died of "nigger consumption" at Natchez."
Traders multiplied in Lexington to such an extent that by the end of 1858 there were as many slave dealers as there were mule traders. More than two dozen were advertising regularly in the newspapers. Among the more prominent were: Bolton, Dickens & Company; Robert H. Thompson & Company; Griffin & Pullum; Blackwell, Murphy & Ferguson; A. B. Colwell; P. N. Brent; R. W. Lucas; Silas and George Marshall; Northcutt, Marshall & Company; Neal McCann; W. F. White & Company; J. and T. Arteburn; Robert H. Elam; William F. Talbott; J. M. Heady and John Mattingly.

An English traveler visiting the Bluegrass country during this period described Lexington as "one of the largest slave markets in the United States." He considered this market as "the great place from which the South is supplied." As the business of slave trading was a novelty to this traveler, he closely observed all phases of it. The slave-pens, which he examined minutely, fascinated him. After studying "five of these pens," his attention was directed to "one very large slave-pen," where, he afterwards learned, "about one hundred slaves had been sold a few days before," and these "had traveled [to Lexington] by railway all chained together."
Although Lexington had the best equipped slave markets in the state, there were in Louisville several "barracoons of slaves and slave markets," where, it was reported, "some of the best quality of slaves may be had on terms low for cash." During the period 1845 to 1860, the more prominent Louisville traders were: John Clark, William Kelley, William F. Talbott, Thomas Powell, John Mattingly, Jordan and Tarlton Arteburn. The Arteburn brothers aspired to leadership and put out flaring advertisements calling first for one hundred, and then for two hundred and fifty Negroes. These purchases they usually shipped direct to the Southern markets. There were also numerous smaller traders in and around Louisville, less prosperous than some of the above mentioned, who likewise engaged in the "nigger trading" business.

There were several methods by which the slave traders obtained their Negroes to make up their coffees for the Southern markets. Their principal means, no doubt, was through their agents who circulated all over Kentucky and bought privately. Washington Bolton, of the firm of Bolton, Dickens & Company, wrote his agent James McMillen, at Maysville, on October 3, 1855, to gather up some Negroes for his shipment which was to leave Lexington in a few days for the South: "We must have negroes if possible. Can't you buy the man and wife in jail? Buy every good negro you can and have them here by Friday. If you believe we can make $150 a head profit on the Peed negroes, buy them; if not, let them runaway, but don't let any of your negroes get away." On another occasion Bolton sent his agent McMillen "eleven thousand, four hundred and sixty dollars in money and Eastern checks" to "lay out in negroes" for his firm in Lexington.

While the traders themselves usually remained in town near their jails or Negro depots, their agents traveled extensively over Kentucky, stopping and chatting at the country stores and taverns, loitering, treating and asking questions at the barrooms and tippling bars.
houses, looking in at the slave jails and talking shop.
They were ever cordial to the slaveholding planter or farmer, whether in town on court days, on the highways, or in the fields, as if specially concerned about his welfare, but at all times they were hoping that he would be forced to sell some of his Negroes. Perhaps some of them had become too unruly to keep, perhaps the planter was facing financial ruin. Little did the dealer care, for the planter's necessity was the dealer's opportunity.

A "nigger trader" was usually described as a coarse, ill-bred person, provincial in speech and manner, "with a cross-looking phiz, a whiskey-tinctured nose, cold, hard-looking eyes, a dirty tobacco-stained mouth and shabby dress. . . ."
Edward Stone, of Bourbon County, was one of the Kentuckians who engaged early in the profitable slave traffic with the South. As early as 1816, he was engaged in collecting and buying young slaves of both sexes from all over the Bluegrass, stowing them in the large, iron-barred cellars of his home, "The Grange," until he had gathered a sufficiently large number to set out for the Southern markets. Then, he would dress the Negroes in good clothes, daub the grey wool of aging slaves with shoe blacking, comb their kinky heads into some appearance of neatness, rub oil on their dusky faces to give them a sleek healthy color, occasionally give each a dram to make him or her sprightly, teach each one the part he or she was to play, and start overland for the boat at Maysville on the first leg of the long trip down the river.

After having taken numerous cargoes of slaves to the Southern markets, from which he derived a substantial sum of money, Stone at length announced to his friends that he was going to give up the business of trading in Negroes. Henceforth, he would lead the life of a Kentucky planter on his rich Bluegrass farm. But, having a few surplus slaves on hand, he purchased additional Negroes, enough to fill out his cargo for one last trip South to dispose of this remaining stock, so that he would then be free to retire.

As Stone's flat-bottomed boat was drifting down the Ohio River, with his last cargo of seventy-seven slaves on the morning of September 17, 1826, there was uneasiness below deck betokening trouble. Closely guarding their plan of escape, the slaves bided their time until the boat reached a point near Stephensport, in Breckinridge County, about ninety miles below Louisville, when suddenly they seized their opportunity and openly revolted.2

Armed and desperate, they completely surprised James M. Gray, of Woodville, Mississippi, was a passenger on the boat, returning home after having visited his father and friends in Kentucky.—Woodville Republican, October 14, 1826.
Stone and his crew of four men. In the bloody hand-to-hand struggle that ensued, the Negroes, armed with billets of wood, axes and knives, killed all the white men on board, weighted their bodies and cast them into the river, and, "after plundering the boat of about $2000 in specie and other valuable property, they sank her; then landed on the Indiana shore, from whence fifty-six of them marched in a body through the country and were apprehended, and brought across the river to Hardinsburg, in Breckinridge County, Kentucky." *

* * * * *

Trader Stone's "body-servant," a yellow boy, Lewis, with unswerving devotion and in the face of great odds, fought for his master to the last, "and narrowly, and with great injury escaped his fate." He was left beside Stone for dead, but recovered and returned to Paris with some of his master's personal effects. For his valor he was liberated, given a small tract of land with a cabin, where he passed the remainder of his days in sight of his master's old home—"The Grange."  

5. This fine example of Georgian architecture, located four miles north of Paris on the Maysville Road, was built around 1813-1815. Its present owner, Mr. Thomas Drenan, now occupies it. Beneath this house are five or six strongly-barred cellars where Stone used to confine his slaves while awaiting shipment to the South.
SLAVES IN 1826 OHIO RIVER REVOLT CAPTURED; LEADERS HANGED

coleman, slavery, 1940

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All of the Negroes "that were in the boat when the murders were committed have been apprehended," proudly announced the Western Luminary, and five of them, thought to have been the ringleaders, were tried for murder and found guilty at the next term of the Breckinridge Circuit Court. Jo, Duke, Resin, Stephen and Wesley were publicly hanged for their crimes on November 29, 1826; forty-seven of the Negroes were sold down the river as a punishment, while the remainder, thought to have been drawn into the affair with "serious reluctance," were brought back to Bourbon County.

6. October 11, 1826. "All of the five men who were murdered have since been found, and decently interred at an old graveyard near the mouth of Sinking Creek, in Breckinridge County, Kentucky."
7. Breckinridge Circuit Court, Order Book 7, p. 194, October 18, 1826.

REvolt of Slave Gang in Greenup 1829

coleman, slavery, 1940

p. 176/

News of a "most shocking outrage" in Greenup County, in northeastern Kentucky, further inflamed the public mind and clearly exhibited some of the darker aspects of the domestic slave trade. Henry Gordon, a well-known Negro trader of this state, had recently purchased in Maryland about ninety Negroes, men, women and children, and was taking them to the Mississippi market. He was assisted by an associate, Gabriel T. Allen and by William B. Petit (or Petett), the waggoner, who conveyed the baggage.

"The men were handcuffed and chained together in the usual manner for driving these poor wretches, while the women and children were suffered to proceed without incumbrance. By means of a file, the negroes, unobserved, had succeeded in separating the irons which bound their hands, in such a way as to be able to throw them off at any moment. About six o'clock in the morning [August 14, 1829], while proceeding on the state
road leading from Greenup to Vanceburg, two of them dropped their shackles, and commenced to fight, when the waggoner, Petit, rushed in with his whip to compel them to desist.

"At that very moment every negro was found perfectly at liberty; and one of them seizing a club gave Petit a violent blow on the head, and laid him dead at his feet; and Allen, who had come to his assistance, met a similar fate, from the contents of a pistol fired by another of the gang. Gordon was then attacked, seized and held by one of the negroes, whilst another fired twice at him with a pistol, the ball of which each time grazed his head; but not proving effectual, he was beaten with clubs and left for dead."

Satisfied now that they had "finished off" their white guardians, the insurgent slaves "commenced pillaging the wagon, and with an axe split open the trunk of Gordon, rifled it of the money, about $2400; sixteen of the negroes then took to the woods." Gordon, in the meantime, not being materially injured, "was enabled by the assistance of a woman to mount his horse and

Dinah, the slave woman, was found guilty along with the men, but her execution was temporarily respited when it was found by a "female jury of twelve matrons" that she was "pregnant and quick with child." She was therefore allowed to remain in jail for several months until after the birth of her child, but was taken on May 25 of the following year (1830) to the gallows, which had been erected in the courthouse yard at Greenupburg, and "hanged by the neck until dead." The public indignation aroused by the murders and the trial contributed to the successful passage of the Non-Importation Act in 1833.
Most of the Kentucky slave traders preferred to take their coffles of slaves South in the autumn. The change of climate was generally less injurious at that time; moreover, the slaves reached Mississippi and Louisiana at the end of the planting season, when the plantation owners were better able to purchase, having the funds or credit of their recently gathered cotton or sugar-cane crops.

Slaves were sent South by both land and water. In the fall and winter they were usually sent by water; but in the summer they often went overland. The journey afoot, if carefully made, hardened and enabled them to endure the climate of lower Mississippi and Louisiana. Many traders stressed acclimation as an important element in the value of their slaves, since it was generally estimated among dealers that about twenty-five per cent of the slaves "lose their lives when brought from Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky into the cotton plantations and rice swamps of the lower South." 20

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Alfred Wornell, a Bourbon County slave, related his experiences as he went overland from Lexington to Natchez in one of Griffin & Pullum's coffle gangs: "Sixty-three had [head] of us walked. Dere wuz two wagons an' a amb'lance. Dere wuz only one little chile; de res' wuz men an' women. De oldes' man wuz 'bout 45 and de women 'bout 15 to 25 years. Dey give us meat an' bread an' coffee. Dere wuz plenty of it while we wuz comin'. We started 'fore day an' traveled 'till three o'clock in de ev'nin. We stopped some days to res' up." When asked if the women in the gang were chained, this old ex-slave from Kentucky exclaimed: "De women could'n' do nuthin'; had to folle de men. When dey got sick, dey put 'em in de wagon." 21
At all times and in all markets the price a slave brought depended, in a great measure, upon the general appearance he or she presented to the intending buyer. Slaves may have been well made and physically faultless, yet their value was impaired by a sour look, a vacant stare, or a dulness of demeanor. For this reason they were instructed to look "spry and smart," to hold themselves well up and put on a smiling countenance. They were charged to speak up and recommend themselves, especially when they were getting past the active period of life. A slave had to give his age as his master had told him to state it, or else take the consequences. As a final part of their examination by prospective buyers, they were required to dance, jump, leap and twist about so that the cautious customers might see that they had no stiff joints or other physical defects.

Another Kentucky slave related his experiences in reaching the Natchez market: "Jesse Hutsel bought me [in Missouri] an' tuck me back to Kaintucky in 1844. He got in debt an' sol' me to Jake Stone, who lived fo' mile from Lexin'ton. I run'd away from 'im to Bourbon County. I was caught and brought to de Lexin'ton jail. Tom Scott he bought me and put me in his jail in Lexin'ton. Den Billy Pullum he bought me. Him an' Pierce Griffin was niggah-tradahs, an' put me in his jail in Lexin'ton. Pullum brought me down t' Griffin's yahd at de Forks o' de road..."
While many Kentucky slaves enjoyed the benign side of slavery and were well pleased with their lot, they never quite lost sight of the fact that they, too, through some unforeseen circumstances, or the death of their master, might some day find themselves in a trader's coffle gang bound for the Southern markets. Lewis, a Lexington slave, vividly recalled how this haunting fear affected his fellow blacks: "The trader was all around us," wrote Lewis, "and the slave-pens close at hand. We did not know what time any of us might be in them. Then there were the rice-swamps and the sugar and cotton plantations; we had had them before us as terrors, by our masters and mistresses, all our lives. We knew about them all, and when a friend was carried off, why, it was the same as death, for we could not write or hear, and never expected to see them again."

Slave drivers frequently put up overnight with their human cargoes at farm houses en route, and such a scene left a lasting impression upon John Kerrick, who was reared on this public highway in Hardin County. "I remember," he stated, "when I was a boy, one night a gang of slaves were driven up to my father's house at dusk. The slave dealer wanted to put them in the barn for the night, but father was afraid of fire and would not allow it. We had a big haystack outdoors, and all the slaves, men, women and children were chained together and slept on the haystack that night. Some of the women had babies in their arms. . . ."
It is no wonder then that slaves sold down the river by the "nigger traders" made every possible effort to get back to their Kentucky homes:

"$100 REWARD—Ranaway from the subscriber living in Cass County, Georgia, a negro man named Jess. He is a dark mulatto, 45 years old, a small piece bit off one of his ears, a scar on one side of his forehead and his right shoulder bone has been broken. The said slave was raised in Lexington, Ky., where he will doubtless endeavor to go."

Another Kentucky-born slave, who had seen the plantation life in the South, escaped, and was thought to be "lurking about" the vicinity of his old home, near Lexington:

"$200 REWARD—Ranaway from the subscriber in Yazoo County, Mississippi, a negro man named Henry, his left eye out, some scars from a dirk on and under his left arm, and much scarred with the whip."

Sometimes Kentucky-born slaves, when sold down the river, retained the appellation "Kentucky" to distinguish them from other slaves: "Ranaway from the plantation of James Surgette, the following negroes; Randal, has one ear cropped; Bob has lost one eye; Kentucky Tom, has one jaw broken." Then there was the light-skinned mulatto slave, Jacob, of Lowndes County, Mississippi, who, as the runaway notice stated, "was raised in Kentucky." He had, like hundreds of others, escaped from some exacting overseer's slave gang in the Deep South and was working his way back to his old home and loved ones. In his efforts to elude capture, Jacob posed as a white man. He wore "a large dark breast pin, blue coat and pantaloons, ruffled shirt, his hair cut in the latest style, light brown, a little kinkey; it is supposed he wears a wig over his hair and has a dirk and pistols about him."
Miss Lizzie Hardin, daughter of a prominent planter and slaveholder of Mercer County, near Harrodsburg, relates in her diary the pathetic and gripping story of one of her grandfather's family servants—"that part of his life which I knew was equally dramatic and equally sad." This slave, familiarly known as Uncle Len, "became unendurable to the neighbors," continued Miss Hardin, "and they told my grandfather that unless he was sent away they would kill him. Again the dreaded mysterious sentence 'down the river' was passed."

With sheer devotion to his master, even in the face of the direst calamity that could befall a slave, Uncle Len remained steadfast. "When the negro trader began to bargain for him, he called his attention to his tremendous frame and sinewy limbs and insisted that his master should not be cheated in the price. The sale was made and as Uncle Len went out to meet his unknown fate he picked up a chicken which had been mine and took it with him as a last memento of the family to whom he had given the devotion of his savage nature. Poor Uncle Len! I hope that he found the terrors of those dreaded horrors 'down the river' existed more in his imagination than in reality and that often in the cotton and rice fields of the South he thought of us as regretfully as we always thought of him..."
During the summer of 1853 handbills were freely circulated on the streets of Covington and Cincinnati warning citizens to be on the lookout for Robert Russell, an "idle, loaﬁsh, mulatto," contemptuously described as the "Judas of his race," who, for a small sum of money, was decoying slaves to either side of the Ohio River:

"SLAVE-HOLDERS OF KENTUCKY!
BEWARE THE ROGUE, ROBERT RUSSELL!

"Who absconded from Ripley, Ohio, to evade the strong arm of the law he rightly deserved for misdemeanors in that town. This man is a light mulatto, and has betrayed members of his race on numerous occasions. He will as readily take ten dollars from any of your slaves to bring them to Cincinnati, and again take ten dollars to return them to you, as he has no higher purpose than to serve his paltry self."

It was charged in litigation, and not denied, that Lewis C. Robards, the well-known "nigger buyer" of Lexington, was "regularly engaged in the slave trafﬁc, buying and selling slaves and sending them out of the state into the Southern slave states" and "that his jail is the rendezvous for a gang of kidnappers and nigger thieves that operate along the Ohio River, seizing free negroes who live in the extreme southern border of the state of Ohio and sending them to Robards in Lexington."

"Martha, ﬁve years old and free, lived with her aged uncle near Portsmouth, on the banks of the Ohio River, until one night a band of white "nigger stealers" broke open the door with an ax, and "grasping the wool on the top of her old uncle's head" seized Martha and her six little brothers and sisters and carried them away into captivity, to Robards' jail in Lexington. There they remained to be sold into slavery.

During the winter of 1850 James McMullen, trusted "nigger agent" of Robards, and some of his marauding..."
gang broke open the little log cabin of Arian Belle, a free "woman of color" living in Mason County and, seizing her "secretly and clandestinely in the dead of night," made off with her and Melissa, her four-year-old child. These unfortunates the agents hurried to Lexington and lodged in Robards' slave pen. Soon thereafter Robards sold them as slaves for life to a sugar planter residing in Louisiana and put them on board the river packet Sea Gull, operating between Frankfort and Louisville, on the first part of their long journey down the river. It was only through the assistance of some of Arian's white friends, who learned of her sad plight by the time she reached Louisville, that Robards was prevented from "running her off to some of the Southern states and there selling her into slavery...."

Robards had agents working for him in all the Bluegrass counties and those bordering on the Ohio River—buying and selling slaves, and sometimes stealing and kidnapping free Negroes. Among these were James McMillen, George W. Maraman, Rodes Woods, William Hill, George Payton, Booz Browner, John T. Montjoy, Everett Stillwell, and his own brother, Alfred O. Robards.

Many of the Kentucky slaveholders had their sentiments voiced in the Frankfort Weekly Yeoman, which denounced the practices of a gang of Negro thieves and slave dealers who made their headquarters in Maysville, close to the Ohio shore. This gang of "nigger stealers" and kidnappers had connections with the slave dealers in the central part of the state, and unscrupulous dealers like Robards never questioned where the slaves were secured. Once the slave was shackled and loaded on a South-bound boat, he found himself helpless insofar as recourse to the courts was concerned.
On one particular occasion this gang of Maysville Negro thieves broke into a house in Ohio and stole a young mulatto girl. This child told a passer-by in Maysville of her plight and thus aroused the suspicions of the citizens of the town. Upon investigating this story, police found that Lewis Allen and Henry Young, of Maysville, were professional Negro kidnappers. These men threatened to burn the town if the police insisted on making further investigations, and it was necessary to appoint vigilance committees to extinguish numerous fires. During this melee a number of Maysville slaves were spirited away to the central Kentucky market and eventually to the South.40

While most of the "nigger stealing" cases were more or less local in scope, there were some, nevertheless, which attracted state and even national interest. Willis Lago, a "free man of color" residing in Cincinnati, Ohio, was indicted in the Woodford Circuit Court in the fall of 1859, for "unlawfully & willfully enticing away" a light-skinned mulatto girl, Charlotte, the property of Claiborne W. Nichols, of Versailles.41 As was proved, Charlotte agreed to pay Lago fifty dollars for his efforts "in enabling her to escape from her master and out of the bounds of Kentucky." 41

Governor Beriah Magoffin, of Kentucky, made a demand upon William Dennison, Governor of Ohio, for
the return of Lago, who stood indicted in Woodford County on the charge of assisting Charlotte to escape. Upon the refusal of Dennison to deliver up Lago, the Commonwealth of Kentucky in 1860 appealed to the United States Supreme Court for a mandamus to compel the Governor of Ohio to surrender the "nigger stealer" to Kentucky authorities. The highest court of the land ruled that, although Negro stealing was a crime in Kentucky where slavery was practiced, such was not the case in Ohio, where man was not recognized as property, nor was it an offense affecting the public safety.\footnote{42. Kentucky vs. Dennison, U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 24 Howard 717.} Lago was never remanded to Kentucky, while Charlotte, the twenty-seven-year-old slave of "genteeel manners and fine appearance," was never found, and remained to her master in Woodford County a total loss "of the value to-wit, of $800."\footnote{43. Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Lago, supra, Deposition of Nichols.}

All "nigger stealers," however, were not actuated by mercenary motives. Because of purely humanitarian principles, some of them risked their lives and surrendered their own personal liberty that human beings in bondage might be free. John Van Zandt, an elderly farmer "of limited education and slender means," but distinguished "by unquestioned integrity and benevolence of heart," lived on a small farm in Hamilton County, Ohio, several miles north of Cincinnati. As was his custom, Van Zandt drove to the Cincinnati market on May 23, 1842, and spent the night in Walnut Hills, a suburb of the city. At daybreak next morning he met, by prearrangement, a small company of Negroes, consisting of a middle-aged man, his wife, their children, the wife's mother, and two or three other persons—nine in all.

This small caravan, the property of Wharton Jones, of Kenton County, Kentucky, had the night before escaped from their master's farm and crossed the Ohio River about daylight. Van Zandt, known to be a great
advocate of Negro freedom, "loaded the runaway slaves in his covered market wagon and set out for Lebanon or Springhill, some thirty or thirty-five miles northward of Cincinnati.

After traveling about fifteen miles, their progress was arrested "by two bold villains, who, without any legal process, without any authority or request, in broad day, in open breach of the laws of Ohio, seized the blacks and carried them out of the state by force, except as to Andrew, the driver, who leaped from his seat, and escaped." 44

Jones, the Kentucky owner, promptly brought suit in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Ohio against Van Zandt, the "nigger stealer," for the loss of his slave Andrew, and for the expenses of two professional slave catchers who recovered his eight runaway Negroes.

For the plaintiff, a verdict of twelve hundred dollars was returned as damages on two counts. In addition, Van Zandt was fined five hundred dollars for concealing and harboring a runaway Negro in violation of the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. 45 Finally, after about five years of litigation, the case was reviewed by the United States Supreme Court. Justice Levi Woodbury, in rendering the decision, sustained all the judgments against Van Zandt, and further denied that the law of 1793 was opposed to either the Constitution or the Ordinance of 1787." 46

44. John Van Zandt, an important station keeper on the Underground Railroad, was the character of "Van Trompe" in Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. He had formerly been a slaveholder in Kentucky.

45. Salmon P. Chase, for the defendant Van Zandt, before the United States Supreme Court, December Term, 1846.
The election yesterday passed off without any disturbance. At this writing the Democracy claim a majority of 23 of the votes cast. The contest will now commence in the courts, where the election will be carried on account of the determined and unconcealed unfairness with which it was conducted.

The polls were not all opened promptly in the morning, at the right time; then they were closed one hour for breakfast, and then two hours for dinner.

From the very beginning of the election the negroes had every impediment thrown in the way of casting their full strength, by a system of challenging, swearing, questioning, &c. For instance: "What is your name?" "Adam Johnson, sir." "What is your name?" "Adam Johnson, sir." "Did you say Adam Johnson?" "Yes, sir" -- same question being put three times. Again: "How old are you?" "Twenty-three." "Where do you live?" "Greentown." "How long have you lived there?" "Six months." "Not so," said a voice; "he lived with me a year." Requested, sworn, clear statement given as to where and how long he lived, and with whom he lived; then he is allowed to vote. Again, "How old are you?" "Twenty-three." "How do you know?" "Can prove it by my mother." "Well, you must bring your mother to prove it." "Stand aside." Another case: Voter presents himself, who owes judge a small debt; time occupied in congratulations from the judge, and questions about the debt, and paying it, &c. Again, "Your name?" "Sam

I. Jackson, sir." "Any kin to Andrew Jackson?" "Are you married?" "No, sir." "You want to be, don't you?" "No, sir." "Have you voted anywhere else?" "No, sir; that is the reason I am here." Again. "Are you married?" "Yes, sir." "How many children have you?" And I heard of one instance where the judge asked the voter how many children his wife had before she was married. These are samples which might be added to numerous; they only serve to show the spirit which governed the judges all day long. Many of them occurred under my own eyes, others are just as well authenticated. All this and more, while voters were pressing to the polls, clamoring for the privilege, and kept from voting, by the hundred, while time was being uselessly consumed by the judges. Between six and seven o'clock, ten or fifteen white boys were brought to the polls to vote the Democratic ticket. Two refused to swear, one saying he did not know whether he was 21 or not. One swore he was nineteen, another he came from Arkansas, had been here four months; five of them being rejected the balance cleared out, but time was gained and legal voters waiting at the door. Several times during the day, Judge Graves was asked to open more voting places, on the plea that the vote could not be taken. Notice was given that the election would be contested. Judge Graves refused persistently to provide any additional means for securing a full vote. All day long Republican voters stood without, sober, quiet and orderly, waiting the chance which never came to exercise their first right of suffrage. They had been bullied, coaxed, and threatened, attempts had been made to intimidate them. Men had mustered after night away in the outskirts of the town, where most of the negroes lived -- a thing unknown
here before; and yet they stood firm by the friends who had stood by them. Their conduct excited the admiration of their very enemies. At last the fatal hour of seven arrived, promptly the polls were closed, cutting off some five or six hundred voters, who were waiting to vote. For an instant they were disposed to complain, but at the suggestion of their true friends a meeting was immediately called of those who were waiting in the court-house yard (the court-house being one of the voting places), and who had failed to get a chance to vote. Immediately they fell into line, and had their names enrolled to the number of one hundred and seventy-five.

"The same thing was done elsewhere, and this will be one of the grounds on which a petition will be presented to the proper court to set the election aside, or else give the offices to those who claim and are justly entitled to them."

"I have said the day was quiet, and so it was. There was some disturbance, however, Saturday night, which resulted in the death of one man. The negroes had had a meeting at one of their Baptist churches, where they were addressed by several white gentlemen, who counseled them to prudence, sobriety, but earnestness to endeavoring to vote on Monday. After the meeting the negroes formed a procession to the number of near a thousand and marched through two or three of the principal streets, hailing with much earnestness and trio; into the air. This was the only demonstration they made, which was wrong. When opposite the Phoenix Hotel one of them was shot in the arm."

"After the demonstration two negroes were arrested by two policemen, one of whom, attempting to escape, was shot by the policeman, but not dangerously. In the melee which accompanied this arrest and shooting, a policeman had his skull broken and was killed. So far as I have heard, he was neither shot or cut. It is unknown who hit him, but a gun was found with the butt end shattered. Street rumor says one of the policemen says he hit someone with the butt of his gun, but did not know who it was. The tumult died away, and quiet was restored. Such are the street accounts. I do not vouch for them. I only give them as they were retailed on the streets yesterday. The negroes arrested will be brought up for trial to day, when it is hoped justice will be done. Respectfully, Republican."
The Republicans had a large meeting Saturday night at the colored Baptist Church, corner of Short street continued and Dewees. They were addressed by several Republicans, all of who advised them to vote gently and prudently -- to stay away from whisky and get into a difficulty with no man. After the speaking, the colored men were advised to form a line and secure their ballots. This they did, when a band of music came up the street and invited this great procession to put in behind the music and march about town. They were advised not to do so by Mr. Davis and Colonel Goodloe. Mr. Gibbons thought that such an array of voters would have a good effect, and advised the procession to go ahead. They marched down to Main street, down Main to Broadway, and up Broadway to Second street. While passing the Phoenix Hotel a negro was shot in the arm. No firing was done at the hotel. The shooting from the procession was into the air. The Democrats got alarmed at this procession, and commenced to ring the bells and call out the militia. Poor fellows: none of them were hurt, though terribly alarmed, they pretended to be. There was no occasion for all the hubub, as not a single white man was disturbed.

The negroes Rand and Harvey were not arrested until the negro procession had disbanded. They were on their way to the lock-up, and had gotten to the corner of Main and Mill streets, under the care of the police, when the difficulty occurred in which Landers, the extra policeman, was killed. We hope this matter will be cleared up, who killed Landers.

What a tremendous big scare the Democrats got, on Saturday night. They turned white, trembled, their knees knocked together, and their teeth chattered. They rang the bells, and called out their bold soldiers, and lo! when they came, no enemy was to be found. Peace and quiet reigned, and one poor policeman was dead -- killed by whom? Let Harvey and Rand Johnson be sworn, and they will say. Oh! Democrats, how gallantly you came to the rescue.

"We are requested by Mr. Z. Gibbons to state that it is untrue that he advised violence of any kind on Saturday. He favored the marching around the streets only for the sake of the moral influence so great a number of voters would have, and counseled them throughout the entire campaign to sobriety and peace.

"Result of the Election"

The definite result in this city and county we cannot give positively. The latest Democratic report is a claim of 18 aggregate majority for their ticket. In the city the Radical majority is 305, the county precincts having given an aggregate Democratic majority of 323 (as reported). It is certainly very close, and upon an accurate count, we may have elected a portion, if not all of our ticket.

The election in this city passed off quietly. The colored voters behaved very well. A little excitement was created about 4 o'clock in the evening by the imprisonment of the negro charged with the killing of the policeman on Saturday evening. But that was soon allayed. It was cause unnecessarily.
DISTURBANCES IN LEXINGTON; THE ELECTION, A REPUBLICAN ACCT 1870

The Louisville Commercial, Aug 3, 1870, p 2

"The Democrats yesterday had control of the precincts in this city, and they exercised all their ingenuity to keep the Republican voters from the polls. We have no doubt that not less than 1,000 Republican voters failed to get in their ballots yesterday. They were annoyed and delayed in every way possible."

"The election went off peaceable enough in this county, but awfully slow. The spirit of the election laws is to give every facility to insure the prompt polling of all qualified voters, but there not being a sufficient number of voting places to take the votes offered, there was a great number of Republicans shut out -- enough to have elected our whole ticket by a round majority."

"We ask the Kentucky Gazette to explain who and what the State Guards were guarding in the Fayette House, the engine house, and the jail? Were they used by the Democratic party to guard uncertain voters? Come, Gazette, make a clean breast of it."

JUDGE'S OPINION, STREETCAR CASE IN LOU, 1870

The Louisville Commercial, Nov 4, 1870, p 4

"The Judge of the City Court, after the Deliberation of a Night, Delivers an Opinion, in which he defines Disorderly Conduct, and Expresses his Views on the Constitutionality-of-the-Amendment Question."

"The case of the colored men charged with refusing to leave their seats in a Walnut-street car on Sunday last was argued Tuesday and Wednesday and the decision of the court given yesterday. After an anxious night, in which Judge Price doubtless burned the midnight oil and consulted all the Democratic lights available, he safely delivered himself of an opinion yesterday morning on the momentous question. It was an opinion that would have done credit to Jack Bunsby, and had the appreciative Captain Cuttle heard it he would have pronounced it "an opinion as is an opinion." It was written out in tolerable English, and bore the true Democratic ring, with "no nonsense about it, you know.""

"Mr. Price, after a laborious research in Webster, gave a lengthy definition of the term disorderly. It was clear and to the point, and probably was the only clear and pointed feature of the entire "opinion.""

"After citing what the defense had argued, denying the right of the railroad company to refuse any one a seat in their cars who conducted themselves properly, the judge very pleasantly told his hearers what the English customs were in this respect, and as a piece of gratuitous information demonstrated how differently things were done in this country. This feature of the opinion showed deep thought and research. He, no doubt, centered his powerful mind for hours on files of old New York and London papers, to unearth this valuable information, and he is entitled to much
credit therefor. Reading is commendable and necessary, and as the judge has never spent much of his valuable time in this occupation with his law books, it shows a studious turn of mind, anyhow. He admitted that some of the questions involved in the case had been admitted in Pennsylvania, and also by a scallawag judge in Mobile, Ala. (We are not informed that this learned and astute expounder of law said anything about carpet-bag judges; he must have overlooked that important point in his pure Democratic reasoning.)

"Having had something to do of late with the constitutionality question, and anticipating having something to do with it again in a few days, in justice to himself he could not refrain from telling what he thought about the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. He mentioned incidentally that Congress had disfranchised those they had no right to disfranchise, and had enfranchised those who had no right to be enfranchised -- meaning, of course, the unhappy colored element. +

"As a matter of general interest, he stated that it required two-thirds of the Legislatures of the States of the Union to ratify an amendment, and to do this Congress had split up States -- actually split up States to accomplish their naughty ends. Virginia had been rent in swain! Virginia, the mother of our Presidents, and all that, had been split. We believe he made no mention of "sacred soil," "chivalry," or the usual Democratic references. It is to be regretted that he neglected so doing, as no Democratic oration is effective without it. +

"Of course the several amendments (in which Judge Price will have considerable interest shortly, were unconstitutional. Of course they were. Forgetting, however, that the Kentucky Court of Appeals long since accepted the thirteenth amendment as legitimate, and will the others when the circumstances will warrant it. Forgetting, too, that the question of the constitutionality of these amendments is purely a political question, and hardly comes within the province of a judge of a city court, however learned, wise, and unprejudiced he may be. Its of no consequence, however. +

"We don't blame Judge Price for ordering a fine to be entered against the colored men in this case, for disorderly conduct, for according to the wonderful technicalities of the law, as doled out by the City Court, he couldn't have done otherwise. In fact, it is difficult to conceive of any case wherein a negro is concerned where a fine wouldn't be entered. +

"This opinion of the jurist of the City Court is on record. It goes among those old musty authorities which old book-worms unearth three or four times a century to confound their opponents. In the future, if any ridiculous lawyer should attempt to prove the powers of the amendments to the Constitution, he can be forever squelched, if his opponent will silently lay before him this opinion of Judge Price -- and then he can only sink into a wretched oblivion, earned by his own demerit and hardihood."
During the spring of 1850 Thomas Brown, with his wife and family, moved from Cincinnati to Henderson, Kentucky. Here Mrs. Brown kept "a millinery establishment and variety shop," and in addition "made many articles of wearing apparel for both sexes." To all outward appearances her husband contributed to the family support by "peddling his wife's manufactures" on both sides of the Ohio River, for some distance above and below Henderson.

His traveling outfit consisted of "a small spring wagon, drawn by two horses," and equipped "with black oil cloth curtains that could be drawn down tightly," as Brown stated, "to protect his goods from the weather." While the ostensible use of this wagon was the carrying of peddler's supplies, actually the vehicle was employed as a conveyance for running off and stealing slaves.

During the months following Brown's settlement in Henderson County, numerous slaves from that locality and neighboring counties along the Ohio River—

At the April, 1855, term of court Brown received a two-year sentence due largely, perhaps, to the combined efforts of several Kentucky planters, among them Archibald Dixon, who raised five hundred dollars to secure the "nigger stealer's" conviction. Upon entering the "gloomy portals" of the state prison, at Frankfort, Brown found there several other well-known "nigger stealers" from different parts of Kentucky—Doyle who had been sent up for twenty years, Lovejoy for fifteen years, and the Reverend Calvin Fairbank for a like period.
Many interesting phases of Negro life are revealed as one reads the runaway advertisements in the yellowing files of the old Kentucky newspapers. Some present pictures of harsh treatment, physical deformities, humorous traits and characteristic dress; but all quite obviously true, as there was nothing to be gained by falsifying the runaway notice. A true picture of the lost slave was always presented as far as possible:

"LOOK OUT FOR THE RUNAWAY! Ran away from the subscriber in Bourbon County, on the night of the 16th inst, a negro man named Austin. He is about five feet, 10 inches high, sparse made, answers pretty quick when spoken to, several of his front teeth knocked out and a large scar on one of his hips about his hamstrings." 20

A number of fugitives were identified by scars and several by their ears which had been pierced for rings. Jesse, a Fayette County slave who ran off in 1834, had "his ears bored and generally wears small gold rings in them." 21 Bartlet, a mulatto slave who ran away from Edwin H. Hart, of South Elkhorn, Fayette County, had, as the notice revealed, "a scar in the middle of the fore-

head, in a circle, and near the size of a cut half dollar." 22

There was confined, as a runaway, in the Mason County jail, "the negro Jim Burke, two or three scars across his neck, a large scar on his right shoulder, and his heels have been much frosted." 23 Likewise in Lincoln County, there had been "caught up" the runaway Bob, "much scarred about the face and body, and has the left ear bit off." 24

Peculiarities in speech furnished another clue to the identity of the runaway. Bill, as the runaway notice stated, "is pert when spoken to and is fond of drink. He will," his master prophesied, "probably make for Ohio and Indiana." 25 Jesse used "the word submit for permit," and Maria was "freely spoken, but seldom speaks the truth." 26 Emily spoke with "a whine in her voice," and Sam, it was said, "stomps on the ground when the word is hard to get out." 27

Sometimes the masters in their runaway notices were frank enough to admit they were mystified over their slaves' departure. There was Dublin who ran off in 1833—"if he has left the state, it is likely that some white man has the care of him, as he is not sprightly in making arrangements." 28 Fifty dollars was offered for the return of Daniel, who was "blind in one eye and lame in one leg." 29 Henry, who was known as being "very religious and sometimes preaches or exhorts," ran off, but his master could see "no cause or provocation"

DESCRIPTIONS OF ADS OF RUNAWAYS

coleman, slavery, 1940

for his act, "as he had not been whipped in 6 or 8 years."

Dissatisfied slaves, in an effort to wreak vengeance upon their owners, were sometimes known to burn or damage their master's property before they started in quest of freedom. An interesting case occurred in Bourbon County in the spring of 1822:

"$50.00 REWARD. Ran away from the subscriber on the 27th of March last a negro woman named SARAH, about 6 feet high, and very slim; a very long face, with black gums, long teeth, white eyes and platted hair. Had on a white linsey dress and took with her a red changeable silk, and black dress, also a white robe and striped gingham dress. Sarah is the biggest devil that ever lived, having poisoned a stud horse and set a stable on fire, also burnt Gen. R. Williams stable and stack yard with seven horses and other property to value of $1500. She was handcuffed and got away at Ruddles Mills on her way down the river, which is the fifth time she escaped when about to be sent out of the country. I will give the above reward for said negro if taken out of the state, $25 if taken in the state and delivered to me or lodged in jail so that I can get her. Levin Adams."

30. 1828, 9-12-1828

MANY SLAVES RUN AWAY OUT OF FEAR

coleman, slavery, 1940

Many slaves left their homes in Kentucky because of their constant and consuming fear of being sold South or down the river by the hated "nigger traders." Then, too, there was the breaking up of the family life of the slave. Husband could be sold from his wife, father and mother from their children with no earthly hope of a later reunion. Many slaves had the hardihood to seek the distant, but friendly, land of liberty, but were restrained solely by the bonds of love and kinship which held them to their families. A severe whipping, a threatened punishment, or the death of "old master," with the inevitable division of his estate, were enough to put many slaves on the trail of the North Star toward freedom.
Losses became so severe to the slaveholders in the counties bordering on the Ohio River that in 1837 those of Mason County organized themselves into a society "for the purpose of concerted measures for the better security of our slave property." Slave owners of Kentucky continued to feel their losses by the activities of the Underground Railroad. "Already the value of slave property has depreciated twenty per-cent in all the counties bordering on the Ohio River," warned a Lexington paper, and these losses, it was claimed, came "from the facilities offered fugitive slaves by their organized societies."  

An event occurred in 1838 which greatly unnerved the people and hotly incensed the Kentucky slaveholders. The Reverend John B. Mahan, noted abolitionist of Sardinia, Brown County, Ohio, and a minister of the Methodist Church, was arrested late in June, 1838, on a charge of "inciting, aiding and abetting slaves to escape" from their masters. A short time before Mahan's arrest, fifteen runaway slaves, two of whom belonged to William Greathouse, of Mason County, were seen "loitering about" the preacher's home in Ohio, where they were sheltered and aided on their northern journey to freedom. Several weeks later, Mahan was arrested for "running off slaves" and brought from Ohio to the county jail, then located at Washington, the county seat of Mason County, Kentucky. While in the Mason County jail, the minister, who had been indicted for felony, sent several letters
charged that "there was a connecting chain of friends, from Kentucky, running all the way to Canada, of which Mahan was a part," and that "these friends paid the passage of the negroes all the way to Canada." 44

Evidence was then introduced "that a certain colored man in Maysville, a barber, had sent him [Mahan] all the slaves he could," and "that he had helped along fifteen within a short time past." No one doubted that Mahan was guilty of aiding slaves along the Underground Railroad, once they were on free soil; but it was seen that he had been shrewd enough to confine his activities to the state of Ohio, and that, as testimony proved, "he had never set foot on the soil of Kentucky," except when he was arrested and taken to Washington for trial.

Following Judge Reid's instructions to find for the prisoner, if it appeared that the crime was not committed in Mason County, the jury retired, and in a few
minutes brought in a verdict of not guilty. Amid loud threats and cursings, the Methodist preacher "escaped with his life and limbs" to his farm across the Ohio River."

As a result of the Mahan trial, which brought to light the methods of rendering assistance and the extent of the resultant losses of slaves, two commissioners were hastily despatched to the Ohio legislature, then in session, to seek to induce that body to pass a law calculated to prevent the interference with the slave property of Kentucky "by divers ill-disposed persons of Ohio." Such a law was passed, designed to remedy this evil and to heal the grievances of the Kentucky slave owners, but the matter did not end there. The Underground Railroad kept on; in fact, the number of slaves who annually escaped increased alarmingly. As the number of escaping slaves grew, large rewards for their capture enticed unscrupulous bands into the business of slave catching. These villains gathered at strategic transfer centers along the Ohio River, such as Ripley, Portsmouth, Cincinnati, Manchester, Evansville and Jeffersonville, and awaited the agents northward bound to hijack their human cargo, but the ever-faithful conductors were ready to defend their charges, and often pitched battles took place. Then, too, there were those in the free states who, actuated by a desire for gain, made it their business to find out the fugitive's old master, write him, and collect a reward.

42. Mason Circuit Court, Order Book 34, p. 380, November 20, 1838.
43. In a civil suit that followed over the loss of his two slaves, Greathouse was awarded $1,600 damages against the Methodist preacher.—Mason Circuit Court, Order Book 34, p. 491, May 12, 1841.
44. Mayville Eagle, February 2, 1839.
45. Frankfort Commonwealth, February 16, 1839.
On Monday night the missionary society of the Fifth street church held their regular monthly meeting, President Austin Hubbard, presiding. The church choir rendered some very charming music, and added largely to the interest and pleasure of the meeting. The president then called on Mr. Wm. Stewart to read an address written by Miss Margie Mason, who died about a month ago. She was a devoted, earnest member of the church and had been accustomed to speaking at the meetings of the society. The address, on the "Effects of Gambling," was read by her request, after which a hymn of her own selection was sung by the choir. The following is the address, which, though simple and plain, will have a good effect upon the young men of the colored race, it being almost the last words of the dying Christian.

"EFFECTS OF GAMBLING"

The love of gambling steals upon men almost without being perceived. At first, it is called innocent play. We bet a very small sum of money only, we say, to make the game interesting. We gradually increase the amount, and our desire to play also increases gradually. We hardly know how well we like it, until we find it impossible to restrain ourselves from it night and day. Thousands are thus led astray to their utter ruin in time and eternity. When once a man has formed the habit of gambling it is almost impossible to break off from it. Nothing will avail to stop the victim in his mad career. A mother's tears, a father's pleadings, a sister's warnings, a brother's appeals—all are in vain. The confirmed gambler is lost to appeals from friends. Gambling is not alone. It leads to many other dreadful evils, such as blasphemy, falsehood, cheating, drunkenness, quarreling, and murder. These are often associated with this awful sin. It leads the husband to leave and forsake his wife, whom he has sworn to protect, to love, and support, that he may night after night meet with his fellow gamblers. It draws from his family the support which belongs to them. It makes the father a hard-hearted man, the mother a broken-hearted woman, and the children beggars, dependent upon the cold charities of the world. No Christian can be a gambler. No member of the church should be retained in the body who indulges to any extent in this sin.

"Young men, I appeal unto you to shun the gambler's life as you would the plague. I speak to you from my grave now. Let not this snare take hold upon your young manhood, for if you do you are lost to all good in this life and lost to all bliss in the life to come. You cannot enjoy the delightful presence of God in eternity if you are led away in this sin."

"Never will you be permitted to walk the golden streets of the New Jerusalem, or to join in the sweet songs of heaven in honor of the Lamb. But you must be banished from God and his glory, and dwell in the regions of the damned, where there shall be "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth." Young ladies, I appeal unto you to stand out against this sin and lead your friends away from it by all means, for you may and will be the sufferers from it. Let the whole society set its face against it as the sin that will introduce almost all other sins. Now, in conclusion, let me ask each one to stand firm in the way of holiness contending against all sins which destroy the souls of men. Let all seek to honor God and love Jesus, that when the solemn hour of death shall come all may die
in triumph and go home to glory—when all the ransomed of the Lord shall join in the grand song of praise, which shall roll through the courts of heaven in honor of our Savior, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive honor, and power, and blessing, and glory forever; for he hath washed us in his own blood and clothed us in white robes of right goodness."

"Mr. Lewis Mason was then introduced, and read the following address, which he had been appointed to deliver, and which was listened to with marked attention. The address was the first one ever delivered by this young man, and is considered to be one of the most earnest addresses ever delivered among the colored people:

CHRISTIAN DUTY

1. Our blessed Savior in his great sermon on the mount said to his disciples, "Ye are the salt of the earth." If we are his disciples, as we profess to be, Jesus says the same thing to us. We are to be the salt of the earth, that is, as the salt preserves and purifies that which it comes in contact with, so must we, as disciples, preserve and purify the world in which we live. Now we have a great work to do in order to purify and elevate the world: there are so many kinds of people to reach. The infidel and skeptic, the profane swearer and liar, the unjust and unholy ones of the world are to be purified from their corruptions. Christianity which we profess, alone will renovate this great mass. Nothing else will do it, and this is to be brought to bear upon the world by Christians. We are to live religious in our daily life. Men must feel it when they are in our presence. To do this we are to teach the Bible, God's word, to them in the Sunday school, in the prayer-meeting, and wherever they will listen to it. When we teach this word to men, then we must pray God a blessing upon our efforts. He can do all things.

2. By true prayer we can get his power, and this will reach the souls of men. In this city there are very many of our men who are not Christians and are on their way to ruin. These, if saved at all, must be saved by coming in contact with the salt—the true disciples of Jesus. You and I must go to them and lead them from the path of wickedness unto the paths of righteousness. The salt will do no good unless it is used. We must work for Jesus in every way, in the prayer and in the social circle. Christ demands this work at our hands. He died amid the agonies of the cross that we might be saved, and now he calls upon us to labor for him. His love should constrain us. His church needs our work so that it may prosper. The world calls unto us from its unhappiness, and demands our whole labor for its salvation. Shall we not hear that appeal? Shall Christ command in vain, and the world appeal without effect upon us? No! If we are real disciples of Jesus let us go forth to honor him in whole-hearted service; let us seek to save our daily associates from eternal ruin.

3. Think how many in our city now unsaved, and how few disciples to do the work. There are in this city about 150,000 inhabitants; of these about 15,000 are Protestant Christians; about 30,000 are Roman Catholics, who are, of course, opposed to our spiritual religion. The rest, 105,000, are Jews, infidels, skeptics, and spiritualists. Of 15,000 Protestants, not more than one in five are active workers, or about 3,000 disciples to save the 147,000 persons now unsaved. What a great work there is before us. Shall we not each stand at his post and labor for our
Savior's cause. +

4. If we will thus labor for the Church of our blessed Savior, we shall soon see it prosper. Zion will put out her beautiful garments and shine forth in splendor. She will look forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and magnificent as an army with banners; and, at the end, when the labor is ended and the victory won, you and I shall wear a starry crown, which our blessed Savior has promised to all his faithful ones. We shall enter through the pearly gates into the beautiful city, and see its beauties and enjoy its sweet songs of melody. There no more labor and toil will weary us; no tears of sorrow shall fall from weeping eyes. Death shall not enter there, but all will be peace and joy and life. Forever. May Jesus lead us all to labor for him here, and in the end may we enjoy his delightful presence through eternity. +

Spiritualistic Movements +

There are indications that the believers in spiritualist philosophy and phenomena are about to inaugurate a vigorous fall and winter campaign in this city. Their system is not favorable to sectarian organization of its believers. It lacks the cohesion of a definite creed in which all members are required to profess implicit belief. It lacks the partisan feeling which gives strength and permanency to other religious denominations. It claims that with the same physical organization and surroundings each human being may have the same satisfactory intercourse with the spiritual world, and that creeds, traditions, organizations, and priestly orders, though more or less embodiments of truth, are not absolutely necessary, and may be hindrances to progression. +

From these circumstances spiritualists have nowhere any very compact church organization. They are numerous, and there is a good deal of zeal and brotherhood among them, but their zeal is rather for the cause than for the instrumentalities. They regard their organizations in the same light as friends of education regard schools, which is very different from the view taken by other denominations of their church organizations. +

They regard their theories as facts which, sometime or other, in this life or afterward, will be demonstrated to the satisfaction of every soul, and hence they are not very earnest propagandists. As the physiologists believe that the knowledge of truth in his science would conduce to human happiness, and would like to see it accepted, they believe that their ideas will promote human welfare and happiness, but they are no more fanatical propagandists than he is. From this circumstance, and perhaps also from lack of organizing ability, spiritualists do not contribute largely to support churches of their order. +

There are many spiritualists in Louisville. The lectures have been sometimes largely attended, and among the avowed believers are many merchants and professional men, but there was no established association until a few weeks ago one was formed, that meets in the Good Templars Hall, on the corner of Tenth and Green streets. Mr. Green, a lawyer, delivers discourses on Sundays, morning and evening, and the hall is well filled by an audience that will compare favorably with that of other churches. The association has employed Miss Nettie Peas to lecture on Sundays during the month of October, and, as it is anticipated that she will have very large audiences, it is expected that a larger hall will have to be obtained than the one now occupied. Mr. Whiting, who has a high reputation as a
suffering in this life and the next was the certain result of sin. Before and after the discourse there was very fine singing, accompanied by a melodeon. The hymns of this curious movement are all very peculiar. Some of the verses sung may interest our readers, as they indicate the tone of the meeting:

"We are waiting by the river,
We are watching on the shore,
Only waiting for the boatman,
Soon he'll come to oar us o'er."

"Though the mist hung o'er the river,
And its billows loudly roar,
Yet we hear the song of angels
Wafted on the other shore."

"Of the bright celestial city,
We have caught such radiant gleams
Of its towers like dazzling sunlight,
With its sweet and peaceful streams."

"Over there is many a loved one;
We have seen them leave our side,
And with rapture we shall meet them
When we, too, have crossed the tide."
"Soon the sword and cannon shall rest side by side,
No navies shall whiten the sea,
And the slave-ship no more o'er the ocean shall glide,
For all men in all climes shall be free. +

"Gentle spirits are you near me,
When the lamp of life is low,
When the sky is dark above me,
And the cheek has lost its glow? +

"Still be near me, loving presence,
On the toilsome, weary way,
In the dreary vale of silence,
In the darkening of the day. +

"Point me to the life celestial,
Arm my soul with patient hope,
Give me faith in things immortal,
Teach me with life's ills to cope. +

"Each gentle word is a blooming vine,
That winds its way 'mid the stars that shine,
To weave a wreath on the golden strand,
To give thee joy in the summer land. +

"(Rap, Rap, Rap.)
Guests that in honor are here,
Hear the light rappings and know
Visiting angels are near,
Greeting their earth friends below. +

"(Rap, Rap, Rap.)
Loved ones are rapping to-night!
Heaven seems not far away!
Death's sweeping river is bright!
Soft is the sheen of its spray! +

"Thrusting all that's base behind us,
Build with purpose firm and good,
That each welcome day may find us
One step nearer heaven and God. +

"Fools may continue to sing of wine,
Of whisky, gin or porter,
But we delight with all our might
To sing of pure cold water. +

"They are all here to-night; yes, our loved ones dear,
Come from the summer land
And each has a smile and a word of cheer
"For our sorrowing, stricken band,
Happy are our hearts, as we gather to-night;
Viewing our unbroken chain,
Ev'ry blank is filled by an angel bright;
We see our loved again!
Happy to-night, happy to-night!
With our loved ones dear. +

"Keep your minds in truth light burning!
Walk in virtue's humble way,
And be ready for your exit
To the realms of perfect day. +

"The importance of this spiritualist movement is not to be estimated
by the number of its avowed believers only, but by its influence on those
who still retain their connection with evangelical organizations. Thus,
on Sunday week, a Methodist clergyman for the first time heard a discourse
on spiritualism. On last Sunday he attended the meetings again, and at
their close came forward and avowed his accord. Such facts as these are
not isolated, and they justify the extended notice which we have given to
this new phase of religious life and action in our city."

### HISTORY OF HANGINGS OF BLACKS IN CHRISTIAN CO

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"The county of Christian was organized in 1797 and during the first 65
years of the county's history the death penalty was inflicted upon ten persons.
Until the recent conviction of a murderer, the subject of executions had been
one unknown to the present generation in the county. For nearly a quarter of
a century the hangman had no use for the black cap and fatal noose and there
are bearded men in the county who have been born since the gallows claimed
a victim. The older citizens sometimes let their minds run back to the days
when all murderers were hung and the law making life imprisonment an optional
punishment was not in force. After a diligent search through the musty old
volumes of court records, from the beginning of the century, and having been
aided and assisted in the work by some of our older citizens, we are enabled
to present a correct and complete history of the legal executions that have
taken place in Christian county. The records of the first quarter of the pre-
sent century were badly kept, and are imperfectly indexed, but subsequent to
that time we were able to obtain accurate information, after several days of
laborious research. We regret that this record is not unbroken, but if the
first two hangings are recorded in the order books of the early courts, the
faded index fails to indicate it. However, tradition shall supply what history
has failed to record. +

"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 a 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. 

"OLD KEMP", THE SECOND.

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, not far from where Mr. E.B. Long now lives. 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.

"CONVICTED BUT PARDONED."

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, almost as bloody as the present day is cursed with. 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 Nov. 16, 1832, but on the 12th day 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 Aug. 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 15th and received the sentence of death. The time was fixed by Judge Shakelford at Wednesday, Oct. 2, 1833, between the hours of 10 a.m.,
HISTORY OF HANGINGS OF BLACKS IN CHRISTIAN CO

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and 2 p.m., and the money value placed upon the girl, the amount to be paid by the State to her owner, was $375." +

"Her attorney attempted to obtain a new trial but the motion was overruled and the judgment of the court 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 Aug. 21, 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 Oct. 2, 1833, to the limb of a tree on the Madisonville road, near where Maj. John Stites now lives. Deputy Sheriff Pickney French efficacitated and the third and fourth hangings in the county were conducted with "neatness and dispatch." +

"CONDEMNED BUT ESCAPED. +

John Miller, the white man indicted as accessory before the fact, as mentioned above, was put on trial Aug. 17th, and was convicted five days later. The jury was composed of the following citizens: Edward Delasier, John Jones, Jno. H. Goode, Jos. Quisenberry, Thos. Hopkins, Nicholas M. Ellis, Richard C. Paulkner, Edmund Meacham, Israel M. Marshall, Thos. Sandford, Wm. C. Scott and Silas Boyd. +

On Aug. 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, Dec. 27, 1833, but escaped from the jail before that time and was never re-captured. 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. +

"THE FIFTH—SAM, A SLAVE. +

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 Francis 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:

Joseph Meacham, Jr., David Johnson, Harrison U. Garvin. +

"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 did. 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. +

"NO. 6 - JESSE, A SLAVE +

"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 Aug. 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.

"NO. 7 - EDWARD ALONZO PENNINGTON. +

"Edward Alonzo Pennington, familiarly known as Lonz Pennington, was the only white man ever hung in Christian county. He was a representative of a good family and has relatives now living in this city and in many parts of the county, but for the fact that Pennington's career has been published in a novel and has become familiar to the student of Christian County's history, we should hesitate to lift the veil that Time has thrown over the deeds that led to his ignoble fate. With due regard for the feelings of many good people, we will give a succinct review of his crime and execution. +

"Lonz Pennington was a son of Francis P. Pennington, one of the richest slave owners of the county, and enjoyed the advantages of a good education. He was a dear lover of horse-trades and was considered the most successful trader in horses in all the country. By and by it began to be whispered that some of his transactions were crooked and he was accused of kidnapping negroes, circulating counterfeit money and various other shortcomings of more or less magnitude. Still nobody could prove it and Lonz continued his career as a wily and dissolute young man, who was steadily accumulating wealth though nobody could tell exactly how he was doing it. +"
Not to make this sketch too long we will proceed to the consideration of the facts bearing directly upon his conviction. There was a man living in the northern part of the county named Simon Davis, who married a young lady who was one of three orphans who had been raised by a Baptist preacher in the community. She inherited a farm and five negroes. Davis stocked the farm and was just getting started in life when his wife died, leaving no children. Pennington saw the situation and resolved to play a bold hand. He persuaded Davis to turn the negroes into money and sell him the farm saying he would undertake to the old preacher out of it. He said he was not afraid of law suits as he could beat every time and would take his chances, as he didn't like to see Davis have to give up property that was rightfully his because his wife died. Davis agreed to take his friendly advice and at the May Muster at Fruit Hill, in 1845, he sold four of the negroes and collected the money, $1500. Pennington had consulted a lawyer and learned how to draw up the deed for the land. A part of the programme was for Davis to leave the country as soon as the trade was made. He left the muster grounds with Pennington and was never seen alive again. The first thing the neighbors knew Davis was gone and Pennington was working his farm. In the course of some weeks Davis' horse was found in a pen in the woods, in the possession of a man named Cisney who was taken by regulators and whipped until he told that he had gotten the horse from Pennington. The band of regulators undertook to ferret out the matter and Cisney was whipped until he stated that Pennington had robbed and killed Davis and thrown his body into a sink-hole. They forced him to lead the way to the place, and sure enough the body was found. Cisney and a man named Sheffield had been parties to the transaction and had signed the deed to the land under assumed names. Pennington was absent from home at the time and was notified by some of his friends before he returned and escaped from the country and went to Texas. Some time afterwards Col. James Bowling, a former citizen of the county, who lived in Texas, came to Hopkinsville and reported having seen Pennington in Texas. A large reward was offered for him and Col. Bowling and his brother determined to capture him. They started out and after following him from place to place finally caught him in the Indian Territory and brought him back to Kentucky. Great excitement prevailed and there was talk of mob law, but finally the excitement subsided and the law was allowed to take its course. Pennington engaged Col. Jas. F. Buckner to defend him, who made every effort to postpone the trial but to no avail. The trial began April 4, 1846. Judge Shackleford presided and John McLarning was the Attorney for the Commonwealth. The jury empaneled was as follows:


The jury was not long in returning the following verdict:

"We, the jury, find the defendant guilty as charged in the indictment. James Perkins, one of the jury."

On the 6th of April Judge Shackleford passed sentence upon him, directing that he be taken by the Sheriff, on Friday, May 1, 1846, and hanged by the neck until dead. Milton Clark was the officer who officiated at the execution, which took place at a point on the Greenville road, beyond the Fair Grounds. The hanging was, like all preceeding ones, public and was witnessed by an immense crowd. Several of the Pennington jurors still live in the county and the affair is fresh in the minds of most of our older citizens. The career of Pennington was made the basis of a novel called "Lonz Powers" by James Weir.
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No. 8-John, a slave.

Seven years after the events narrated just above, the eighth hanging in Christian Co. 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 Oct. 7th, of the same year, the following gentlemen composing the jury:

Wm. T. Bronaugb, Alex Arbuckle, Pho. M. Boyd, Isham D. Bobbitt, Jesse Fox, Aquilla Long, Wiley Barnes, James Alder, Wm. J. Crabtree, Elijah Armstrong, Gideon Overshiner, Alex Bradshaw. The jury though their foreman Gideon Over-

No. 9-Jacob, a slave.

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 Oct. 9, 1856, and the jury was composed of the following citizens:

Benj. Bradshaw, Elbert Henderson, W.H. Smith, Edward Merriwether, John Bowen, R.S. Gary, Sydney R. Merritt, Robt. McCanghey, Hugh Tomlinson, Jonathan Armstrong, Hardin Jones, Peter Higgins. The verdict of the jury was:

"We of the jury find the defendant guilty as charged in the indictment. Benj. Bradshaw, foreman."
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 Mar. 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 Mar. 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 Colored Teachers of the State in Convention Yesterday—Permanent Organization Effected—Speech of John M. Langston

The Convention of the Colored Teachers of the State went into session yesterday at Quinn Chapel, about fifty teachers being present. The attendance would have been larger, but several religious conferences being in session in different portions of the State, have attracted a number of the teachers thither, many of the teachers in the State being preachers of the Gospel.

Morning Session

Pursuant to call, the convention assembled in Quinn Chapel, corner of Ninth and Walnut streets, at 9 o'clock a.m. yesterday. The convention was called to order by Mr. Isaiah Mitchell, who suggested that Mr. M. J. Davis should act as president pro tem., and W. H. Lawson and J. Q. Adams as secretaries.

After the officers had taken their seats prayer was offered by Rev. A. Barry.

On motion of Mr. J. H. Merriwether, a Committee on Credentials was appointed, consisting of the following parties: Rev. A. Barry, A. J. Pickens, William Lawrence, C. Smith, T. S. Baxter, John Starks, J. D. Mumphord, J. H. Merriwether, and D. F. Ross.

During the absence of the committee Mr. Austin Hubbard, of Louisville, addressed the convention in a few well-timed remarks.

On motion of Mr. T. Mitchell, a committee of five was appointed on permanent organization as follows: Isaiah Mitchell, Marshall Woodson, J. H. Merriwether, A. J. Brown, and Jesse Merriwether.
While this committee was absent Rev. A. Barry, of Boyle county, was called for and made some able remarks. Mr. O. Smith, of Christian county, also made a short and appropriate speech, at the close of which the Committee on Permanent Organization reported as follows: *

For president, Jesse Merriwether, vice president, Marshall Woodson; secretary, W.H. Lawson; assistant secretary, J.Q. Adams. *

The president, on taking the chair, made a short address, which was cheerfully received. *

On motion of Rev. A. Barry, the convention adjourned until two o'clock. *

Afternoon Session *

Agreeable to adjournment convention assembled at 2 o'clock p.m. *

After the opening of the convention, on motion of Mr. I. Mitchell, a business committee, to consist of seven, to be appointed by the chair, were appointed as follows: Rev. John R. Riley, Rev. A. Barry, Horace Morris, Henry Marrs, T.S. Baxter, Rev. W. L. Muir, and Wm. Lawrence. *

On motion of Wm. Lawrence, a finance committee consisting of five was appointed, as follows: Wm. Lawrence, W.L. Muir, W.H. Russell, John Harlo, and A.J. Brown. *

On motion of C. Smith, a committee of five was appointed to draft an address to the colored people of Kentucky, as follows: Horace Morris, Wm. H. Lawson, J.W. Adams, M.J. Davis, and J.D. Mumphford. *

On motion of C. Smith, a committee of five on rules and regulations were appointed, as follows: Rev. A. Barry, E. P. Marrs, John Halliday, Daniel Tucker, J.R. Bristow. *

During the absence of the committees the members of the convention were highly entertained by Colonel Thomas Jackson, C. Smith, Rev. T. B. Turner, of Philadelphia, and Rev. C.C. Waters, of Maryland. *

The report of the Committee on Rules and Regulations was here submitted, received and adopted, as follows: *

Rules and Regulations *

We, the Committee on Rules and Regulations, beg leave to submit the following report; *

Sec. 1. The convention shall consist of a president and vice president, secretary and assistant secretary, and treasurer. *

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all meetings, and decide all questions of order subject to an appeal to the house. *

Sec. 3. In the absence of the president, the vice president shall be clothed with all the powers and perform all the duties of the president. *

Sec. 4. The secretary shall attend all the meetings of the convention, and make a full and complete record of the proceedings. *

Sec. 5. This convention shall convene at 9 o'clock a.m. and adjourn at 12 o'clock m., and again at 2 o'clock p.m. and adjourn at 5 o'clock p.m. *

Sec. 6. All persons wishing to speak shall respectfully arise and address the president, and shall not speak more than twice without permission from the house. *

Sec. 7. Anyone departing from the subject may be called to order by the president, or any member of the convention. *
"Sec. 8. Each session shall be opened by prayer
Rev. A. Barry, Ch mn.
P. Marrs, Sec.
Daniel Tucker,
J.N. Halliday, Com.
J. R. Bristo, +
"After which the convention adjourned until 9 o'clock Wednesday morning.

"LIST OF TEACHERS IN CONVENTION +

The following named parties comprise the list of teachers present at the convention. +

Daviess County - A. J. Brown,
Boyle County - Rev. A. Harry,
Todd County - J. R. Bristo,
Logan county - Wm. Lawrence, James Barner.
Meade County - J.D. Starks,
Ohio - D.R. Ross, Green Phepps.
Christian County - C. Smith.
Hart County - Nelson Smith, John Harlo, T.J. Jenkins.

Cumberland County - Joseph Miles.
Nelson County - W.W. Harris.
Oldham County - Frank Hinton, E.P. Marrs.
Breckinridge County - Stephen H. Williams.
Union County - Barney Stone.
Franklin County - H. Marrs.
Woodford County - Daniel Tucker.
Montgomery County - Alex. Davis, Nat. Stone.
Taylor County - J.C. Hubbard.
The following lady teachers also reported:
Miss T.J. Jenkins, Miss Addie Miller, Miss Martha Morton, Miss E.P. Thomas, Miss Alice Woodson, Miss Jennie Burks, Miss Levinia Brady. +

"THE EVENING'S EXERCISES - SPEECH OF JOHN M. LANGSTON. +

The exercises in the evening were presided over by Mr. Merriwether, and a feeling prayer was offered by Bishop Daniel A. Paine. +
Mr. Langston was introduced, and delivered a lengthy and powerful speech. The house was filled with an intelligent audience, which drank in eagerly the words as they fell from his lips, full of earnest truth and counsel. Below we give an outline of his speech. +

Mr. Langston took for his subject Education - the drawing out of the powers and facilities of the mind. It not only develops the facilities
and powers of the mind, but gives us knowledge. This knowledge is knowledge of one's self, his body, his mind, his spiritual nature and powers; and in this knowledge of his facilities, or powers, he finds proof of the Bible's statement that we were created in the image of God. The old philosopher was right in telling the men of his age that self-knowledge was no less dignified than important. For by knowing ourselves we know our Heavenly Father, in his natural and moral attributes. Education gives us general knowledge of science, literature, art. *

"Without the education which develops the powers of man, he is in no sense prepared to meet the duties and responsibilities of life, either in the mechanics, professions or the ministry. It is especially necessary that the negro should be educated, for in so far as he demonstrates the possession of high mental faculties, of talent and genius, and shows himself capable of high achievements in the fields of literature and science, he demonstrates in achievement his title to high and impartial consideration. Achievement alone is the measure of equality, regardless of face or condition. +

The school teacher of freed people is to be no more a teacher in fact than a missionary. He is to enter earnestly upon his work, determined to do it well. The education of the negro is to be thorough, comprehensive, and complete. +

"In this State no provision is made for the establishment of common schools among the colored people. As the General Government closes its work of an educational character is the State, it is your duty to bring to bear as soon as feasible influence which will secure for you as well as others a well-ordered and efficient system of schools. Till this can be accomplished, they are to tax themselves, cultivating for this purpose a most rigid economy, while they appeal to the charitable among the citizens of Kentucky and the people of the North for means to sustain the schools already established and to carry the work forward. +

"In the connection, we must not forget that the Republican party, under God, has shown itself worthy of our confidence and support. Since negroes are not permitted to sit as jurors in cases in this State, nor permitted to testify in courts of justice, although competent witnesses according to ordinary rules of law, nor are they so legally armed and fortified that with the fifteenth amendment ratified and as the law of this as well as all other States that judges of election may not refuse their votes, neither are we now blessed with any common school system. We can ill afford to do otherwise than support by our influence as well as vote this party, that, having done so much, is pledged to do yet more for our benefit. +

"In this connection it is not unappropriate for me to say that I am no sympathiser with those who criticise the colored men of Cincinnati with regard to their votes to keep the Bible in the common schools of that city. In the education of American youth, white and black, we are compelled in the very nature of the case to give instruction of a political no less than a religious character. Our school system will be found well planted if its foundations be settled in the fundamental doctrines of the Old and New Testament - the Declaration, and the Constitution. +
In his speech he referred at length to the necessity of a thorough education of the ministry. Through a cultivated ministry the whole race would be lifted up into the higher atmosphere of intelligence and their influence for good was unbounded, and could not be overestimated. The future of the colored race depended largely on this feature of their society. Educated the ministry, and you will educate the people. Neglect this important feature, and the people will retrograde or remain passive before the onward current of events.

In conclusion he demonstrated the debt of gratitude which every citizen owed to his country in a manner which elicited the approbation of his hearers. No man pays his debt of allegiance to his government in the payment of taxes unpaid, nor in the sacrifice of life or limb in battle for its defense.

One may well feel proud as he hears off in his palm the tax receipt of the State or National Government. Well it may be that the father's heart swells with emotions of pride when he gave his son to do a sacrifice to further the welfare of his country and Government. But that man pays his debt of allegiance most fully to the Government and country who grows a noble son, earnest and true, sagacious and wise, who, by counsel and endeavor, through many years in the service of the State, advances and supports its interest. Such sons it is the privilege and duty of the emancipated American to grow to the country and Government which have given him his liberty, and his opportunity to rise.

The convention meets again this morning for the transaction of important business, when every teacher should be present. Prof. John G. Mitchell, of Wilberforce University, will address the people to-night.
T he majority of Kentucky slaveholders were men of conscience and sensibility, but, nevertheless, as the uncontradicted records show, some were cruel and brutal in dealing with their slaves. At the same time it must be remembered that some slaves were not only intractable, but even savage and dangerous. For one or another of these reasons, and it is hard to distinguish between them, slaves were now and then rather harshly treated. Consequently, numerous runaways were attributed to excessive toil to which the slaves were subjected or to the rigorous discipline of the farmstead. It is a fact, however, irrespective of the cause, that an excessive amount of whipping indicated a poorly run plantation, and the master of such an establishment was viewed askance by his neighbors, who scornfully said of him—"He's mean to his niggers."1

Newspaper advertisements for runaways constitute one of the best sources of information concerning Kentucky slaves; their treatment, motives for escape, birthmarks and blemishes, punishments and other things pertaining to their daily life and physical make-up are therein described. Although these notices were of meager length and leave much untold that we would like to know, they have one great merit as historical material; they were not biased and were all quite obviously true. Here was no cause or occasion for attacking or defending slavery, or falsifying the contents of the advertisements, for it was always the master's object to present, as far as possible, a true picture of his runaway slave. Then too, these notices were written principally for the eyes of other slaveholders and slave catchers.
Readers of the *Lexington Intelligencer* were asked to be on the lookout for Lawson, who was "remarkably well-made, no marks recollected except those [from whipping] on his back, is artful and cunning." 2 Pierce Griffin, of Shelbyville, advertised for his slave Charles, who had "lost several of his fore-teeth, and has considerable marks of the whip on his seat." 3 Then there was Bob, who ran away from Joseph McClaskey, of Nelson County, a "little cross-eyed, bandy-legged and much scarred with the whip." 4 In Fayette County, Henry, "a very ill-natured fellow," ran away from his master, and, as the notice revealed, "has been cut in his back by often whipping." 5

Numerous other notices revealing severe treatment to slaves are to be seen in the files of the old Kentucky newspapers. James Ferguson, of Jessamine County, offered forty dollars reward for his "slave, Daniel, "who was whipped on the day he left for stealing, and prob-
While many of the scars were the results of accidents, a number were permanent markings of more or less remote punishments. In Paducah the McCracken County jailer advertised that there was in his care "a negro mulatto man calling himself Jim, who is considerably marked with stripes on his back." At McGowan's slave jail, in Lexington, the keeper announced that there had been apprehended and was now in his custody a "sprightly mulatto wench" who says her name is Callie with a "brand on the cheek, forehead and breast resembling the letter 'H.'" Also a "stout black boy, Vose, who has a burn on his buttock from a red hot iron in the shape of an 'X' and his back is much scarred with the whip." And at another time, there was "Alex, who has had his ears cropped and has been shot in the hind parts of his legs." From Boyle County there ran off the slave Jack, who had "both ears slightly cropped" and was "a pretty shrewd and sensible fellow." 5

DESCRIPTION OF WHIPPING POST IN LEXINGTON & WASHINGTON CO

For violation of minor statutory offenses slaves were publicly chastised at the whipping post, erected on the courthouse square of many Kentucky towns and cities. Lexington had its instrument of torture, "of black locust one foot in diameter, ten feet high and sunk two and one-half feet in the ground," at which incorrigible and delinquent Negroes were flogged severely, and their cries and screams were characterized by an early visitor as the death knell of Kentucky slavery. 11 Ironically enough, the Reverend Jesse Head, who married the parents of the Great Emancipator, erected in May of 1798 the Washington County whipping post "upon the public square in Springfield for the use of this county." 12 Here, as at the other public whipping posts, "39 lashes on the bare back well laid on" constituted the customary amount of punishment for recalcitrant blacks."
While whipping was by far the most usual mode of correction, Negroes were sometimes branded on the chest or body, or had an iron clasp or band attached to the ankle. These more severe punishments were usually reserved for habitual runaways. Jefferson County residents in 1848 were requested to be on the lookout for the runaway slave, Jane, "who is branded on the breast something like L blotched." 14 Mary, a fugitive from McCracken County, had "a small scar over her left eye, a good many teeth missing. The letter 'A' is branded on her cheek and forehead." 15

George Dudley, of Fayette County, advertised that he would give fifty dollars for the return of his Negro, Elijah, who "had on when he left a lock on one of his ankles, a chip hat, and a sleeve jacket of jeans." 16 Jim slipped away from his Lexington master, but was some­ what encumbered by a "ring of iron on his left foot." 17 Cassius M. Clay, who was reared in a large slaveholding community in Madison County, recounts in his Memoirs that during his boyhood and early manhood he frequently saw slaves wearing iron collars, sometimes with bells on them, which had been riveted on by a blacksmith, 18 and which could not be taken off without great danger of discovery.

One night during the summer of 1845 Clay heard a disturbance in his chicken house and, upon investigation, found a slave from a neighboring plantation in the act of raiding his hen roost. After capturing the culprit

17. Western Monitor, October 14, 1818.
18. In the files of the Fylon Club Library there is a statement rendered by a Jefferson County slaveholder by a blacksmith, Thomas Jefferson, on June 23, 1844: "To make 1 sett Legg letters, 62c," and, on July 20: "To remitine Negro Coller 86c."
and taking him outside in the moonlight, Clay observed on the Negro "the bright prongs of a steel collar as long, on each side of his neck, as the horns of a Texas steer." 

In Fleming County the local paper once carried this notice: "Ranaway, the mulatto wench Caroline, had on a collar with one prong turned down." 

In Kentucky, and especially in the Bluegrass, where the yoke of bondage rested lightly, events occurred now and then which greatly enraged the public and clearly showed the darker side of slavery. In Lexington during the middle eighteen-thirties, there lived Judge Fielding L. Turner, a wealthy retired jurist, and his wife, Caroline A. Turner, member of a socially prominent family of Boston. In their pretentious household were to be found probably more family servants than in any other home in the city.

Mrs. Turner, a woman of strong muscle and fierce temper, frequently whipped her servants with such violence that Judge Turner himself said: "She has been the immediate death of six of my servants by her severities." One morning in the spring of 1837, while vigorously flogging one of her slaves, Mrs. Turner, in a fit of passion, suddenly caught the small Negro boy and deliberately pitched him out of the second-story window to the stone pavement of the courtyard below, seriously injuring his spine, breaking an arm and leg, and rendering him a cripple for life.
and obtained several of these Negroes, including a coachman named Richard, who was described as a "sensible, well-behaved yellow boy, who is plausible and can read and write." In the early morning hours of August 22, 1844, while flogging Richard with her usual zest and severity, the young slave with a great thrust shook off the chains that bound him to the wall and, seizing his mistress by the throat, strangled her to death with his bare hands.  

The public, however, now swayed by the passion of the hour, quickly forgot all the cruelties Mrs. Turner had inflicted on her servants, and five hundred dollars was offered for the capture of Richard, who had fled the city. The local press, putting it mildly, stated that Mrs. Turner was only "reproving" her servant for some improper conduct the evening before.  

Richard was soon apprehended in Scott County and brought to Lexington for trial. His excellent reputation, however, bore but little weight in the case, for under no circumstances could a slave take his master's or mistress's life—not even to save his own—and escape the gallows. Richard was put through the formality of a trial, found guilty of murder in the first degree, and was hanged from a scaffold erected in the Fayette County jail yard, on November 19, 1844.  

Lexington and Fayette County were intensely aroused over such wanton cruelty, and to save his wife from threatened criminal prosecution, Judge Turner had her forcibly removed from his home to the lunatic asylum. After several days' confinement in the institution, Mrs. Turner demanded a hearing on the question of her sanity. On March 31, 1837, a jury of twelve citizens was impaneled "to inquire into the state of mind of Caroline A. Turner," but, before the trial began, the asylum authorities, finding no evidence of mental derangement, released her, and nothing came of the matter.  

However, Mrs. Turner seems never to have reformed in her brutal treatment of her slaves, and her husband, who died in 1843, stated in his will: "I have some slaves. I give them to my children. None of them are to go to the said Caroline, for it would be to doom them to misery in life & a speedy death."  

But Mrs. Turner renounced the will of Judge Turner...
Another case, much discussed in Lexington at the time, was that of a Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell, charged with brutality to their young female slave. Witnesses testified that they had seen Mrs. Maxwell on a cold winter morning severely whipping the thinly-clad, barefooted slave as she stood on the stone pavement in front of her house, and was not "particular whether she struck her in the face or not." From such whippings the slave's flesh was greatly lacerated and "one of her eyes was tied up for a week." At other times, Mrs. Maxwell's son was seen vigorously applying the cowhide to the girl, after having stripped her down to the waist. When the girl turned her face toward him, young Maxwell would "hit her across the face with the butt end of his whip to make her turn her back square around to the lash, so that he might get a fair blow at her." From a medical examination made at the time of the trial, the female slave's emaciated body revealed numerous lacerations, bruises and scars resulting from the searing of her flesh with a red-hot iron.

Kentucky masters were compelled by law to maintain the sick, the infirm and the aged; the law itself enacted penalties for inhuman treatment and public opinion sustained it. Notwithstanding the fact that the law was perhaps better than the practice, still it had a general influence for the protection of the slave.

Apheus Lewis, living with his wife, Margaret, some five or six miles from Paris in Bourbon County, bore the general reputation of "governing his slaves with a stern discipline than most of his neighbors," for, he boasted, "it is better for them as well as for myself." 28 This masters stood until the early spring of 1855, when some of the neighbors complained to the authorities that several of Lewis' slaves "were most severely & cruelly used."

Mentioned in this complaint were two women—Sally, the mother of several children, and Martha, a young house girl of twelve years. One day, Mrs. Lewis becoming violently displeased with Martha's work, seized "a good-sized stick about the size of a man's wrist," and struck her several well-aimed blows on the head and shoulders, whereupon the excited girl ran from the house into the yard. As Mrs. Lewis passed through the dining room in pursuit of the young slave, "she caught up the hot tongs from the fire-place, and ran out to the back of the yard, where, coming up behind the girl, she passed one leg of the tongs on each side of the girl's neck and seized her with them." 29 Screaming and kicking, the seared and excited slave broke loose from her mistress and fled to the home of a neighbor, where, upon examination, she showed "burns made with hot irons upon her neck, hands, under both arms, and between her legs, both behind and before: besides bruises upon her head and bleeding at the ears." 30

27, 28. Wm. An. Sta., 67
31. N.Y. Tribune, May 515
42, 43. Wm. An. Sta., 67
Sally, the older of the two females, as was proved by the neighbors, had, at her master's direction, "been tied up naked in the yard with her heels about four feet off the ground." Then Mrs. Lewis, after vigorously whipping her, "stood off a pace and pelted her with stones," forcing another slave to pump water on her, and finally resorted to her more favorite method of torture, the hot iron. When Sally was rescued, there was found on her back a number of scars from burning "that could scarcely be covered with the palm of the hand."

Shortly thereafter, at the next term of the Bourbon Circuit Court, held in March, 1855, Alpheus Lewis and his wife were indicted for cruelty to their two slaves, Sally and Martha. Pursuant to an order of the court, which acted on the law governing the inhuman treatment of slaves, the sheriff was directed to seize the badly treated slaves, confine them in the county jail, and sell them at public auction at the next county court day in Paris.

For several weeks, prior to April second, readers of the Western Citizen were informed of the chattels to be offered for sale:

"Commissioner's Sale of Slaves—As Commissioner, under a decree of the Bourbon County Court, at the March term, in the case of Alpheus Lewis and Margaret, his wife, I will expose to Public Sale, at the Court-House door in Paris, on the 2nd day of April next, County Court day for said County, on a credit of four months, two valuable slaves, to wit: a woman [Sally] aged twenty-five, and a girl [Martha] about twelve. Persons wishing to purchase, can see said slaves by calling on J. Porter. Bond, with approved security will be required, having the force and effect of a replevy bond.

Thomas A. Taylor, Comm'r."

On the day of the sale a large crowd gathered, partly out of sympathy for the ill-treated blacks and partly from idle curiosity. Both slaves found homes in an adjacent county, Sally bringing $575, but Martha, on account of her age and condition, "fetched only $145." After deducting the cost of the prosecution and expenses of the sale, as well as five per cent for the sheriff, the money resulting from the sale was turned back to the defendants, Alpheus Lewis and wife."
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hung. I never seen a gallows or a rope like this before. It is a hard thing to die but I feel willing for Jesus' sake. But I am mighty sorry that I have come into this fix. I am thankful that this is all that can be brought up against me." +

"Here he saw a colored friend and said to him, +
"Joe, how's your health? You must study about me when I'm gone." He then called for water and drank with relish and resumed: "I am going to meet death but I am thankful that I don't dread it. I have suffered more in jail than I expect to suffer here." +

"Rev. C.B. Garratt, col., then read a statement denying that Taylor had ever stolen a saw from Mr. Forbes, as some one had charged. He then offered up an earnest and appropriate prayer, at the conclusion of which the preparations began. +

The black cap was first put on but while the prisoner's feet and legs were being strapped he asked that it be taken off, and that his legs not be bound so tightly, as it hurt. "I want to see as long as I can," he said. +

When he was securely bound the cap was replaced and he called upon those around him to shake hands with him. He pressed the hands of several persons with a convulsive and nervous grip, all the while muttering "farewell," "farewell". He trembled and had to be supported during this ordeal. At precisely 12:55 standard time, Sheriff Boyd pulled the lever and Taylor shot through the opening in the twinkling of an eye. His neck was broken and the flesh torn in one place slightly, and he never moved a muscle after he fell. Death must have been painless to him. +

Mr. Boyd shook hands with the doomed man before pulling the lever. It was his first experience of the kind but the painful duty was performed in the best possible manner. +
Drs. Woosley, Dennis and Seargent attended and made the following reports:

At 2 minutes, pulse 90.
At 4 minutes, pulse 90.
At 6 minutes, pulse 125.
At 9 minutes, pulse 130.
At 10 minutes, pulse hardly perceptible, heart beating feebly.
At 12½ minutes, no pulse.
At 14 minutes, heart still beating very feebly.
At 16½ minutes, dead. +

The body was cut down at 1:16, in just 21 minutes. +

He was then placed in his coffin and taken outside and the coffin opened to allow the crowd to see the corpse, after which it was taken to the potter's field and buried. +

THE GALLOWS, ROPE AND CAP. +

The gallows was located close to the river bank, on a spot of ground owned by the city, within a few yards of the jail. It was in an inclosure 25 feet square, made of oak plank 16 feet high. There was but one place of ingress, a small door on the South side. There was a crack or knot-hole here and there but even these were protected by armed guards on the outside. The scaffold was a first class piece of work and was erected by Mr. M.L. Christian. The upright posts and cross beam were of heavy and substantial timbers and underneath the beam a hole was dug out about two feet deep. From the beam to the bottom of the hole was 15 feet. The platform was about 7 feet square and the trap door was 3 feet square, all made of thick oak plank. The door was hung on the south side by hinges underneath. On the north was a lever that was attached by a wire to a heavy iron bolt to hold the door up on the underside. By pulling the lever the bolt was slid back, the door fell and the body dropped down. The platform was about 5½ feet below the beam and 7½ from the ground and was reached by steps right opposite the door to the inclosure. The drop through the door was about 6½ feet, so that the prisoner's head was about one foot below the platform and his feet about two feet above the bottom of the hole. The gallows was neatly white-washed and taken altogether was faultlessly constructed and arranged for the purpose for which it was intended. +

The rope was of the best hemp and was purchased new, especially for the execution of Taylor. It cost about $7.00 and was ¼ of an inch in diameter. +

The black cap was simply a black bag about 15 inches deep, with a shoe-
string to tie it around the neck. It was the same used on Wm Morrow, at Clarksville, last Friday, having been borrowed from the Sheriff of Montgomery county, Tenn. It looked like an old one and had probably been used before Morrow wore it. 

"TAYLOR'S LAST CONFESSION:" 

"A representative of the SOUTH KENTUCKIAN took down the following confession from Jordan Taylor, on the day before his execution, in the jail, in the presence of his spiritual advisers, Revs. Jas. Allensworth and Cain Garrott. His language is corrected, but the substance of his statement was as given. The confession was supplemental to his last sworn statement, which appears on another page:" 

"When I started from Mrs. Bronaugh's that night, I sat on the yard fence till Sally Saunders came out to go home. She had come over there to work just to aggravate me and get my money from me. We left together and went down the path toward Casky. I had no intention of killing her when I started, but I picked up the axe at the gate intending to give her a beating with the handle of it when we got down in the field. We walked together until we got nearly to the Railroad at Casky, when we sat down and talked for about half an hour. We talked about threats she had made to have me shot. I told her I was done with her and she couldn't enjoy any more of my money. I was expecting to meet another woman down in the field and I left Sally at the gap to go back, but she followed me. I told her to go home and let me alone but she kept following. I went to the willows where the body was found and sat down and she followed down there and kept worrying me about money to go to Louisville the next Friday. About that time it began to rain a little and I got up and started towards the barn. She followed me and when she got to where I killed her I told her again to go home as it was raining. She said she was neither sugar nor salt. Then the devil got into me. She was breaking me up in my calculations and aggravating me to death. The devil and the lick came together. She was walking alongside of me but not in reach of the axe. I made a jump at her and hit her on the head with the back of the axe. She fell without a word. I looked at her and was sorry I had done it. I would have helped her up but I saw she was hurt too bad to get well. I then hit her two or three more licks with the back of the axe, but did not touch her with the blade. (Taylor re-iterated this statement, although his attention was called to the fact that the woman's head was split open). I took her by the feet and dragged her to the willows and then went home. I didn't look for the other woman. It was then about 9 or 10 o'clock. If I had planned to kill her I would have done it differently. I had no intention to do her harm and if she had gone on about her business both of us might have had life and liberty today. This is about all there is to tell concerning the killing." 

"Taylor then referred to the statement that he had robbed hen-roosts and emphatically denied it. Said he "I never stole a chicken in my life. I stole some gear once when I was wagoning, because mine was stolen and I didn't want to take my team home naked. I used to take watermelons. I used to tell folks when they planted their patches to plant some for me. The conjure bag I"
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HIS LAST HOURS.

"Taylor slept but little during his last night on earth. He occupied a cell with Henry Martin, col., who killed Wiley Hutcherson a few months ago. He slept but little and his agony was fearful. Speaking to the sheriff a day or two before, the miserable wretch begged to be hanged at one instead of ten o'clock. Said he, "I don't want to die and I would tell a lie if I said I did. I want to live every hour I can and then I'll try to die like a man. The Judge gave me every day he could and I want you to give me the last hour and the last minute you can. While I am here I knows where I is, but when you get done with me, I don't know where I'll be." +

"The sheriff was moved by his pleadings and changed the hour to 1 o'clock. +

"Taylor ate a hearty breakfast of beef-stake and eggs this morning and appeared to be trying hard to nerve himself up to meet his fate bravely. +

"He spent most of the morning in prayer and in consultation with his spiritual advisers. He ate dinner with relish and appeared to be truly resigned to meet his fate when the fatal hour arrived for him to start to the gallows. +

"Sheriff John Boyd, authorized by law to officiate as executioner of Jordan Taylor, was born in Christian County, Ky., March 21, 1825 and is consequently in the 31st year of his age. The above portrait is a correct and striking likeness of the popular young officer, whom the law designates as the instrument to carry out the judgment of the Courts when the death sentence has been pronounced. +

"Mr. Boyd was elected to the office of Sheriff in August 1884, as a Republican. So great was his popularity and so inoffensive had been his par-
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tisanship that he was accorded the distinguished honor of a unanimous election. He had previously served four years as Deputy Sheriff and in that capacity manifested his superior fitness and undoubted qualifications for the higher office to which his fellow-citizens elevated him.

"The county has never had a more efficient Sheriff than he. Nothing deters him from a faithful and conscientious discharge of his duty in all things. Of the soundest integrity, unquestioned honesty, indefatigable energy and a stern conception of the responsible duties of his office, he enjoys the confidence and respect of all, irrespective of race or party. The County is indeed fortunate in the possession of such an officer."

SLAVES COULD OFFER NO DEFENSE IN COURT

coleman, slavery, 1940

Probably the darkest feature of the so-called black code was the fact that the slave's right of self-defense in the courts of the state amounted to virtually nothing more than mere legal fiction. Slaves of Kentucky could not appear as witnesses against their masters, or the body of society, but could only give testimony for or against Negroes or mulattoes. The subjection of one race to another, coupled with the inability of the subordinate race to testify against the dominant race, made harsh treatment and brutal punishments possible. Some of the outrages perpetrated on the helpless blacks can hardly be classed as punishments.
There lived on "Rocky Point" plantation near Smithland, in Livingston County, during the early part of the nineteenth century, Lilburne Lewis and his younger brother, Isham, nephews of President Thomas Jefferson. As the owners of a considerable number of slaves, the Lewis brothers were known far and wide for their cruel treatment of their blacks, whom they "drove constantly, fed sparingly and lashed severely." In consequence of such harsh treatment, many of their slaves were in the habit of running away.

On the evening of December 15, 1811, these two brothers sat before the open fire in the living room of their log farmhouse, drinking and arguing over their runaway problems. Outside a bitter wind slashed the frozen snow on the wilderness countryside and the turbulence of the wind infected the hearts of the slaves down in the quarters. A grim defiance was growing in every pair of eyes. Among them was George, a fiery, emaciated boy of seventeen, who, some time before, had returned from a skulking spell in the woods. Upon his return he was seized and severely whipped. Again he took to the woods, but, now, after two weeks, had come back in a starved humility, a mere striping of skin and bones. Such a boy, weak and sick, had lost much of his value as a slave.

Much liquor was consumed from the brown jug which stood on the table in the Lewis home as the fateful evening of December 15 wore on. At length, the two brothers decided to administer, as an example, a new form of cruelty, not to any of the older slaves, but to one with young rebel blood who had not learned the wisdom of submission.

Isham sent one of the old slaves down to the quarters to bring in the boy George. Handing him a beautiful cut-glass pitcher his mother had brought from Virginia, the younger Lewis commanded the frightened boy to fetch some water from the spring at the foot of the hill. With drunken seriousness he impressed the young Ne-

Isham, cursing, jerked the boy George into the room, where he fell on his knees begging loudly for mercy. In his hand was still clutched the arched handle of the pitcher, one side of which, cracked and broken, flashed in the firelight.

Throwing some ropes to several of the nearest Negroes, Isham commanded them to tie up George, while Lilburne dragged a heavy meat block before the open fireplace. Yelling and kicking, the unfortunate slave was bound with frantic haste, and a mournful murmur rose from the slaves as they saw Lilburne reach for his broad-axe. With the first blow he severed the boy’s feet, and, after pitching them into the fire, turned to lecture the slaves in a coarse, drunken babble on obedience. Mute with fright they stood dazed and incapable of resistance.

Gradually the boy George was chopped to pieces and his parts thrown into the blazing fireplace. With insane gestures the brothers threatened the assembled slaves with the same fate should any word of their dastardly crime go beyond the bounds of the Lewis plantation. Nothing now remained but to dispose of the flesh and bones of George, and for this purpose the fire was brightly stirred until two hours past midnight, when the gruesome ceremonies ended. Satisfied that their
burned. Isham Lewis took down two rifles and began cleaning them, while Lilburne wrote his will, making several bequests to his wife and family. And in a codicil added that he wished "myself & brother to be entered in the same coffin & in the same grave." 58. With rifle in hand, the two nephews of Jefferson walked slowly to the hilltop eminence, to the little family burial ground where their mother had recently been interred.

The brothers, as planned, were to take up their positions on opposite sides of the burial lot, aim their rifles steadily and, at the word, fire together, but, instead of a double killing, Lilburne shouted himself while demonstrating how a person could end his own life with the help of a ramrod to set off the trigger of his gun.
wife's grave—Isiah a few steps from him—Lilburn received a ball through his heart and fell without discharging his gun, which was found cocked and loaded on the ground with him. This shocking affair is said to have been occasioned by the flight of Capt. Lewis' wife, who made her escape to save her life, as it was feared that her evidence would be admitted against Isham, as an aider and abettor of the horrid deed with which

On April 11, 1812, John Darrah, coroner of Livingston County, impaneled a jury of twelve “good & honest men truly sworn” to report on the death of Lilburne Lewis, and on the following day they brought in a verdict which read:

"We the jury are of the opinion that Lilburne Lewis did murder himself on the 10th day of April, 1812, on his own plantation and Isham Lewis [was] present and accessory to the murder."" 40

Isham Lewis, the younger brother, was sentenced to be hanged, at Salem, by the court which sat the following June, but long before the date set, he managed to escape from the log jail. His whereabouts remained a matter of much speculation; one tradition had it that he went down to Natchez, married, later joined Jackson's army and was killed at the battle of New Orleans. Whether this account was true or not, the circuit clerk of Livingston County, on March 20, 1815, entered an order from Judge Benjamin Shackleford relative to the murder charge against Isham Lewis, which read: "Ordered that this case abate, by the death of the defendant."" 42 Thus ended one of the strangest and cruelest cases in all the annals of Kentucky slavery.

As a further proof that the enslaved blacks had but very restricted rights in the courts of the state, the Kentucky legislature, when it repealed the age-old law of "benefit of clergy" in February, 1798, left the law undisturbed insofar as it applied to slaves."" This gave them a certain immunity not applicable to the whites. On such charges as murder, rape, barnburning, poisoning, and other felonies punishable by death, the slave might, in the discretion of the presiding judge, claim "benefit of clergy" and by the ancient law be branded in the hand, publicly whipped and set free.
retaliation by slaves against a cruel master

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Preston, a slave of Warren County, in 1845 was accused of burning his master's barn, was tried and convicted, and although he claimed the "benefit of clergy," his plea was denied and he was hung for his crime on November 6 of that year. On the other hand, Bird, a slave of John Hays, a farmer of Barren County, was arrested and accused of "violently & feloniously making an assault on and upon Eliza Syra, a spinster." At the March, 1846, term of the Barren Circuit Court, Bird was tried for rape and found guilty, although the evidence against him was clearly insufficient and the jury was highly prejudiced because the prosecutrix was a white woman.

Judge Richard Buckner, "sympathising with the poor wretch," allowed the "benefit of clergy" to be claimed, and, "upon being tendered the United States Constitution and being able to read it," the said Bird was, by order of the court, sentenced to be "branded with a hot iron in the open hand, in the presence of the court by the jailor of Barren County, and thence taken to the public whipping post and there receive on his bare back 99 lashes well laid on by the sheriff." After the infliction of this punishment, the prisoner was set at liberty. This was the last case in which the "benefit of clergy" was granted to a convicted criminal in Kentucky, for the law, unequally and sometimes unfairly applied in the different jurisdictions, was legally abolished at the next term of the Kentucky legislature, on January 16, 1847.

45 Ky. Law Reporter, VI, 508
see note 5666

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As slaves had little or no chance of taking their grievances to court, numerous cases are on record where the recalcitrant blacks, in an effort to seek redress, conspired against their masters and retaliated in various ways. Probably the most common way for the field or farm hand to wreak vengeance upon his master for harsh treatment, cruel punishment, separation of families or any wrongs, fancied or real, was to burn his house, barn, granary or other buildings. Despite the fact that such an act carried the death penalty, numerous cases of this kind appear in the ante-bellum Kentucky newspapers, in some instances, no doubt, falsely attributed to some sulky slave or a fleeing runaway.
Family servants, on occasion, were known to poison the food or drink of their master or some member of his family as a covert means of paying off a grudge or avenging a grievance. In Fayette County, Cassilly, a young mulatto slave, was sentenced to death for "mixing an ounce of pounded glass with gravy" and giving it to her master, John Hamilton, and his wife Martha. Another poisoning, much talked of in the Bluegrass, occurred in the home of Hector P. Lewis, a wealthy planter residing in the northern part of Fayette County. Harriet, his family servant, was likewise subjected to the death sentence for having "mixed and mingled a certain deadly poison, to wit, the seed of the Jamestown weed pulverized, in certain coffee," which she gave to her master, "knowingly, wilfully and of her malice aforethought, with the evil intent that death would ensue to the said Lewis."

In all probability, the strangest case of this kind occurred in the family of Cassius M. Clay, the great champion of Negro freedom and one of the most colorful characters in Kentucky history. Several weeks after Clay's encounter with Brown at Russell Cave Springs, his second son, Cassius Clay, Jr., an infant of three or four years, was taken seriously ill on September 1, 1843. Emily, the boy's nurse and family servant of the Clay family, was strongly accused of poisoning the child, who, despite the best efforts of Doctors Lloyd and Elisha Warfield, "did suffer and languish and languishing did live until the 20th of September [1843] next, when he died." Strange and hard to fathom are the motives of Emily, if any, and the fact that the accused slave was not brought to trial until fully two years after the Clay infant had died.

Emily, as charged in the indictment, did "feloniously, wilfully and of her malice aforethought, attempt to kill and murder one Cassius Clay," and "did then and there put, mix and mingle a deadly poison called arsenick, to wit, five grains thereof into a certain quantity of milk, to wit, half a pint, and did then and there, by reason of persuasion, threats and force, induce the said Cassius Clay, an infant of tender age, to drink and swallow down a great quantity of the poison aforesaid, with the evil intent that his death might therefrom ensue."

When the case finally came to trial, on October 14, 1845, the jury, largely pro-slavery and highly prejudiced against an accused slave, could find no evidence sufficient to establish her guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt," the degree required by law, and brought in a verdict, which read: "We the jury find the prisoner Emily not guilty of the charge laid in the indictment." Although legally acquitted of the murder charge, there was still a darker side to this strange case.
Clay, the well-known abolitionist, still believing that Emily had taken the life of his infant son, though not proved in her trial, now sought personal retribution and accordingly sold Emily to a "nigger trader," who took her to the torrid cotton fields of Mississippi. While she was awaiting trial in Megowan's slave jail in Lexington, Clay sold her mother, brother and sister likewise into the Southern markets. "I sent them to New Orleans," said Clay, "and sold them there because I knew them to be the abettors of the crime of Emily." 

56. Clay was severely criticized by the abolitionists for his sale and separation of Emily's family, and later, Emily herself. To this charge he answered: "I have never at any time in my life sold any slave, except for crime or in their own desire." He further added that these slaves were held in trust by the will of his father, which provided that "any of them should behave amiss, they shall be sold, and the money settled in land for the benefit of those [slaves] for whom the trust was created." —The Liberator, May 2, 1843.

57. Excessive whipping often broke the slave's spirit, as noted in the appearances mentioned in some of the runaway advertisements. Jim "had a rather down-cast look," and Andy "has a down-cast look when spoken to." —Kentucky Gazette, August 2, February 6, 1830.
One of this kind was Jim Kizzie, an overseer of Henderson County, who conformed somewhat to the type of Simon Legree in the famous book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. He was much feared by the slaves and took a keen delight in inflicting his innate cruelty upon them. In performing his duties he carried a revolver strapped at his waist and, fastened by a loop at the waist, was a long rawhide whip which did frequent duty in whipping the field Negroes.

During the summer of 1862 Kizzie had been particularly active in applying the lash, and the slaves, driven to rebellion, secretly planned to kill him after the next flogging. On the fourth of August the provocative flogging occurred. Biding their time, the long intimidated blacks seized the much-hated overseer as he came to the tobacco field to inspect their work, and, stripping off their cotton suspenders, fastened a noose about Kizzie's neck and, despite his struggles and screams, strangled him to death. Then they dragged his body into the nearby woods and concealed it among the trees.

The utmost excitement prevailed when the news of the killing spread throughout Henderson County. Bloodhounds were called to the scene and five slaves were arrested and charged with the crime. Four of them, Jeff, Joe Daniel, Jim and Stephen were acquitted, but Daniel, the ringleader, was executed for the crime on the sixth day of February, 1863. Numerous slaveholders of that section on the day of Daniel's execution took their Negroes into town to see the hanging in order that it might serve as a salutary lesson to them.

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63. Henderson Circuit Court, Order Book P, pp. 252, 258, December Term, 1862. These five slaves, belonging to the estate of A. B. Barret, were charged with killing "James Kissee, by beating, bruising, choking and strangling him with their hands, fists and legs and by choking him with a string or suspenders by tying the same around his neck."
64. Ibid., p. 259, December 22, 1862. Daniel's value was fixed by commissioners at $800 and allowed to the executors of A. B. Barret, deceased.
65. When Lucy, a slave of Meade County, was hanged in May, 1863.
Not only were slaves known to take the lives of their masters or overseers, but they were now and then charged with the murder of their own children, sometimes to prevent them from growing up in bondage. In Covington a father and mother, shut up in a slave barracoon and doomed to the Southern market, "when there was no eye to pity them and no arm to save," did by mutual agreement "send the souls of their children to Heaven rather than have them descend to the hell of slavery," and then both parents committed suicide."

66. Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Thomas, a slave, Fayette Circuit Court, File 1101, March 21, 1845. This is a typical case of a slave's murdering his master.


68. Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Theodocia, a slave, Franklin Circuit Court, File 113, June 16, 1847.
held him a victim by her wiles and when he no longer had money to squander upon her she threw him off despite his pleadings and the mysterious influence of John Lee's rabbit's foot and love powders. When all else had failed to regain her favor, then it was that murder took possession of his heart, or to use his own words, that "the devil got in him," and his bands were dyed with blood.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

According to Taylor's statement, he was 16 years old the second day of March following the emancipation of the slaves. This being true he was born Mar. 2, 1818, and was at the time of his conviction a little over 37 years of age. He was born in Shelby county, Ky. at the plantation of Mr. John B. Bell who now lives in Abilene, Tex. His mother was named Lacie Taylor and his father's name was Press Offutt. Jordon was the second of a family of seven children. When Jordon was a small child his mother became the property of Mr. James Taylor, a brother-in-law of Mr. Bell, who lived near Bennetttstown, in this county and has never been out of the county since. Of his five brothers and one sister, two of them, Robert and Thomas, live at Mr. Marcellus Turnley's, in this county; Manuel lives in this city, a brother and sister live in Mt. Vernon, Ind., and the other brother has not been heard from for 15 years and his whereabouts is not known. His parents have been dead for several years.

Jordon Taylor was married about ten years ago to Julia Avaut and they have three children, viz: Edward, aged 8; Emma, aged 5; and Annie, aged 3 years. His wife and children live at Mr. Jas. M. Cayce's, near Beverly.

INCIDENTS OF HIS EARLY LIFE

The baser instincts which nature had endowed Taylor with, were not long in beginning to assert themselves, and at an early age we find him getting himself into trouble by stealing. When he was about twelve years old he coveted a dog belonging to Mr. Munday, a neighbor of his master's, and decided to steal it. He succeeded in "kidnapping the canine" and the theft was settled upon him, but he persistently had and denied all knowledge of the affair until the dog was found where he had tied it. For this, which he declared was his first dishonest act, Jordan was severely whipped by both his master and a brother-in-law of the owner of the dog.

It was not long before we find him at the same business again. He was next detected stealing from his mistress. To the writer Jordan related the following incident:

"Pretty soon after they whipped me for stealin' the dog, I et up a jar of pickled brains belongin' to my mistis. Soon after hog-killing time she put em up in the corner, at the bend of the stair-steps, and I found 'em one day. I always did like brains and every time I passed the jar I took a handful and it wasn't long till they was all gone. One day my mistis sent me upstairs after the jar and I thought I would cover up what I had done by breakin' the jar, but when I broke the jar, by falling down the steps, that didn't make the brains thar and I got another whippin."

Thus it will be seen that Jordan did not lack shrewdness even at the early age of 12 years.

Time wore along and Jordan continued to practice his petit thefts, robbing hen roosts, watermelon patches and the like, until his conscience
became so scared that he ceased to regard these little matters as wrongful, and in almost every instance his shrewdness prevented his being detected.

The only time he was ever arrested for stealing was in the days just after the war when Confederate money was plentiful. He stole $5.50 from another negro who roomed with him and was arrested and taken to Lafayette for trial. At the trial it was developed that the money was spurious and so he was released. After this Jordan married and for a number of years lived with Mr. Jas. M. Cayce, where his family still live. His career during these years is not a necessary part of this sketch and we will pass on to the circumstances that led to the crime that cost Taylor his life.

Sally Saunders was a portly colored woman weighing probably 175 pounds. She was about 45 years old and the mother of grown children. Her character was bad whenever she was known. In 1877 or 1878 Taylor met this woman and she became his mistress. He left his wife at times and worked around in the Caskyne neighborhood, where she lived at first one thing and then another, off and on, for several years. About 1881 he met John Lee and became a believer in the black art as practiced by him. In the fall of 1884, Taylor went to Casky and was working around the neighborhood until towards the middle of October when he was arrested. The motives leading to the crime have already been alluded to and we will proceed to give a history of the crime, based upon Taylor's confessions in court.
and was about 100 yards off when the spot was found. Mr. Watson called to him, not telling him what he had found, when Taylor at once called to the others "come on boys, Mr. Watson has found her." This was before the trial had been followed up to where the body was. These suspicious movements caused Mr. Watson to place Taylor under arrest and he was at once taken in charge by the officer and posse.

The body of the woman was lying in a cool and shady place and decomposition had not set in, although the murder had been committed nearly two days before. An inquest was held by Esq. W.E. Warfield and a verdict implicating Jordan Taylor was returned by the Jury and he was taken to the county jail.

On Saturday, the next day, Taylor became alarmed and declared that John Lee committed the murder. Lee was accordingly arrested and put in jail. He stoutly protested his entire innocence and Taylor just as persistently declared that both were guilty, but that Lee struck the fatal blows. The case created great excitement not only in the immediate vicinity of the scene of the tragedy but all over the county. For brutally, heartlessness and fiendishness the murder was almost without a parallel in the county and whou Taylor and Lee were arraigned for trial before Justices Anderson and Rogers, at the Court House, on Friday, Oct. 16, the court room was crowded to its utmost capacity. The spectators had come to hear it recital of the bloody details of the murder by one of the participants in the hellish crime, but they were disappointed. Taylor promptly waived examination and went to jail to await the action of the grand jury in the March following. The trial of John Lee was postponed until the next day, and Mr. J.W. Downer was appointed to defend him, and the prosecution, in the absence of County Attorney Sebree, was conducted by Henry & Payne.

JOHN LEE'S TRIAL.

The Court House was again filled when Lee's trial began the next day. Taylor was the first witness introduced. He raised his manacled hands and was sworn, and then looked nervously around, but being assured that no harm should be done him, he began and told a very straight story. Lee's attorney objected to the admission of his testimony, but the Court decided to hear it, as no conspiracy was charged, and Taylor was held to be a competent witness.

TAYLOR'S FIRST CONFESSION.

"I have been living at the widow Bronaugh's, near Casky, and knew John Lee and Sally Saunders. We all worked at Mrs. Bronaugh's together on Wednesday, Oct. 8. During the afternoon John Lee and myself made up to kill Sally that night. Me and Sally had been pretty thick, but were at outs. Lee said he and his partner, a woman named Celia Walker, near Trenton, could fix up some works that would trick Sally and bring her back to me. They had fixed me up sone works, but they did no good. (Here the "works" were exhibited. They consisted of a "jack," a small bundle of hair and straw, wrapped into a mass about the size of one's
little finger and enclosed in a dirty white bag; two small rags, one containing two kinds of root powders and the other containing still a different kind of "Hoodoo" powder.) I was told to take the powder in the big rag and put one kind in my shoes and sprinkle the other in the path where Sally had to go along. John was to use the other powder and return what was left to me, which he did. I used the "works" for some time and it had no effect. I thing told John I had paid him $11 and his works were no good. John said if the woman's works didn't work his would, and that I should have no trouble. This was Monday, and I gave him $2.05, all I had and he went to Trenton to see his partner, and came back the same day. On Wednesday we talked about it again and Lee said Sally had meddled with his business and that she should never leave here. (she was fixing to go on an excursion to Louisville, Friday,) that he would split her open first. That evening before sundown Lee said to me: "She is going home to-night. I will step across the field and get an axe and see you down in the field." We worked late getting in tobacco. When we went to the house, Lee left for the axe while me and Sally were eating. Lee had been eating there but didn't eat that night. He came back in 15 or 20 minutes and went down the path towards Casky."

"Lee was to get her at the barn and I was to meet him there and we would kill her. Before Lee left he went out to the ice house and tied boards on his feet. Pretty soon after he had gone Sally got a lantern and started down the same path after him. I got in the crib and watched the lantern till she got to the bend in the path. Then she stopped and

and the light swung back and forwards and then it started towards the barn and about that time it went out. In a little while I went down the fence to the barn and sat on the fence. I heart them talking over behind the barn. Sally said, "I want the money." John told her that he had always paid all he promised. Sally said she must go home, was out late last night, and didn't want to wake the white folds up every night. (She lived at Mr. Young's at Casky Station.) They were close to the barn. They then went further down in the field, and I got over and followed. Pretty soon I came up to where they were standing. I had nothing in my hand. Lee still had the axe. Didn't know whose it was. "The day before Lee asked me for an axe and a corn-knife. Said. "I am determined that my work shall go out and you ought to help me. I want an axe to-morrow night." He then said he knew where he could get one.

When I came up close to them, I said, "Here's the old-gal!" She turned to look back at me, and as she turned, John hit her with the axe on the head. She fell without a word, and then he hit her twice after she fell, one time he split her head open. We then talked about what we would do with her. John wanted to take her to the railroad and made out the had killed her. I said no, we would get blood on us. We then dragged her to the willow clump. We both dragged, each taking hold of a foot and dragging her feet foremost. We stopped three or four times to rest. We went around the field and came to the house the back way. John put the lantern in the crib and then set it over in the yard, as I had been sleeping in the crib and he was afraid that
I would be suspected. John then took the boards off his feet and went home, and I went to bed."

Cross examined-The witness could not be shaken, but told the same story verbatim. A silver ring was exhibited which he said Sally gave to him that day. Had promised it to him at the Fair, the week before. He had left it in his "conjure" bag. It was found in the bag.

"Have known Lee three or four years and had known Sally 6 or 7 years. Sally was in the cabin when Lee left, between six and seven o'clock, I reckon. The teno'clock freight had passed before the killing. I helped look for the dead woman Friday. Mr. Newt. Watson arrested me and brought me to jail. I first told Mr. Waddington Saturday that Lee was in it. I told Mr. Geo. Winfree and Mr. Watson about the killing Sunday. They said they had evidence against me and that there was no use lying, that it would be better for me to tell the truth. Sally was not my wife."

A large number of witnesses were introduced to corroborate Taylor's testimony, but Lee was subsequently acquitted and for the purposes of the sketch it is only necessary to give the evidence of one or two witnesses who stated facts bearing directly upon the murder. The following is the evidence of N.T. Watson:

"I am constable in Casky district. I was told of Sally Saunders' disappearance Friday and organized a search party and went out to look for her. Lee was unloading coal at Casky. Afterwards saw him at Mrs. Bronaugh's and he refused to help look for her.

After dinner I got a clue from the lantern. It had splotches of blood and mud on it and in these were sticking rag-weed seed. We went to the weed field and there found the body. I first came to the spot where the woman was killed and following the trial found the body about 2 p.m. The body was hid in the willows. It was lying on the ace, hands extended above the head clothing pulled up around the waist and a small shawl wrapped around the head. She been been struck twice with the eye of an axe and the head split open once with the blade from the forehead to the left ear. She had been dragged and the flesh was rubbed off here stomach by the weeds. She weighed about 175 pounds and was tall. She was dragged through rag-weeds and iron-weeds for 70 yards. It is possible that one man could have dragged her, but it would have been a heavy drag. There were six stops in the 70 yards as shown by the pools of congealed blood. I never found the axe. I summoned the coroner's jury before Esq. Warfield. John Lee refused to serve. Said he couldn't and gave no other reason. He refused to go to look at the body, but stopped off at some distance. The blows on the woman's head were on the left side from behind. Cut was on the right side. Have known Lee three years, Taylor made a confession to me. Monday, Oct. 13. It was identical with his testimony to-day."

Cross-examined-Same substantially as above. "Saw where the axe was stuck in the ground, where the woman's head was split. There was an indentation that showed where she stood and where her head fell. Saw tracks of only one man. The measure of the tracks fit Taylor's shoe-much too small for Lee. The tracks were between the woman's feet where
she had been stopped, none of either side. I saw no indentations made by boards. Taylor was with me when the trail was found, also about a dozen others. When I found it Taylor bore off in another direction. I gave Howard Boxley my gun and told him to arrest Taylor, which he did, while I went in the willows and found the body. Coming out, I called Taylor, and he called out, "Boys, he's found her," before I had made any announcement. Lee was arrested Saturday night by Mr. Wadington and myself at Mr. Geo. Winfree's. He was badly scared and asked what we were going to do with him. It was about eleven o'clock, and he was in bed. His wife lived there. We brought him to jail"

At night the case was argued by Downer and Henry and the court held Lee also without bail to await the action of the grand jury in March. The opinion was universal that both of them were guilty, although Lee protested his innocence from the first and the other prisoners in jail frequently heard him pleading with Taylor in the still hours of night to tell the truth and save his life. Lee was an old man, probably 65 years old, and it was generally believed that he had planned the murder and that Taylor had carried out the plans as Lee directed.

THE TRIAL OF TAYLOR

The grand jury met in March 1885 and Taylor re-iterated his confession before that body and both Taylor and Lee were promptly indicted for willful murder and were tried separately. Taylor was arraigned on Mar. 26, and the following jury empaneled to try his case:


The Court appointed Jno. W. McPherson and Jas. Breathitt to defend the prisoner. He promptly entered, through his attorneys a plea of guilty as charged in the indictment. The case was then argued by the counsel as to whether the penalty should be death of a life sentence.

THE SPEECHES.

Mr. Breathitt spoke first. He dwelt upon the ignorance and superstition of Taylor, the bad effect of public hangings upon the morals of a community and appealed to the jury for mercy for his client. He spoke of the sweetness of life, pictured the horrors of existence in the penitentiary, and urged the jury to give him the less punishment prescribed by law. His effort was exceedingly creditable considering the circumstances. He spoke thirty minutes. Col. McPherson followed in a short and touching appeal for mercy. He spoke of the lack of intelligence of his client and held that this should be a mitigating circumstance. His appeal to the sympathies of the jury was very affecting and he closed his speech by making Taylor kneel to the jury and beg them to spare his life.

Commonwealth's Attorney Jas. H. Garnett spoke but twenty minutes, but his speech was a very powerful effort. He appealed to the jury to remember their oaths and pictured the bloody murder of old Sally Saunders
LEE'S TRIAL.

On the afternoon of Mar. 26, the case of John Lee was called and the following jury empanced:


The jury took the case at 11:20 and at 12:20 brought in their verdict fixing Jordan Taylor's punishment at death. The Court room was packed until there was not even standing room on the floor or in the gallery. All attempt to applaud was quickly suppressed by Judge Grace with a threat to arrest all who made any demonstrations.

Taylor unconcernedly cleaned his finger nails while the verdict was being read and save a slight start when the word "death" reached his ear, he showed no lack of composure.

TAYLOR'S SECOND CONFESSION.

"My name is Jordan Taylor. I killed Sally Saunders by myself. I killed her with an axe. Got the axe at widow Bronaugh's. I got with Sally at the gate and went with her down the path and made her believe I had to go by the barn. I got the axe at the crib, where it had been left by Mr. Bronaugh and myself the day before. Sally had a lamp. I hit her on the head three times. Never hit her with the blade of the axe. The axe was stuck in the ground so that I could find it. I dragged her to the willows feet foremost, with face down. I went back to the cabin after I had dragged her to the willows. The door was fastened with a piece of plank which was propped against it, which I shook down. I got blood off the axe by dragging it through the weeds first on one side and then on the other. There was no blood on the axe the next morning. I know John Lee. He did not advise me to kill Sally and he knew nothing about my purpose to kill her. I previously stated under oath that Lee had killed her with the axe. The reason I made that statement was because Lee had told two lies on me. He had said that he prevented me from killing Sally the night before and that I had threatened to shoot her through the window. I carried the lantern..."
TAYLOR SENTENCED.

The prisoner shook his head in a dazed sort of way and the Judge continued:

"Therefore it is the judgment of this Court, that you be taken by the Sheriff on June 26th, 1885, and in the vicinity of the jail hung by the neck until you are dead"

At the conclusion the wretch sank trembling into his seat and his head dropped upon his bosom, while his nerves twitched and he appeared to be enduring agonizing pain, but in a moment he regained his usual composure and with a firm step returned to the county jail to await his doom.

COUNTING THE DAYS.

During frequent conversations with the writer subsequent to his conviction, Taylor expressed a desire to have his life written that the record might serve as a warning to others of the fate that is liable to overtake the evil doer. He stated that he had never borne a bad reputation, but had always been industrious and law-abiding, excepting an occasional theft of minor importance.

Once he knocked a negro man named Bris Reeves on the head in a row about his wife, and ran away and stayed three weeks until the excitement subsided. Since his last trouble he said he had heard it charged that he had burned barns and one other "devilment," but he wanted to deny all these things. He had never committed any serious crime, excepting the murder of Sally Saunders. He had never had two hours of trouble
in his life before that time, but in five minutes after the deed was
done he said he was like one deranged and would have given the world
to have undone it.
He was so troubled that he made no attempt to escape, though he
felt all along like he would be found out. He blamed himself for it all
and believed his punishment was just. He said he believed God had
forgiven his great sins and that he was prepared to die. He could never
understand himself just why he killed the woman. She had aggravated
and worried him until the devil got into him and he took her life. She
had even threatened to have him shot and he thought if he killed her
it might rid him of the cause of his annoyance and perhaps save his
life. "But," said he, "that action was the beginning of my real
trouble. I never knew until I got in jail how sweet liberty was.
It is worse than death for a man to have to lie in jail and count the
days till his neck will be broken." When discussing his approaching
death Taylor would invariably burst into tears and in the most commiserable and inconsolable manner.

SLAVE ATTEMPTS TO MURDER CHILDREN; TRIED, NOT CONVICTED 1847

During the summer of 1847 Theodocia, the mulatto
household servant of General Andrew Taylor, of Frank­
fort, attempted, as was charged, to take the life of her
four-year-old daughter. According to the indictment,
the said Theodocia, "not having the fear of God before
her eyes but being moved and seduced by the instiga­
tions of the devil," did "wilfully, feloniously and of her
malice aforethought, fix, clasp & press both her hands
upon and around the neck of the said female child and
did then and there choke, suffocate & strangle her with
the evil intent that death would shortly follow." 68

Upon being tried, Theodocia was acquitted, and here
again it was demonstrated that sometimes cases in which
slaves were charged with capital offenses, when tried,
turned out to have little or no basis in fact. This and
other cases of unjust accusations may have been the
results of personal grudges, or the attempts of mas­
ters to seek unwarranted revenge. Whatever the cause,
slaves, as has been pointed out, had but little recourse
against their masters, and it can be truthfully said that,
even in Kentucky where bondage was of a milder form,
slavery had its darker side.
Many of the most conservative and respectable citizens of the state belonged to these societies and worked hard for their success. Money had to be raised by subscriptions to finance the expeditions, and benevolent slaveholders found who were willing to liberate their blacks in order that they might be transported back to the land of their ancestors. The movement steadily gained support, and in 1830 the African Repository made a very flattering report: “Probably in no State of the Union has the scheme of African Colonization found more decided friends or met with more general approbation than in Kentucky.”

Robert S. Finley, agent for the Kentucky Colonization Society, with headquarters in Lexington, made an urgent appeal to Kentuckians to assist the movement and “make the donations, either in money or the following articles: bacon, beef, pork, flour, corn-meal, leaf tobacco, salt, nails, hinges, pots, skillets, and all kinds of hard-ware, home-ware, pound-beans, coarse cotton & calicoes, hemp, linen, etc.” These articles, as Finley stressed, were seriously needed in the struggling colony of Liberia.

There were many instances of willingness on the part of the masters to free their slaves for transportation to Africa, but the lack of funds appears to have greatly hampered the work. The Louisville branch of the Kentucky Colonization Society, which appeared to have been more active than any other in the state, raised $805 in 1832, and during the next year the society succeeded in collecting over eleven hundred dollars for the transportation of freed Negroes to Liberia. These sums were obviously very inadequate to take care of the ambitious program, since the cost of transportation was variously estimated to be between twenty-five and forty dollars for each individual given passage to Africa.

It was not until the early part of 1833 that enough money had been raised in Kentucky to outfit the first “expedition” to Liberia. As the prime mover, the Reverend Richard Bibb, of Russellville, Logan County, liberated fifty-one of his slaves and gave the thirty-two who were willing to go in this shipment $100 for their comforts while on the voyage. These thirty-two Bibb Negroes, together with a number of emancipated slaves from over the state, were assembled at Louisville, and on March 22, 1833, this first delegation of liberated blacks left the city “in high spirits, having been liberally provided with money and provisions by the people of Kentucky. They were conveyed to New Orleans, free of expense, in the elegant steam-boat Mediterranean, accompanied by the secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society.”

Some time was spent at New Orleans before a suitable vessel could be chartered for the voyage to Africa, and the total number of the colored emigrants was now 150: 107 from Kentucky and 43 from Tennessee. They were described as being “comfortably provided for as circumstances will allow, and, with 3 or 4 exceptions are all in very good health.”

At length a vessel was found, and the terms were concluded “by which the emigrants are to be conveyed to Liberia for $3,625,” wrote James Birney, a Kentuckian and an early exponent of colonization. Continuing in his description of the boat, he reported: “Everything is to be supplied, except their provisions—the latter is the only expense to which we are to be put. There was only one other vessel which could be had for this purpose. Our vessel is the brig Ajax, somewhat smaller than I would have wished, but has been examined by a very skillful sea captain of this place, who pronounced her altogether competent, sound, sea-worthy and a good sailor.”

On April 20, 1833, with everything in readiness and the one hundred and fifty emigrants on board in gay spirits, the boat, under the command of Captain William H. Taylor, pulled away from the wharf at New Orleans about five o’clock in the afternoon and
dropped down the river a short distance." Then, on the following day, "she was towed out to sea." 10

With prospects of a pleasant voyage before her, tragedy, however, soon overtook the Ajax. In the words of the contemporary press: "We learn with regret that the brig Ajax, fifteen days from New Orleans, bound for Liberia, with nearly one hundred and fifty emigrants on board, has been compelled to put back into Key West in distress. She lost her mate and two blacks when only two days out, and the ship's carpenter reported that 30 to 40 persons had died of the cholera, whilst the brig was anchored off the town. They are said to have been as fine a set of emigrants as ever left this country. One hundred of these were from Kentucky, of whom 96 were slaves and had been manumitted upon condition of their deportation to Monrovia." 11

Of special interest to residents of central Kentucky was the news that among the colored emigrants on board the cholera-stricken Ajax was "a female slave [Milly] brought up by Mrs. [Robert] Wickliffe, who possessed a superior education and gifted mind, and was intended for a teacher in Liberia. With her was her son Alfred who was to become a minister." 12 Later it was learned that Milly had died of the scourge, but Alfred "reached the shores of Africa, and became one of Liberia's leading citizens." 13

13. See Chapter XII for an account of Milly and Alfred, in the Breckinridge-Wickliffe debates and pamphlets.

Major Richard Bibb, a large slaveholder and planter of Logan County, made a rather unique and remarkable will which, yellowed with age and falling to pieces, is still to be seen at the courthouse in Russellville. By this instrument he liberated all of his slaves, fifty-one in number, valued at $25,000, to take effect "from and after the first day of January next" after his death, and willed "that all of them, who have not wives or husbands in bondage, be sent to Liberia. I give to my slaves hereby emancipated $5,000 to be divided out among them and paid out to them from time to time according to the discretion of my executors." 19

Of these fifty-one manumitted slaves, only thirty-two, as heretofore stated, ever left Kentucky for Liberia. 20 Several years later, Abel Long, a Negro preacher of Russellville, went to Liberia as a missionary. When he returned to Logan County he reported that he had been unable to find any of the Bibb Negroes, although he understood a number of them had died of the tropical diseases and was informed that at least two of the women were alive at that time, but that "they had gone into the jungle and lapsed into native barbarity." 21
LEXINGTON SLAVES OFFERED FREEDOM IF THEY WILL GO TO LIBERIA; REFUSED 1845

coleman, slavery, 1940

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Luther Stephens, a well-to-do slaveholder of Fayette County, recorded in his will a typical case of this kind: "I owned a negro woman named Louisa, and gave her the privilege of being free on condition she should go to Liberia, which offer she refused, preferring to be sold and remain a slave [in Fayette County]; her sale produced three hundred and fifty dollars. It is my will," recited Stephens, "that one-half of this amount be given to the American Tract Society, the other half to the American Bible Society. . . ."

Could fear of the unknown been the reason? The modern mind doesn't understand such a refusal. Would living in ignorance with a lack of education explain such a refusal?

BY 1851 KY COLONIZATION SOCIETY A CLEAR FAILURE

coleman, slavery, 1940

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By 1851 it was plainly evident that the Kentucky Colonization Society was waging a losing fight, for only 297 liberated blacks had been transported from Kentucky to Liberia, and there still remained over ten thousand free Negroes in the state. In an effort to relieve this growing menace to slaveholders and to strengthen the cause of colonization, the Kentucky legislature, by an act passed on March 24, 1851, required all slaves, upon being emancipated, to leave the state and likewise forbade free Negroes of other states from entering Kentucky."
KENTUCKY IN LIBERIA A FAILURE

coleman, slavery, 1940

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Kentucky in Liberia received the small band of colored emigrants that were sent out—never in any appreciable numbers—each year by the state society. Like all the others, this colony, modeled somewhat after "Maryland in Liberia," failed to prosper and furnished a strong argument that under the most favorable conditions emancipated Negroes, when thrown upon their own resources and responsibilities, were wholly incapable of maintaining any economic, social or governmental system of their own. Thus, the scheme of African colonization which Henry Clay earlier in the century had advocated as both "practical and logical" proved, after some thirty years of trials and privations, to be nothing more than a great fantastic dream.

40. Wallen Citizen, June 1, 1858.
41. During the thirty years of its existence, 1829-1859, the Kentucky Colonization Society sent a total of 698 emigrants to Liberia, or a little less than 22 per annum.—African Repository, April, 1860, p. 115.

OPPOSITION IN 1792, 1799 CONST CONVENTIONS TO SLAVERY

coleman, slavery, 1940

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This first victory for the slaveholding forces, however, did not end the agitation. Between 1792 and the meeting of the second convention in 1799, the slavey opponents kept up a running fight, hoping to secure an anti-slavery clause in the second constitution. For the most part, the opposition of this early period centered in the Baptist and Methodist churches, while the Presbyterians pursued a more conservative course. Young Henry Clay, lately arrived from Virginia, favored gradual emancipation, but the predominating influence of George Nicholas and John Breckinridge was cast on the side of slavery. Provisions favoring Negro bondage were likewise incorporated in the second constitution, and again the anti-slavery forces lost their early fight, a fight that was not to stop here, but was to continue throughout the entire period of slavery.

After the adoption of the state constitutions of 1792 and 1799, anti-slavery effort continued unabated, especially in the churches. Almost every religious group sponsored some type of anti-slavery program. Most active in this movement were the three leading denominations in Kentucky, the Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, while the Catholics, Episcopalians and Disciples or Reformers stood by and figured less prominently in the slavery agitation.
For several years the question of slavery continued to agitate individual churches in Kentucky, although the general associations assumed an attitude of noninterference and took no action in the matter. Emancipating parties were formed in some of the churches, whose adherents proclaimed slavery contrary to God’s sacred laws and refused to commune with those who practiced it. Because the Salem Association of Kentucky Baptists refused to pronounce slavery an evil, Mill Creek Church in Jefferson County withdrew in 1794. Under the leadership of Josiah Dodge and Joshua Carmen, the dissatisfied members of Cox’s Creek, Lick Creek and Cedar Creek churches formed an independent church in Nelson County, six miles northwest of Bardstown, whose members refused to commune with slaveholders.

Many ministers openly preached emancipation from their pulpits, sometimes even in the presence of slaves. For this conduct they were bitterly assailed, since it was believed that the promulgation of such sentiments would create insubordination and unrest among the slaves.

Many slaveholders were brought before the associations, conferences and church sessions for questioning in regard to their slavery views and activities. Many more were called before the pulpits of their respective churches to be rebuked for their “iniquitous practices.” These “martyred” individuals soon left the churches which opposed their holding slaves and established churches of their own, often of the same denomination. Hence there grew up a marked degree of tolerance in the churches as a whole, so that the denominations and ministers became more and more lenient with the “hardened sinners” who persisted in owning slaves.

Early in 1808 the emancipating Baptists formed the Kentucky Abolition Society, the first distinctly anti-slavery organization in the state. While composed largely of the Baptist Licking-Locust Association and the Friends of Humanity, this society embraced a considerable number of anti-slavery advocates from other religious sects throughout the state. In a slaveholding section, such a society, whose chief aim was the liberation of the blacks, naturally incurred severe criticism. Members were openly accused of talking against slavery and slaveholders in the presence of and even “to multitudes of ignorant negroes” who might “pervert the most proper reasonings to improper purposes.”

5. In Kentucky a society called Friends of Humanity was formed in 1807 with eleven clergymen and thirteen laymen signing the articles of agreement. They were more commonly known as the “Emancipators,” and remained in existence until the latter part of 1813.
it now seemed, would fail for want of public support.

Slaveholders of Mercer, Lincoln and surrounding counties were greatly aroused by the activities of James G. Birney, a native of Kentucky, who, after some years' residence as a planter in Huntsville, Alabama, returned to his native state in November, 1833, and, after settling on a farm near Danville, freed all his slaves. Although a slaveholder, he had been active in the colonization movement in Alabama until convinced of its futility and, upon his return to Kentucky, he became an out-and-out abolitionist. Shortly after arrival in his home town of Danville, he organized The Kentucky Society for the Relief of the State of Kentucky from Slavery, with nine charter members. For the next two or three years this organization showed some promise of life, increasing to about twenty members and building up a few branches, but it soon thereafter died down. Undiscouraged by the failure of this and another society, known as the Ashmun Association, Birney in March, 1835, organized the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society, with headquarters in Danville.

Birney had by this time attracted the attention of national abolitionists and secured the co-operation of such well-known anti-slavery leaders as Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison. Soon Birney had succeeded in getting Garrison to include the Kentucky society within the scope of his American Anti-Slavery Society, which had been organized two years before. Birney's unpopularity in an already outraged community was further increased when it became known that he planned the establishment at Danville of an abolitionist paper, *The Philanthropist*, which was to appear early in August, 1835.

No sooner were the principles of Birney's proposed paper, *The Philanthropist*, the intended mouthpiece of the Kentucky Anti-Slavery Society, and its connections with Garrison's national society generally known, than opposition to the undertaking was expressed by slaveholders in all parts of the state. Garrison's plan, as sponsored by Birney, called for complete abolition and gave no heed to plans for partial or progressive emancipation, which had been proposed in Kentucky on every occasion when the existence of slavery was questioned. Kentuckians were not yet willing to try so desperate a remedy as immediate emancipation or total abolition, neither were they willing to take unsought advice from outsiders on a question which they considered to be particularly their own concern. Mass meetings were held in many sections and resolutions were adopted to prevent the publication of *The Philanthropist*, "peacefully if we can, forcibly if we must." Threats of violence were openly made against any and all men who might countenance the paper or aid in its circulation.

Public indignation soon reached a high pitch: a committee of thirty-three citizens from neighboring counties waited upon the obstinate Birney: "We admonish you, Sir!" warned the spokesman of the group, "as citizens of the same neighborhood, as members of the same society in which you live and move, and for whose harmony and quiet we feel the most sincere solicitude, to beware how you make an experiment here, which no American slave-holding community has found itself able to bear." But Birney, not to be intimidated, went on with the preparations to publish his anti-slavery paper.
Our relation with the United Order of Odd Fellows was most courteous from 1872 to 1888. I was an active member of St. Luke Lodge No. 1771, and was one of the committee of Union and St. Luke lodges that concluded we had paid enough money to white real estate agents for rent, and that it was time to assemble in our own property. Being convinced of this fact, the two lodges, Union and St. Luke, joined their treasuries together, amounting to near $800, sent out a committee, composed of Alonzo Black, Shelton Guest, and Alex. Lily, from Union Lodge, and W. H. Gibson and Charles Lewis, from St. Luke Lodge, who investigated and purchased property for a hall on Green Street, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth, at $2,500, with three years to pay for it. It was paid for in twenty-one months. These two lodges invited the other lodges, patriarchies and H. of Ruths, to take stock in the building, shares $1.00 each. They accepted the invitation, formed a consolidated lodge, and obtained an act of incorporation from the legislature. The business was conducted by a Board of Directors, with President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer. Everything moved on harmoniously, lodges were incorporated as their shares were paid up, and at the expiration of three years they had saved $1,000. Another and more valuable piece of property was offered for sale for $10,000. A committee was empowered to investigate, a lawyer employed to examine the deed, and the property purchased at $10,000, with ten years to pay it. This property was paid for in five years. The purchasing of property with the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows seemed to give new inspiration, and everything that they put their hands to seemed to prosper. In the purchase of this new hall the act of incorporation was amended, W. H. Gibson and C. H. Spalding being appointed a committee to visit the legislature and make the application, and all the lodges were inserted in this charter. My relation as secretary of the Consolidated Lodges closed September, 1888, serving a period of eight successive years, and handling for them over $20,000, until the property was paid for.

With this rapid and grand exhibit followed a fearful calamity. On the 27th of March, 1890, the great cyclone that visited the city of Louisville demolished our splendid hall, and crippled several brethren and one sister, whose lives were miraculously saved. This destruction threw gloom and despondency over an oppressed people, struggling for a foothold in the financial circles of the fraternities. But the Consolidated Board, under the administration of W. H. Ward, an old and experienced Odd Fellow, it is hoped, will succeed in paying for the new building erected on the old site, and that the glory of the latter house may be greater than that of the former.

When the attack on Fort Sumter was proclaimed to the nation, and when Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, called to arms! to arms! three hundred thousand men! our Governor, Beriah Magoffin, replied: "Not a man, nor a dollar!" It was then considered by either party of politicians in the strife that it was a white man's war, and that the negro was only considered as a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the army. Notwithstanding this view of the negro's position, many of them were eager to take part in the fray. They hied their time, and the sequel is known throughout the civilized world.

In the fall of 1862, we, with thousands of other colored citizens, were drafted in the spade and shovel brigade, throwing up entrenchments to protect Louisville from the anticipated attack of General Bragg's Army on the city. I served for a time, but was released through the aid of my physician. I received a dispatch from Dr. W. R. Revels to come to the city of Indianapolis, Ind., and take charge of a school. I immediately left for that city and engaged in teaching a school, which was partly supported by the Quaker Friends and partly by private subscriptions, for the Hoosier State had not, at that time, provided public schools for colored children. The school was largely composed of contraband children, as General Butler termed them, whose parents followed in the wake of the army and crossed the Ohio
w h gibson, hist prog col race in lou, 1897

At the solicitation of Dr. Revels, Sidney S. Hinton, and other friends, I closed my school and accepted the commission of recruiting sergeant, under Col. Condee, for the 55th Massachusetts Colored Regiment. I went into Kentucky for volunteers and had hundreds of applicants, but, through the interference of the officials at headquarters, I failed to get a man enrolled in Louisville. These officials were so-called Union men, dressed in the livery of Uncle Sam, but opposing such aid as was necessary to help save the country. They told me that there would be no quarters shown negro soldiers by the Rebels, and that Massachusetts had no right to send agents into Kentucky for recruits, and that the negro's place was in the hospitals as nurses, attending the sick and wounded. They advised me to leave the State, for the feeling was so strong against us that they could not protect us. With this treatment, I left my wife and children, returned to Indiana, visited Jeffersonville, New Albany, and Charleston, succeeded in recruiting and enrolling about one hundred men for the 55th Massachusetts Regiment, gave them transportation to Camp Morton, Indianapolis, and then resigned my commission, as Union soldiers at that stage of the war refused to protect us. My family was so much annoyed by threat, caused by my action, that I authorized my wife to sell our property and come to Indianapolis. We moved there and returned at the close of the war.

During our stay in the Hoosier capital we made many friends, and many families moved there from Kentucky.

HARSH TREATMENT OF LOU BLACKS BY HOME GUARD DURING 1861

w h gibson, hist prog col race in lou, 1897

The treatment of colored citizens by Home Guards was very cruel in 1861. They were not allowed on the streets after 8 o'clock without a pass, and many were flogged for being out. This treatment became unbearable, especially when it was performed by Union soldiers. The writer of this sketch was, at that time, a correspondent for the Christian Recorder, of Philadelphia, Rev. Elisha Weaver, editor. We wrote up this treatment for that paper, and it was published, and copies sent to Hon. Charles Sumner, who had it read in the Senate, and it created considerable excitement and debate, especially among the Kentucky representatives. It had its desired effect, and there was no more flogging by patrolling Union soldiers. The Congressional records will verify this statement. An amusing incident occurred along with this raid of the Home Guards. Grand Master of Masons, Most Worshipful Henry Spencer, of St. Louis, Mo., was on a special visit to this city and the craft. As all of our meetings were suspended at the hall, we held a private meeting at the writer's house. After adjournment, as the brethren entered the street, this military patrol came dashing along; the brethren spied them, and it was really amusing and laughable to see their coat-tails standing out in the breeze, while they made for the alleys and hiding-places.
In the spring of 1865 I received a call to Kansas, by my esteemed friend and brother, Rev. John Turner. I located at the city of Leavenworth, was employed as a teacher in the public schools of that city, but partly supported by the American Missionary Society, and remained there about fifteen months. The Hon. Judge Brewer, now Judge of the United States Supreme Court, was President of the School Board. Among my associate teachers were Prof. Charles Langton, Mrs. S. Douglass, wife of Capt. Ford Douglass, and Mrs. Margaret Morris, sister of Prof. John Mitchell. My stay in Kansas was a very pleasant one, and I formed the acquaintance of many excellent families, viz.: Thomas Newton, Samuel Jordan, Hiram Young, Josephine Mahoney, Mr. Nesbit, Jones, Quinns, and Franklins.

I left Kansas with the intention of returning, as I had been selected to teach another term, but on visiting my "Old Kentucky Home" friends surrounded me and prevailed on me to settle down in the old State where I had labored in the dark days of slavery, and now, as it was a free State, I should enjoy its blessings. After considering the matter from a business and financial standpoint, I concluded to remain. I sent in my resignation to the President of the School Board, Hon. Judge Brewer. It was accepted with a regret and wishes that my future might be successful.

We pulled up stakes at Indianapolis, moved back to Louisville, bought property, and began business under very favorable circumstances.

We had no public schools for colored children in 1866. The schools were supported by private funds of the patrons. The Freedmen's Bureau schools and the (Ely) American Missionary School employed teachers and educated the colored children until the State, by legislative acts, provided for the education of colored children in separate schools.

Gen. Ben. Runkle, of the United States Army, established bureau schools in the colored churches. They were largely attended by day and night. Private schools were assisted from the bureau fund. Jackson-street M. E. Church School was taught by Mr. Henry Meriwether and Mrs. Julia Author; Center-street M. E. Church School by Rev. Wm. Butler; Quinn Chapel School by W. H. Gibson. The American Missionary Society erected a building on the corner of Broadway and Fourteenth Street. This school was conducted by a corps of white teachers from that society.
The system of advancing fifty dollars in order that a case might be heard in said court was a custom soon after the war. Many of our people from the mountains and interior part of the State were compelled to come to Louisville in order to have their cases litigated, there being no United States Circuit Court in their districts. The Ku-klux clans were murdering them and pillaging their property, and no redress could be obtained, as this large fee demanded made it impossible for them to have a hearing, for they were too poor to raise that amount. The citizens of Louisville called public meetings in Quinn Chapel and the Green-street Baptist Church. Committees were appointed to wait on Judge Ballard and the United States Attorney to protest against the rule of the court as oppressive to this people. They were courteously received and the matter presented. After a fair and legal explanation by the court the matter was so adjusted as to give all litigants a hearing, the court being satisfied that the case demanded it.

APPOINTED MAIL AGENT OF THE KNOXVILLE BRANCH L & N R. R., BETWEEN LOUISVILLE AND MOUNT VERNON, KY.

I was appointed mail agent under President Grant’s administration, and served for eight months under very trying circumstances. The first and second day’s trip was attended with great excitement. As the first negro mail agent in the State, I was equal to Barnum’s animal show, for the people at every station gathered by hundreds, and climbed upon the cars to get a view of the black animal who dared to invade their territory.

At the end of the route, Mount Vernon, the people turned out to hang me. They followed me to the post-office and waited for me to enter the hotel across the way for lodgings, but I had made other arrangements and disappointed them.

The arrangement of the mob—for mob it was—that if I attempted to enter the hotel the hanging would commence, and it would have been accomplished with dispatch.

I engaged board with a colored farmer, Walker Newcomb. He was an industrious and brave man, a blacksmith by trade, and a partner with his former master. The mob promised that if I remained with my own people I would not be disturbed; but they did not keep their promise, for they annoyed me with notes, giving me so many days to leave the road, or make my peace with God, signed K. K. K.

At the expiration of eight months I was transferred to the Louisville and Lexington route. The second day out we were attacked by three of the clan, at a lonely station, North Benson, between Frankfort and Lexington, a chosen day for the murderous purpose—snowing, raining, and hailing—the worst day of the year.

At the station, one jumped aboard of the mail coach and endeavored to throw me out, beating and bruising me considerably, but failed in his attempt. His two pals were waiting on the platform, with drawn pistols, to shoot me as I fell out, as they expected; but as God would have it, they missed their aim, and I was saved. With three coaches of passengers, conductor, and train hands, no one came to my relief, and it was only the mercy of God that saved me. They riddled the car with bullets, but missed me.

The authorities at Washington were notified of the attack on the United States Mail Agent, and a squad of United States soldiers were dispatched from the fort to accompany
W H GIBSON, FIRST BLACK MAIL AGENT; HARASSED, RESIGNED

Gibson, hist prog col race of Lou, 1897

/me, and for three months I was escorted by the blue coats of Uncle Sam while I performed my duties. Many threats were made, and great excitement existed during my stay on this route. On several occasions I feared a collision between the military and the mob that gathered at the stations, for twitting the soldiers for protecting a negro. I was convinced that under the pressure some one would be killed, and also the strain upon the nerves of my wife and children reasoned with me that the sacrifice was greater than the occasion called for. The soldiers were withdrawn from the train. Promises were made by the leading authorities of the State to provide protection, but I proposed to retire from the situation when the soldiers retired, for I had but little confidence in those promises, so I resigned.

GIBSON ASSOCIATED WITH LOU FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS BANK

Gibson, hist prog col race in Lou, 1897

In 1865 the Freedmen's Bank was established in Louisville, with a mixed board of directors, and a white cashier. I often assisted Cashier Burkholder when busy or absent from the city. I had charge of the bank when he met with his sad fate, of being drowned or burned up on the ill-fated steamer, United States, plying between Louisville and Cincinnati, when she collided with the steamer America. He had been on a trip to Ohio to see his family, but never returned to the bank. I remained in charge until the board met and selected a cashier, Mr. Horace Morris. I was his assistant when the bank closed.
THE MOZART SOCIETY.

The first colored musical society of Louisville was organized in the school-room of the writer, Dec. 1852. The Fourth Street Methodist Church Choir had given a series of concerts, conducted by W. H. Gibson, assisted by Prof. Henry Williams, Samuel White, and several German performers (instrumental). They concluded to organize a musical society for their further improvement. A meeting was called and the organization completed. Among those of the organization were Messrs. George Thomas, Jesse Davis, Peter Hayes, Benjamin Eubanks, John Jordan, John Collins, Dan Clemmons, Geo. A. Schaefer, R. M. Johnson, J. Tevis, D. Edington; Mesdames Jane Christopher, Letha Ellison, Lucinda Snead, George Thomas, Julia Bullitt Author, Belle Adams, Miss Thomas, and others. This society made rapid improvement in music. At times they gave concerts for benevolent purposes, and also improved the musical taste in several of our churches. But few of this organization are now living, but the spirit and love of music then manifested has been inherited by their children.

THE BLACK MOZART MUSICAL SOCIETY IN LOU; EFFECT ON MUSIC OF BLACK CHURCHES 1840s, 1850s

Mr. W. H. Gibson:

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 6th duly received, and contents read before the members of the society. I am authorized to say that we most cheerfully accept the invitation to participate in the festival, and hope it may be generally understood from this letter between all parties that we will be present with a good delegation from this city, together with their many friends.

I am, on behalf of the Q. C. C. S., yours,

THOMAS A. TRIPLETT,
Chairman Executive Committee.

The reputation of Miss A. L. Tilghman, of Washington, D. C., as a leading soprano at the Capital City, induced the association to secure her services for this occasion. Her selections were of the highest order, such as "Aria—The Flower Girl," by Borzinini; Millard's "Inflammatus," solo,
and several duets. Her rendition was all that lovers of music could desire. She was recalled by the audience after each number.

The principal artists of the Louisville Association were as follows: Mrs. M. L. Mead, Miss Jennie Wise, Miss V. M. Burkes, Mrs. M. V. Smith, Miss S. G. Waters, Miss M. Henry, Miss M. Robinson, Mrs. C. M. Bryant, Mrs. Belle Worley, Anna and Sue Talbot, Belle Adams, Miss Lou Thompson, of New Albany, Ind.; the Gibson family—W. H. Gibson, Sr., W. H. Gibson, Jr., of St. Louis, Mo.; Miss Isabella, M. Jane, and Lucretia Gibson; Frank Thomas Glee Club—Messrs. Frank Thomas, J. Miller, F. A. Thomas, J. O. Banion, N. P. Grant, and John Reynold. Prof. J. R. Cunningham's celebrated orchestra furnished string and brass instrumental music.


The Choral Association, of Cincinnati, O., presented the cantata, "Esther, the Beautiful Queen," with the following staff of officers: Musical Director, Mr. P. L. Furgerson; Assistant Musical Director, Mr. J. M. Lewis; Pianist, Mrs. A. E. Baltimore; Organist, Mr. F. C. Lewis; Assistant Organist, Mr. Al. Quarles; Costumer, Mrs. Julia A. Rice; Stage Manager, Mr. T. J. Monroe.

Queen Esther .................................. Miss Ella Buckner.
KING Ahasuerus ................................. Mr. P. L. Furgerson.
Mordecai ........................................ Mr. J. M. Lewis.
First Maid of Honor ............................ Miss Cora Watson.
          With a retinue of attendants.

The following selections were introduced during the banquet scenes of the cantata: Bass solo, "Down in the Cellar's Depths," Mr. T. Small; solo, "Mandolita," Miss M. Fowler; bass solo, "The Toast," W. J. Ross; solo, "Softly, Softly," Miss Hattie Holmes; quintette, "Father, Guide Us," from Belshazzar, Misses Barrett and Fowler, Messrs. C. Henson, Small, and Quarles; "Miserere," from Trovatore, Miss Cora L. Watson and Mr. T. J. Monroe, assisted by Miss Hattie Harper, Mrs. M. Williams, and Messrs. L. M. Lewis, Thornton, Small, and Quarles. The artists excelled themselves in the performance of this sacred cantata. Their costumes were tastefully selected, and their songs and performances in the various roles were such as to attract the admiration of the most technique of the theatrical assemblies.
Church Choirs.

Fifth Street Baptist Choir—The concerts and musical entertainments given by this choir have always been of the highest order. We take great pleasure in making special mention of this association as conducted by the late Madison Minnis, with Miss Martha Morton as organist, also deceased, supported by Mesdames M. L. Mead, Hutchinson and sister, and Messrs. W. H. Stewart (successor to Mr. Minnis), Samuel Jordan, J. L. Moody, Will. L. Gibson, and others. During Mr. Minnis’ charge of this choir they made a tour to Cincinnati, O., and Cleveland, O. The trip was a pleasant one, and the members were the recipients of many eulogies for their musical performances.

Green Street Baptist Choir—This choir ranks among the leading musical associations, with our old friend, George Thomas, conductor (successor to Mr. Jesse Davis). They have a fine and powerful organ, with Mrs. Gertrude Hutchinson, the organist, who skillfully manipulates the finger-board. The visitors to that church can sit and muse upon the joyful strains of these earthy choristers.

Jacob Street Tabernacle Choir—This choir ranks among the leading musical associations of the country.

Madame Seleka, queen of staccato, and S. W. Williams, baritone, made their debut to a Louisville audience, June 1888. The writer, having been concerned in most all of the musical enterprises of this city, and being the leader of Quinn Chapel Choir for more than thirty-five years, and being about to retire, felt anxious that the church of his long and arduous labors should have an organ second to none among our congregations. His wishes were made known to the board and granted, under the administration of Rev. Levi Evans. A committee, composed of Prof. W. H. Perry, George Caldwell, and Miss Martha Webster, visited Pilcher & Sons’ organ manufactory and selected an instrument to cost eight hundred dollars, with the latest improvements. A concert was decided upon. The leader opened correspondence with Madame Seleka and husband, who had recently returned from Europe, and were electrifying the country with their artistical performances. We learned their terms, an agreement was entered into, and a concert arranged for Louisville for the benefit of the organ. They arrived, and were our guests.

The largest hall in the city was rented for the concert, the citizens turned out en masse, and it was conceded to be the grandest concert ever given in our city, both in numbers and artistic skill. The lady was the finest and most accomplished that we had ever heard in this community. Mr. Williams’ baritone was complete, and as a soloist his style and enunciations were pure.

A second concert was given at the church, and it was crowded also. Our local talent assisted, and gave prestige to the occasion. Mrs. M. L. Mead, Mrs. M. V. Smith, Miss Lottie Bryant, Mrs. Gertrude Hutchinson, accompanist, and W. H. Gibson, conductor. Financially the concert was a success, the receipts half paid for the organ, and the balance was raised by the Ladies’ Organ Association, Mrs. Neilla Bibb, President; Mrs. Virginia Thompson, Treasurer; Miss Laura Douglass, Secretary, and Rev. J. Abbey, Pastor.
THE FIFteenth AMENDMENT.

After the passage of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution by Congress it was in order for colored citizens of Louisville to have a jubilee celebration. Mass-meetings were called at several of the churches to make arrangements, and committees appointed. Rev. H. J. Young was the chosen orator of the day, with Miss Laura Clagett as the Goddess of Liberty. The procession was an immense throng of colored citizens, with excursion parties from surrounding cities, accompanied with bands of music and banners, with many designs representing freedom and progress versus the condition of slavery days. A Fifteenth Amendment song was composed by W. H. Gibson, Sr., which was sung by five thousand voices on the day of the celebration:

Come all ye Republicans, faithful and true,
Here is a work for you;
The Fifteenth Amendment has fought its way through
True as the boys in blue.
The Democrat party its race has run,
To give way for an era that freedom has won.
Bring out your gun! Bring out your gun;
Bring them, ye brave and true.

My Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, each of them
Opposed its ratification;
California, Oregon, Tennessee with them,
Kentucky makes up the seven.
But the twenty-eight States, yes, thirty of them,
Have put to rest the unjust seven.
So let them writhe! Let them writhe!
Writhe in their agony.
The ratification has made the great Nation
More honored, more just and good;
The lowly will praise her, the great God will bless her,
Her enemies stand in awe;
And if the old flag is e'er torn from the mast,
Up defenders will rise as they have in the past,
And fly to their arms! Fly to their arms!
To save the dear old flag.

Our country's flag we do revere,
For we love the Constitution;
The Declaration doth declare,
All men are born free and equal.
The Fifteenth Amendment hath abolished caste,
Servitude, color, are buried at last,
Never to rise! Never to rise!
Under the Constitution.

The following is the song composed by W. H. Gibson, Sr., which was sung by five thousand voices on the day of the celebration:

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HON. FRED. DOUGLASS VISITS LOUISVILLE.

The Independent Sons of Honor being desirous of having Mr. Douglass address the colored citizens of Louisville solicited the writer to correspond with him and make such arrangements as would suit him. I opened correspondence, and, after several letters had passed, the invitation was accepted on terms suitable to him. The following is his letter of acceptance:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1873.

Wm. H. Gibson, Esq.—

My Dear Sir—Your letter accepting my terms is at hand. I will endeavor to be in Louisville on the 20th inst., and will be ready to unite with your celebration on the 21st of April. Please inform me, without delay, the name and address to which you will expect me to report on the 20th. Hoping for a successful celebration of one of the grandest facts in the history of our country. I am, dear sir,

Very truly yours,

Fred. Douglass.

A committee composed of George Buckner, James Graves, Vincent Helm, W. H. Gibson, Isaac Curtis, and others, received Mr. Douglass at the depot with carriages and a band of music. He was escorted to the residence of Mrs. Lucretia Morris, on Seventh Street. There he received the courtesies of the citizens of Louisville, colored and white. The Hon. Judge J. M. Harlan tendered him his private carriage and horses for his visit through the city. A procession was formed of societies and citizens, and they marched to the Exposition, where an immense throng of people filled the building. Mr. Douglass made a fine address, such as he was capable of making, and it was published in our daily papers. He remarked that “the building was so large and the tumult so great that it was as the roaring of Niagara.” His voice was inadequate to fill the building.

POST CIVIL WAR LOUISVILLE BLACK NEWSPAPERS

gibson, hist prog col race in lou, 1897

NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISES.

The Kentuckian was issued in the seventies, Mr. Horace Morris being its editor. It was published for several months.

The Planet was published by the Planet Printing Co.

Zion’s Banner was published in 1881, with H. C. Weggan as its editor.

Christian Index.

The Bulletin was published by the Adams Brothers, John and Cyrus. This paper was very ably edited and received a large subscription. It was a paper that advocated the cause of the negro and the principles of Republicanism. The proprietors moved to Chicago and the paper is yet in existence, the name having been changed. An incident in relation to Cyrus Adams and the study of the German language occurred here during his study under a German teacher. A large class of students attended, who were members of the first families of the city. The teacher said that his progress was rapid, and he attracted attention by the excellence of his recitations. The teacher also said that he was much astonished one day about the close of the term when he informed him that he was a newspaper man and one of the editors of The Bulletin. So the term was closed, and of all the pupils attending none of them knew that Adams was a colored man except the teacher, who found it out by mere accident. Had it been otherwise, the white pupils would have been horrified at the idea of a colored student belonging to the class. Mr. Adams made a trip to Europe, studied there, and returned and taught here in our High School.

The Ohio Falls Express, edited by Dr. H. Fitzbutler, is one of the oldest colored papers in the state. It has been suspended during the Doctor’s absence in Europe.

The American Baptist, W. H. Stewart, editor, represents the interests of the Baptist denomination, and is very ably edited. It is in its sixteenth year. Mr. Stewart is also a politician, and is always found in the advance of all questions pertaining to our race.

The Informer, published by H. H. Hatcher, is a spicy little sheet.
gibson, hist prog col race in lou, 1897

SUNDAY-SCHOOL PICNICS IN ANTE-BELLUM DAYS.

Our Sunday-school picnics were held on the Fourth of July, as it was a National holiday. The slave, as well as his master, had the privileges of that day. We would assemble our children at the churches and march to the grove, but not without one or two policemen, at two dollars a day, to see that we behaved ourselves and that no incendiary speeches were made. At the last picnic we held before the war I took an active part, as usual, when I arrived at the grove. The speakers were our ministers, teachers, and our old friend, W. H. Bulkley, Presbyterian (white), but at this time we had a speaker that was not on the programme—a brother who was a slave, belonging to a widow near Hobbs Station, but was hired out in Louisville as a carpenter. He was a member of my Sunday-school and desired to speak. The brethren objected, and feared that he might say something that would harm us, as the officers were there, also a number of white spectators, but I insisted for them to give him a chance. When his time came we gave strict attention. He began by saying:

Little Chilren:

We had 'seemed to celebrate the Fourth ob July—Independence Day it is called—but I never could learn what de independence comes in. We are here 'seemed in dis grove to yourselves, upt dese padrools, who is here to watch us. Now, what is yo independence? Little children, dis is not yo day, but you will hab a day, for de prophets say so, de possels say so, and God say so. You read yo bible and it tells you dat God made all men free and equal, and he made dem all ob de same blood, only one white in de face, another black in de face, and another red in de face, but dey were all bredden an equal; but man, being so wise, hab changed it, and to-day we are not equal, but de day is comin' when you will be as free and equal as General Washington. Den you will hab a day! But dis is not yo day, little chillen, but you will hab a day. God haste it on is my prayer. Amen.

This was the speech of the day, and created more comment than all the other speeches that were made. Several of the teachers hid behind the large trees, peeping out to see what the white police would do—if they would stop him; but they seemed to enjoy it. We met the same brother, during the war, in Indianapolis. He went over with the first lot of fugitives that crossed the river in the wake of the army. We met him several years later and he had, by his industry, acquired some property and a comfortable home.

The colored citizens of Louisville had no gala day to cel-

PRE CIVIL WAR BLACK PICNICS IN LOU; EXCURSION TRIPS OUTSIDE KY

celebrate save the 1st of August—in commemoration of the West Indies Emancipation of 1834—and in order to enjoy this pleasure they were compelled to seek other States whose sympathy was in touch with this grand achievement. At this time of the year the boating season was over, and those whose privilege it was to enjoy these excursions made up their parties and journeyed to Cincinnati, O., Cleveland, O., or Canada. Cincinnati being the nearest point, the largest gatherings were held there. Rooms were engaged weeks in advance at the Hotel Dumar, the finest and grandest hotel established and conducted by colored men in this country at that time. John Whets and R. H. Gleaves were the proprietors.

On the day appointed for the celebration a large grove was selected, and there would be thousands in attendance. Speeches were made by such orators as Messrs. John I. Gains, Peter H. Clark, Ford Douglass, W. H. Day, Frederick Douglass, and others.

Xenia, O., was also noted as a pleasure resort for those parties. About three miles beyond the city, on the grounds nearly adjoining Wilberforce University, was another hotel, kept by Mr. Anderson Lewis, a noted steward and musician. Large parties and picnics were given there, and those present indulged in buggy-riding and such other pleasures as are sought at watering-places. It was, in fact, the "Saratoga" for our pleasure-seeking people. The springs yielded an abundance of fine water, containing various medicinal properties. The beautiful scenery that surrounded the locality was, to those pleasure-seekers, a little paradise. Yet, with all this pleasure, there was something that was not in harmony with its close proximity to Wilberforce University. The president, Bishop D. A. Payne, and the faculty, remonstrated against the balls and dances and seeming imprudence of the visitors, and of the detrimental influence it might exercise against the institution. Time and patience relieved them of their forebodings, as Mr. Lewis closed his hotel and pleasure-grounds, and now, to the surprise of many and the delight of the faculty and Christian community, Bishop Arnett occupies and owns the premises. The writer has been a visitor under each proprietor, and knows whereof he speaks.
An educational convention was called in the summer of 1869. The friends of education, by delegations, white and colored, took a very active part in the deliberations. The delegates were addressed by Prof. Fairchild, J. G. Fee, President of Berea College; J. M. Langston, Esq., Dr. Martin R. Delany, Rev. H. J. Young, and others. At the convention a State Board of Education was organized, for the purpose of forming the State into school districts, and furnishing teachers, under the supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau. The following officers were chosen: W. H. Gibson, President; Q. B. Jones, Vice President; John Morris, Secretary and Treasurer; Isaiah Mitchell, Traveling Agent and Organizer of County and District Schools. Many schools were organized and teachers employed. These schools continued until the State provided for the education of colored children under the law, in 1870.
Rev. R. G. Mortimore established a private school in 1858, at Asbury Chapel, for advanced classes in algebra, geometry, and Latin. A class of young men from my school attended, and made rapid progress. Prof. Mortimore was tendered the chair of mathematics at Wilberforce University. He accepted, and the following class of young men accompanied him there: W. P. Annis, W. H. Gibson, Jr., Horace Talbot, Henry Pope, Wm. Robinson, and Chas. Logan, they being the first from our city to matriculate in that notable institution.

The State University, located on Kentucky Street, was organized in 1879. Prof. W. J. Simmons, the learned Baptist divine, was called to take charge, after it had been opened for a short time. It has done much for the educational interest of our race in this State and other States. Prof. Simmons seemed to be imbued with the necessities of his people, especially in the Baptist denomination. An educated ministry was one of their greatest wants. He was to his connection what the late Bishop D. H. Payne was as an educator to the African M. E. Church. His establishment of Wilberforce University has given it prestige throughout the universe. Prof. Simmons did not live long after organizing this work, but he has laid a foundation for future usefulness which that denomination has long since realized. The faculty is carefully selected from the various institutions of the country. The commencement exercises are good, and are always attended with large and appreciative audiences. Their graduates are dispersed throughout the State, doing good work in the educational field.
THE ORGANIZATION, DEVELOPMENT OF THE YMCA IN LOU

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YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The Young Men's Christian Association was organized through the efforts of Albert Mack and Charles Morris. They were influential in bringing many young men into its folds, and the organization grew rapidly. Their meetings were held in the churches, alternately, on Sunday afternoons. Their weekly and monthly meetings were held in Quinn Chapel until they had accumulated sufficient means to fit up a room, which they did in a short time, as they had seemingly won the hearts of the people. They held public meetings on the street corners, and in the localities of the slums of the city, and some of their hearers professed a hope in Christ. The public made them a present of a good library. They were finally imbued with a spirit to build a hall. Bro. Gibson, hist prog col race lou, 1897

John Frank

Mack acting as collecting agent. He used the money he collected in Louisville in paying rents until the treasury was exhausted.

The following prominent young men of the city were among the members: Albert White, Robinson, Chas. Morris, Warden Duson, Elder Frank, Bro. Alexander, W. H. Gibson, Sr., and others.

Bro. Mack left on a collecting tour for a hall and has never returned. A number of newspaper articles have appeared against him, disapproving his course.

The society has been reorganized on a firm basis, with excellent officers, and holding relation with the State and National Association. It has a good location on Walnut and Tenth streets. Their meetings are interesting. They have lectures weekly by the best speakers and thinkers of our race, and much good has resulted from this organization.

LOU BLACKS ORGANIZE ORPHAN HOME 1877

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The Colored Orphans' Home, situated on Eighteenth and Dumesnil streets, was organized in 1877. This institution was brought about through the efforts of two of our oldest citizens, Peter Lewis and Shelby Gillespie. They were sections in the Presbyterian churches of Revs. Dr. Stewart Robinson and Dr. Humphrey. They made their desires known to these two divines, who were in their lifetime, friends to the colored people. After they had matured their plans, they called together a number of colored citizens in the vestry of Dr. Humphrey's church, where they had his counsel and advice. They also met in the vestry of Dr. Robinson's church; plans were devised by these clergymen and financial aid promised when the society was organized. At a meeting held in Dr. Humphrey's church temporary officers were elected and a committee appointed to draft a constitution, viz.: W. H. Gibson and Joseph Furguson. Mr. Gibson performed the duties of secretary until the permanent officers were chosen. Meetings were held in all of the colored churches, the colored clergy assisting in the work. Contributions, from time to time, were raised by them, and the benevolent societies subscribed liberally toward its sustenance. Our white friends gave liberally, and donated the grounds and building for the Home, holding it in trust until the society pays the purchase price. The American Missionary Society donated a third of the sale of the old school building toward the purchase of the Home. The Orphans' Home Society, during these years, has been managed by a board of officers chosen from the various churches and societies. The president has generally been selected from some of our white friends, and the vice president from the colored citizens. Many children have been cared for during these years and comfortable homes secured among responsible families. The ladies of Louisville have taken great pride in the Home, and have worked incessantly for its support by holding dinners, suppers, festivals, etc., and every imaginable means adopted that would bring money for its support. The following ladies have been foremost in their efforts to sustain the Home from its earliest inception: Mesdames Lucretia Morris, Isabella Belle, M. J. Gibson, Frances McCauley, McKamy, Worley, Minnis, Murphy, Stewart, Birney, Bullitt, and many others. The teachers of the public schools have also rendered efficient service by collections from their pupils and from public dinners and suppers. Mr. J. C. C. McKinley is its presiding officer at the present time of writing. He is a principal in one of our public schools.
LOU BLACKS ORGANIZE ST. JAMES OLD FOLKS' HOME

gibson, hist prog col race lou, 1897

St. James Old Folks' Home was organized by a number of our citizens for the benefit of our old dependent citizens. It did not meet with the success it merited. The officers made a contract for a building in Portland, made a payment on the property, occupied it for a time, but failed to meet the notes, and the property was lost to them. This society has been reorganized and fallen into other hands. The officers are young and energetic, have purchased property on Greenwood Avenue, made a partial payment, and the ladies of the city have organized clubs, and propose to complete the payment in a short time. They raised by public donations on Sunday, February 28, 1897, $578.20. The property cost $2,750.

LOU BLACKS ORGANIZE CEMETERY COMPANY 1887

The Louisville Colored Cemetery Company was organized in 1887 by the efforts of Bishop W. H. Miles, of the C. M. E. Church, and a few of his immediate friends. Several meetings were called at the Center-street Church, and alternated at several other churches, in order to bring the matter before the people, showing them the necessity of having a cemetery exclusively their own. After organizing and electing officers, a committee was appointed to visit the legislature and obtain a charter, and it was granted. Books were opened for stockholders, shares $25 each. Thirty-three acres of ground were selected and purchased on Goss Avenue. The company has been well patronized by the citizens. Lots have been purchased, monuments erected, walks and plats beautifully arranged, and it has been paid for in the course of eight years, and is now paying a dividend to the stockholders. The following are the officers: A. J. Bibb, President; H. C. Weeden, Secretary; Dr. Felix Fowler, Treasurer.
THE TREBLE CLEF MUSICAL CLUB.

This musical association of lady artists gave an interesting musicale at the Episcopal Church of Our Merciful Saviour. It was something new in musical circles. The entire musical clefs were performed by ladies, as follows: First and second sopranos, first and second altos, first and second contraltos. Their selections consisted of numbers from Lohengrin, Chopin, and Schubert, and they were well performed before a large and appreciative audience. This club is composed of the best female musical talent of this city. The following ladies are its officers: Miss Lucretia M. Gibson, President; Miss Sophia Johnson, Secretary; Miss Sarah E. Bell, Treasurer; Miss Eliza Davenport, Pianist and Chorister.

POSITIONS HELD BY W H GIBSON IN LOUISVILLE

In 1854 was elected delegate to the National Compact, Masonic Grand Lodge, at Cincinnati, O.

In 1859 was elected Grand Junior Warden, Grand Lodge of Ohio, at Xenia.

In January, 1869, was elected by the colored citizens of Louisville a delegate to the National Convention, at Washington, D. C.

Visited the Judiciary Committee of Congress with colored delegation.

Was elected delegate to the Republican State Convention, at Frankfort, Ky.

In 1870 first colored mail agent appointed from Kentucky. Plot of Ku-klux to assassinate him.

September 7, 1871, appointed on secret service to visit Frankfort for witnesses in the Trumbo murder case by United States Attorney.

April, 1871, elected State Grand Master of the United Brothers of Friendship, and served five years.

May, 1872, elected delegate to the General Conference of the A. M. E. Church, at Nashville, Tenn.

June, 1872, elected delegate to the National Republican Convention, at Philadelphia, Pa., from the Fifth District of Kentucky.

In 1872 visited and was introduced to President Grant by Gen. Benjamin Bristow.

In 1874 was appointed United States Attorney under President U. S. Grant's administration.

In 1875 first National Convention United Brothers of Friendship convened in Louisville, Ky.

In 1876 was elected National Grand Master United Brothers of Friendship, at St. Louis, Mo., and served four years.

In 1878 was elected National Grand Commander of Knights of Friendship at the first National Grand Lodge, held in Louisville, Ky., and served four years.
In 1880 was elected Secretary of Consolidated Lodge, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, and served eight years.

July, 1880, received first and highest promotion for meritorious service at the National Grand Lodge, held at Indianapolis, Ind.—an honorary membership for life.

In 1885 was a delegate to the National Connectional and Historical Society, at Nashville, Tenn.

July, 1886, appointed Treasurer of the Mutual Aid Association United Brothers of Friendship, and served three years.

July, 1882, married to Miss Jennie Lewis, of Louisville, Ky.

In 1883 was elected President of the Mutual Aid Association, and served three years.

In 1887 was elected Treasurer of the Louisville Colored Cemetery Company.

In 1886 was appointed National Grand Trustee, Knights of Friendship, at Grand Session, St. Louis, Mo.

In 1897, wrote and published the History of the U. B. F. and S. M. T.

Served for several years as trustee of Wilberforce University.

It may not be out of place for me to close this history with several important events that have come under my notice since I commenced it, and to contrast them with the introduction of this work, for the reader will observe that there is much gloom and discouragement in the early picture drawn of the misery and distress attending the race in the early forties; but in the nineties, a half century later, a complete revolution has been worked, and it should convince those who are so impatient and seemingly discouraged, that, looking back and comparing those revolutionary changes with the past, "God has led us on a way that we knew not."

The events are the Educational Convention of the Ministers of the A. M. E. Church, the State Teachers' Association of Kentucky, and the Negro Day at the Nashville, Tenn., Centennial.

My semi-centennial year would seemingly be incomplete without this scene, and especially as it occurred in the old building where I begun my public career fifty years ago. Then it was chaotic darkness, so to speak. We were feeling our way, aiming for a higher plane of civilization.
"Celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation +

"The first day of the present year falling upon the Sabbath the colored people selected Monday for the celebration of the anniversary of the emancipation proclamation. About 9 o'clock A.M. the column, composed of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Grant Guards, the Commercial Guards, and the Sons of Benevolence, formed on Floyd street, near Walnut, and marched out Floyd to Chesnut, up to Hancock, then down Main to First, out First to Jefferson, down to Fifth, out to Broadway, thence to Thirteenth, where the column wheeled and returned to Preston, and after passing through Smoketown, it returned to the church, on Jackson street and disbanded. Speakers had been selected to deliver speeches, but owing to the unfavorable weather it was decided to disperse the assembly upon reaching the church. +

"It is a fact quite creditable to the colored people that no disturbance occurred during the march, and that everything passed off in the best possible manner."

"A colored woman named Jemima Jones was arrested yesterday morning for having committed an assault upon the sacred person of Miss Sarah Fletcher, while both were attending a ball on Ninth street on Monday night. The damage inflicted by Miss Jemima's pocket-knife was not sufficiently damaging to prevent Miss Sarah from making vigorous attacks upon several other persons who were at the dance."
"The Brave Negro-Whippers and Hangers in Madison County.+

"John T. Harris, Joseph Parrish, George White, Tobe Stone, Ballard Bronston, John Ballard and John Parrish, Kuklux of Madison county, were arrested in Richmond, Kentucky, by Deputy Marshal John Wyatt, and brought to the city Wednesday last. They had a hearing before Commissioner Beattie yesterday morning, and though each proved himself the best citizen his county could boast of, church members and all that sort of thing, the commissioner held them to answer in the United States Court as follows: J.T. Harris $2,000 and George White $300 bond; the others in $500. +

"The offense with which these men are charged is the hanging of an old colored man named Oliver Williams, and the brutal whipping of Thomas Bronston, colored, in September last, near Richmond, Kentucky."

"A Church Difficulty Among the Colored People.+

"Some of our colored brethren are a good deal excited over a religious embroil that has sprang up among them. From the information we have, it seems that Rev. W.W. Taylor, pastor of the Fifth-and York-street Baptist Church, was originally a member of the Green street Baptist Church, and when he was ordained a preacher, allowed his membership to remain, not applying for a letter because he thought it unnecessary. He took charge of the Fifth- and York-street Church when it was a mere handful, and has built it up into a large and flourishing congregation. For some reason the pastor of his old church has become embittered toward him, and finally hit upon a plan by which to dispose of him. Last night the Rev. Mr. Taylor was tried as a member of the Green-street Church, by the authorities of that church, for non-attendance on divine worship, and was expelled. Considering that at the time he was expected to be worshiping in Green-street Church, he was engaged in conducting divine worship at Fifth and York streets, this strikes us as about as cool a proceeding as we ever heard of. There is a good deal of excitement among Mr. Taylor's people about it. But it is wholly unnecessary. The proceedings of the Green-street Church were simply nonsensical. We tell the tale as it was told to us, and it is fair to say that we have heard only one side."
It was but a brief little paragraph which announced to the world that Calvin Fairbank was dying at his home in Angelica, N.Y., and few realized that it meant the passing of a hero who had spent long years in jail in testimony of his devotion to the cause of human freedom. Fairbank is one of the few to whom the much hackneyed and abused phrase, "A remarkable man," can be applied with fitness and justice. His career, one of daring and suffering almost surpassing belief, has been unique and without parallel and, when the final history of the abolition movement shall be written, will give him a place beside Garrison, Lovejoy, and Brown. The story of his life is best told in his own words and way, as he repeated it to a reporter who was a guest at his modest country home a few weeks ago.

"I was born in Pike, this State, seventy-six years ago. In my childhood my father was a farmer, but later he became a lumberman, engaged with an uncle of mine in clearing up a tract of timber land near Olean, the lumber from which they floated down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers and sold in the Cincinnati markets. My father and mother were Methodists, and one of the most vivid recollections of my childhood is of going with them when I was about 12 years old to attend a quarterly meeting held in another town a dozen miles or so from Hume, N.Y., where we then lived. We remained over night, and as the large attendance at the meeting had filled every house in the town, I being a boy, was sent to sleep at the home of an ex-slave family, the head of which had made his escape from Virginia some years before. Child though I was, the stories of the suffering and misery endured by slaves which the old negro told me that night as we sat together on the stone hearth in front of the open fireplace settled the course of my after life. I resolved, if I lived, to help right the great wrongs with which I had thus been made acquainted, and though it was not until many years later that I came to know of the existence of the Underground Railroad and the American Anti-Slavery Society, my resolution grew stronger as I grew older and only needed a fitting opportunity to bear fruit. The opportunity came in the spring of 1837, just before I was 21 years of age, when my father sent me down the river to Cincinnati in charge of a raft of lumber. It was a morning in April, sharp, crisp, and clear, and we were rounding a bend in the Ohio River just below Wheeling when I caught sight of a strapping darky, an ax flung over his shoulder, jogging along on the Virginia bank of the river, singing, as he went:

"De cold, frosty morning make a niggah feel good,
Wid de ax on de sholder he go jogging to de wood.
Sing a tu waw day!"

"Halloo, there! where are you going?"
I called to him.
"'Gwine choppin' in de woods.'
"'Chopping for yourself?'
"'Hain't got no self'
"'Slave, are you?'
"'Dat's what I is.'
"'Why don't you run away?'
"'Case I don't know where to go."
"'I'll show you where to go.'
"White man mighty onsartin: niggah more so." he said, shaking his head doubtfully.

"We talked for some time, I all the while urging him to make the break for the North, whence his wife had already escaped. Finally he asked where I was from, and when I told him from New York State my reply seemed to settle it, for he dropped his ax and jumped on to the raft. I pushed off and we swung over to the Ohio side. As we touched the shore the darky, whose name was Johnson, danced a jig for joy. I directed him to the house of a man named Snyder, who lived near by, and who, I had been told, kept a station on the underground railroad, and continued on my way down the river. When I came back I learned that Johnson had remained in hiding for some time with the Snyders and had finally gone, no one knew where. I had now got my hand in as a slave stealer, and was anxious for more work to do. On the same trip down the river, near the mouth of the Little Miami, I helped across the Ohio a family of seven, Stewart by name, four men and three women, all of them over six feet tall.

"After I had marketed my lumber at Cincinnati I took passage on a steamer for Pittsburg. The steamer stopped at Maysville, Ky. to take on freight, and while it was loading I went for a walk about the town. On one of the back streets I met an extremely pretty girl of 16 or 17 who seemed in deep distress. I asked her what was the matter and she told me that she was a slave—you would not have known it from her color—and was trying to escape from her master, a man named Payne who lived a few miles out in the country from Maysville and who was also her father. I took the girl back to the steamer and introduced her to my sister, explaining to the clerk and Captain that I had met her in Maysville by appointment. No questions were asked and we made the trip to Pittsburg in safety. She was exceedingly bright and a skilled musician, and, I remember, made a deep impression on some of the male passengers, one of whom went so far as to ask the privilege of corresponding with her. She settled in New York, finally married well, and is now living in San Francisco in more than comfortable circumstances.

"In June, 1838, I was again in Cincinnati selling lumber, and while there heard of a slave family of fourteen, a few miles below the city in Kentucky, who were anxious to escape. I engaged a scow, and with a negro named Casey paddled them across the river to the Ohio side. We were closely followed by their owner and a posse of officers, but succeeded in throwing them off the scent. Next day Henry Boyd, a wealthy Cincinnati colored man, guided the runaways in safety to Lawrenceburg, Ind., whence they were sent farther north. This made twenty-three slaves I helped to liberty before I was as many years old.

"I was anxious for a better education than the common schools I had thus far attended afforded me, and to secure it entered the seminary at Lima, N.Y., in 1839. Later I became a student at Oberlin College, Oberlin, O., from which institution I graduated in 1844. While a student at Oberlin I made the acquaintance of Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, Theodore Parker, and other abolition leaders, and became thoroughly imbued with their ideas, coming to hold with Smith that the Federal Constitution, instead of countenancing slavery, positively forbade it. During my college vacations, in order to obtain money with which to continue my
studies, I taught school in Lexington, Ky. One of the first friends I made in Lexington was Cassius M. Clay. He was then, as now, a large-hearted, noble-minded man, and an attachment sprang up between us which today is as warm as ever. In those days he was editing the True American, the only antislavery paper published in the South. His boldness in attacking the lion in its very den, as it were, produced the most violent opposition, and upon a number of occasions I was among those who guarded his printing plant from destruction by mobs. Once, I remember, I manned for two days and nights a cannon loaded with grape and canister posted in front of his office door. There were one or two more cannons about the premises, and a mob, had it visited us, would have received a warm reception.

"One day in August, 1841, word came to me that an escaped slave, named Coleman, with his wife and three children, were in hiding in Lexington. The poor creatures had made their way from East Tennessee, but their owner was hot on their track and they were afraid to go on without a guide. I left my school in charge of another, and started with them toward the Ohio River at night and on foot. We traveled for six nights, lying in hiding during the day, and stealing our food from out-door ovens as we went along. We finally reached the Ohio, opposite Ripley, then a principal depot on the underground railroad, and crossed the river in a skiff. Just after we had crossed I saw a negro boy run along the Kentucky shore and disappear. I suspected he was trying to escape, and went back to help him. I found him behind a log in a swamp, almost hidden from view by the mud and ooze, and got away with him, though men with bloodhounds were hunting the boy at the time.

"In April, 1842, I was in Covington, Ky., and while there was told of the case of Emily Ward, a handsome girl of 18, two-thirds white, who had been sold and was about to be taken south to become the mistress of her purchaser. She was kept in an attic facing the river. I went at nightfall and, attracting her attention by tossing pebbles against the window, threw up to her tied to a stone a note telling her I had come to help her escape. By the same means I got up to her first a cord with a bundle of men's clothes fastened to it, and finally a stout rope. She put on the clothes, and, crawling through a rear window of the room in which she was locked, slid down the rope to the ground. When we were a few feet away from the house we met her master, who apologized for unintentionally brushing against me in the darkness. The girl's case was known to everyone in Covington, and I did not dare to hire a boat to take us across to Cincinnati for fear of detection: so we got astride a sixteen foot pine log lying half way out of the water on the river bank, and I paddled across, using a piece of board for an oar. Once in Cincinnati we were safe. I took Emily to the house of Levi Coffin, Superintendent of the Underground railroad in that department, and turned her over to him. He found her a comfortable home and she did well. She belonged to the family of Zeb Ward, with whom I afterward had occasion to become pretty thoroughly acquainted.

"Five days after helping Emily Ward to escape I again crossed the Ohio at night on a log. This time I had for a companion John Hamilton, a mulatto. He was a man of superior natural bility and made his mark. After the war he returned South and became a State Senator in South
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Carolina, only to be murdered by the Ku Klux. This was my last log trip, but within a week I rescued the Stanton family, father, mother, and six children. They had been sold and were about to be sent to a Louisiana sugar plantation. I packed them in the bottom of a load of straw bought just out of Covington ostensibly for livery use, and drove them in safety to Cincinnati, where Levi Coffin sent them north over the Underground railroad.

"In August of the same year I spent several weeks in Montgomery County, Ky., as the guest of Richard McFarland, a planter. One of his slaves, Kate McFarland, a girl of 16, was anxious to escape and applied to me for help. Starting on a clear, moonlight night, we drove before noon next day to Lexington, a distance of ninety miles. On the way we were overhauled by a brother of McFarland, who was searching for a lost slave. When I heard the man's name my heart rose in my mouth, but by putting on a bold front I succeeded in getting off without disclosing the identity of myself and companion. My scruples against so gross a breach of hospitality as stealing the property of my host were fully overcome by the fact that both the girl and her mother were the children of their master. Kate was a pretty blonde with blue eyes and flaxen hair, showing not the slightest trace of negro blood. From Lexington I took her to Cincinnati and gave her into the care of Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the National Era, one of the noblest and bravest soldiers in the abolition army. Later Kate's mother, brother, and sister also escaped. The children were all educated by Mr. Bailey and are still living in prosperous circumstances.

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"The most remarkable incident of this period of my life occurred in March, 1843. One day in the latter part of that month, while looking through the jail at Lexington, my attention was attracted to one of the prisoners, a young woman of exquisite figure and singular beauty. I asked the jailer who she was, and to my surprise, for she looked the pure Caucasian, he told me that she was a slave girl named Eliza, the daughter of her master, who a few days later was to sell her upon the block for the New Orleans market, impelled by the jealousy of his wife because the slave girl was superior to her own daughters. Then I talked with the girl. I found that she was intelligent as well as beautiful, and I resolved to exert every effort to save so magnificent a creature from so sad a fate. I told her that I would go to Cincinnati and do my best to raise the money with which to purchase her freedom; if I obtained it I would be back before the sale came off; if I did not return she would at least have the sorry satisfaction of knowing that I had done all I could. I hurried to Cincinnati and sought out that old hero and apostle of freedom, Levi Coffin. He gave me prompt and generous assistance, and in a short time we raised $700. I then laid the case before Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Senator, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice, who gave me $200 more and went with me to see Nicholas Longworth. The latter was worth millions, but was never known to give a dollar for anything. We feared nothing would come of our appeal to him, but decided to make it, as it cost us nothing.
"Mr. Longworth," said Chase, after we were seated in the little crib which the millionaire called his office, 'so you consider yourself a Christian?'

"I am not a very good one,' was the reply.

"Well, we have got a case here that appeals to both humanity and Christianity, Mr. Fairbank will tell you about it.'

I told the story. Longworth listened in silence, and when I was through hitched nervously in his chair, drew his check-book from a drawer, and began filling out a check. While he was writing Chase whispered: 'We will get about fifty from him.' A moment later Longworth wheeled around and handed me the check. It was for $1,000! You see, the miser, as they called him, hadn't such a stinted nature after all. A number of well-to-do negroes raised and gave me several hundred dollars more, and when I went back to Lexington, the day before the time appointed for the sale, I carried $2,275. Moreover, in my pocketbook was an agreement signed by Chase, Longworth, and William Howard, another rich Cincinnatian, empowering me to draw upon them, if necessary, to the extent of $25,000. The sale took place in the public square and was attended by fully 2,000 people, drawn there by descriptions of the girl's coineliness and rumors of the effort that was to be made to save her. The best people of the town were there and a number of strangers from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were also present, curious and horror stricken. But one man appeared to bid against me, a squat figured, broad shouldered, thick necked, bullet headed Frenchman from New Orleans, who I was told made it his business to attend sales of young girls and purchase them for a fate worse than death. Eliza when placed upon the block seemed ready to drop for fear and shame. The auctioneer began his work by pointing out her beauties, concluding with 'What am I offered for her?'

"Five hundred,' I cried. The New Orleans man instantly raised my bid $100. I bid $700, he $800, I $900, he $1,000, I $1,100, he $1,200. When I raised his last bid to $1,300 the Louisianan turned to me with an ugly look and said: "'How high are you going to bid?'

"'Higher than you do, monsieur,' I replied. 

"He turned away and bid $1,325. I raised the bid to $1,350, he after a moment's hesitation made it $1,375. I again went him one better and made it $1,400. Once more he turned to me and asked:

"'How high are you going?'

"'None of your business, sir, but you haven't enough money to buy this girl.'

"After my bid of $1,400 both the Frenchman and I bid slower, both being resolved to have the call when the hammer fell. The auctioneer grew impatient and raved and cursed, crying 'Give, give.' Finally he dropped his hammer and tearing open Eliza's waist, exposed a bust as perfect as ever artist sculptured. 'Look, gentlemen,' he cried. 'Who is going to lose a chance like this. Here's a girl fit to be the mistress of a king.'

"'Too bad!' 'What a shame,' ran through the crowd at sight of this indignity.

"In the midst of the excitement the Frenchman bid $1,450 and I
$1,475. The there was another lull. It seemed to madden the auctioneer. Lifting her skirts he bared the girl's body from feet to waist and cried: 'Ah, gentlemen, isn't she a beauty? Who is to be the winner? What's the next bid?'

"Again there was a murmur of disgust, which deepened into a roar. When it died away my contestant bid $1, 480. The hammer quivered; Eliza and her aunt, who was standing by my side, gave me a look of anxiety and anguish I shall never forget.

"Are you all done?" cried the auctioneer. 'Once, twice, three--$1,485-85-85-85--and I'm going to strike this girl off in one minute. Once, twice, three--times and sold.'

"The hammer fell and the girl was mine. An instant later she tottered back into the arms of her aunt in a deep swoon.

"She is yours, young man," said the auctioneer, 'and you've got her damned cheap. What are you going to do with her?'

"Free her, sir," and my answer awoke a cheer, which rising to a Kentucky shout, rent the air. As soon as they could be made out, I handed Eliza the papers which formally set her free. We remained in Lexington three days, the center of attraction. Twelve months later, when I had come in collision with the authorities, Judge Kincaid said to me:

"Mr. Fairbank, a year ago we honored you as we would St. Paul.' I told him the friends of the apostle were also sorry when he was thrown into jail at Rome. Four days after the sale I took Eliza to Cincinnati,

where she became a member of the family of Gamaliel Bailey. Under his care she received a finished education, married well, and today is a cheerful, charming matron of 62. Only the members of her immediate family know the history of her early years so you will understand why I do not give you her full name.

"Lewis Hayden, who served as a member of the Massachusetts general court and in the Legislature of the same State, and who was long one of the honored citizens of Boston, was when a young man a slave, the property of Baxter & Grant, owners of the Brennan House, in Lexington. Hayden's wife, Harriet, and his son, a lad of 10 years when I first knew them, were the slaves of Patrick Baine. On a September evening in 1844, accompanied by Miss C. 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 on a ferry at 9 the next morning, changed horses, and drove to an underground railroad depot at Hopkins, O., where we left Hayden and his family. To accomplish this we had to drive eighty-three miles in twenty hours. 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.

"My cell-mate in the jail in which I was confined before my trial was Richard Moore, a young mulatto, a slave under sentence of death for the murder of his mistress, a Mrs. Turner. The dead woman, while living had
been a perfect she-devil. She had bought Moore ostensible for a coachman, but in her own language, 'to sleep in my bed-room when I want you.' On the day of the murder she had called Moore, who had offended her some way, to her room--these facts I learned from one of Mrs. Turner's relatives. On the table lay a bowie-knife and pistols. Pointing to them with a threatening air she had said; 'There you yeller cuss, do you see that?' Moore had turned upon her; there had been a struggle and the woman's neck had been broken. Moore had tried to get away but had been captured, tried, and sentenced to death.

"The thing seemed impossible, but I determined to attempt his and my own escape. A week or so before the time set for his execution I suggested a plan for four or five slaves to break jail, and in this way secured two bars of iron, which I hid away. Early on the Tuesday night previous to the Friday upon which Moore was to hang we attacked the wall of our cell. All night we worked without rest; the palms of my hands were worn to the tendons. We had reached the last bowlder on the outside of the four-foot wall when the city clock struck 5. We were half an hour too late. 'I am a dead man,' said Moore, and fell almost lifeless to the floor. When what we had done was discovered we were handcuffed together, and remained so day and night until Moore was executed. Do you wonder that I have never forgotten this experience?"

"While my ease 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. A little later Miss Webster received her pardon. I served years and eleven months, and then, Aug. 23, 1849, was released by Gov. John J. Crittenden, the able and patriotic man who afterward saved Kentucky to the Union. His action was prompted by petitions in behalf from all parts of the North. I returned to the North immediately after my release and did what I could do to prevent the passage of the fugitive slave bill. After it became a law by the signature of President Fillmore I resisted its execution whenever and wherever possible.

"An incident which happened soon after I returned to the North showed me that my labors for the slavery had not been in vain, and gave me strength for fresh efforts. In the autumn of 1849 I was in Detroit, Mich. In talking over my early experiences one day with Gen. Lewis Cass I told him of Sam Johnson, the first negro whom I had freed.

"'Why,' said the General, 'Johnson lives just out of this city. He has told me the same story a dozen times.'"

"The General further informed me that Johnson drove into the city almost daily, and next morning I waited at the place to which I had been directed for his appearance. He finally came, seated in a wagon loaded with grain and drawn by a six-horse team.

"'Whose team is that?' I asked.

"'Mine,' was the reply."
"Do you know that I am your master?" I continued.

"Hain't got no master," said he gloomily. Then recognizing who I was he leaped from his seat with a joyful "Blessed if you hain't de chap dat sot me free," and caught me in his arms. He took me to his home a few miles from Detroit and I found him to be a well-to-do farmer, owning a well-stocked farm of 160 acres, with his wife and children about him. Living near the Johnsons, and like them, contented and comfortable, I found the Stewart and Coleman families, for whom I had also lighted the path to freedom.

"My father had died of cholera at Lexington in 1849 while seeking to secure my release, and in October, 1851, I went South to get the body and bring it back to our old home here in New York. While sating in Louisville for the cooler weather which would permit a fulfillment of my mission I rescued a woman named Julia and her child. Crossing the Ohio in a skiff at night I took them to an underground depot at Buckram's, Indiana. I saw the mother afterward at Windsor, Canada, where she had married well. Two weeks later I carried off Tamor, a bright mulatto girl of 20 belonging to A. E. Shotwell of Louisville. I knew the undertaking was an extremely dangerous one and I laid my plans carefully. The girl met me one evening at a certain gate dressed for the occasion. We walked through the busiest part of the city to the banks of the Ohio, which we crossed in a leaky skiff, which I propelled with a piece of board while Tamor kept the skiff from sinking by constant bailing with a large cup which we had brought along for the purpose. Resting as we might, during the night chased from one retreat to another, I drove with her early next morning to a railroad station twenty-four miles from the river and took her on the cars to Salem, Ind., where I left her with a friend. This was the last slave whom I was ever able to help off. In fifteen years I had, unaided and alone, freed forty-seven slaves, besides lending assistance in many other cases.

"The freeing of Tamor again cost me my own liberty. One week afterward I was kidnapped from Indiana soil, and without process of law taken to Louisville and lodged in jail. I was tried in February, 1852, the owner of Tamor appearing as my prosecutor, and though the evidence against me was of the flimsiest character, my reputation as a slave stealer secured my conviction. My sentence was fifteen years at hard labor in the State Prison: My friends did little for me, and that was one reason why I fared so hard. They were afraid, so intense was the feeling against me in Louisville, that if they succeeded in securing my acquittal by a jury a mob would take it up and lynch me. My own mind, however, was at rest on that point. I would have taken part in any lynching that might have been attempted and looked out for myself.

"I returned to the prison at Frankfort in March, 1852. Capt. Newton Craig, the Warden under whom I had served my first term, was still in charge. What was known as the lease system was then in vogue, the prison being leased to the Warden for a certain sum a year, the Warden looking to the labor of the prisoners for his profit. The prison during all the years that it was my home was in horrible condition, unspeakably filthy and miserably ventilated. During my first imprisonment Craig had treated me kindly, but his bearing when I came before him for the second time plainly told me that my lot was to be a hard one. After being locked
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All the floggings I received under Ward were for failure to perform the tasks set for me to do, generally weaving hemp-308 yards a day being what I was expected to perform, an utter impossibility. I was whipped, bowed over a chair or some other object, often seventy lashes four times a day, every ten blows inflicting pain worse than death. Once I received 107 blows at one time, particles of flesh being thrown upon the wall several feet away. My weight, which was 180 pounds when I entered the prison, was several times reduced to 118 pounds. The other prisoners feared the same as I did when they failed to accomplish the work laid out for them. I have seen new men in the hackling house fall at their work, weak from flogging, and when taken to the hospital die before morning from pneumonia and the strap. A remarkable constitution and great muscular strength were the only things that saved my life. As it was I was an old man at 40. Six days in the week the swish of the strap and the howl of the victim rang through the prison, often the whole day long--and this for eight years. Younger and stronger men than I with shorter terms, men free from the vigilance and venom with which from the nature of my offenses I was followed, cut their their throats and poisoned and hung themselves to escape the burdens thrust upon them.+

"But there was an occasional ray of sunshine in my prison life. Interest in my case constantly increased, and at last public opinion set in in my favor. In February, 1858, having been pressed for three years to do so, I stood in the prison chapel and ad-
impressed by it. Early in 1864 Gen. S. Fry was sent from Washington

Kentucky with orders to enroll all negroes whom he found fit for military service. Thomas E. Bramlette, then Governor of Kentucky, attempted to prevent Gen. Fry from carrying out his orders, as President Lincoln had expected he would, and was ordered to Washington. Jacobs, who was Lieutenant-Governor, became Acting Governor. On his first day in office Gen. Fry said to him: 'Governor, the President thinks it would be well to make this Fairbank's day.'

"He called upon me at noon that day and told me that he was going to turn me loose. Next morning he sent me a free and full pardon. Counting my previous imprisonment I had spent seventeen years and four months of the best part of my life in prison. On the evening after my release I enjoyed at the Capital Hotel in Frankfort a cordial reception by the people of the city and distinguished persons from other parts of Kentucky which I shall ever remember with pleasure as a reunion after victory. Twenty-four hours later I crossed the Ohio, and don't believe me sentimental when I tell you that when I found myself once more on the free son of the Buckeye state I knelt down and kissed the ground.

"In the following June occurred the event, anticipation of which had strengthened and encouraged me through all those dark and dreary years. Previous to my second imprisonment I had been betrothed to Mandana Tileston of Williamsburg, Mass. True as the magnet to the poles, when misfortune again befell me she left her New England home, engaged as a teacher first in Hamilton and then at Oxford, O., waited and watched over the border, supplied me with every comfort within her power, worked and petitioned
for my release without ceasing, and faithful to the last, refused honorable alliances to wait the uncertain fate of a prisoner. It was a happy day indeed when we were married."
The Maysville Republican reported 106 murders in Ky since Jan 1, 1871. It averaged 4 murders a week, more than one for each county. No reference to race.

BLACK OBJECTS TO CRITICISM OF REPUBLICAN PARTY BY BOWLING GREEN BLACKS (Oct 1871)

The Louisville Commercial, Oct 20, 1871, p 2, letter from EPM to editor

"The Bowling Green Meeting--Letter from a Prominent Colored Man.+
"Lagrange, Ky., October 19.+
"Editors Louisville Commercial:

"I have noticed a meeting held in Bowling Green by the colored men of that place. It aroused my indignation to some extent to think that they would assault Colonel Wharton in the manner they did about his failure to discharge his duties as United States Attorney. /Illegible line / and will perform his duty with dignity pro bono publico.+

"The reason why I say this, I am a colored man, and do not like for the colored men to write anything that is obnoxious to Republican principles, and I believe the masses will coincide with me. E.P.M."
5TH ST COL BAP CH TO GIVE CONCERT (JUNE 1872)

The Louisville Commercial, June 23, 1872, p 4

"The Concerts of the Fifth-street Baptist Church Choir.+

"The choir of the Fifth-street Colored Baptist Church will give their annual concerts at the church on Wednesday and Thursday evenings, June 26th and 27th. The programme is a very attractive one, and contains the richest gems of sacred and popular songs. We have listened to the transformation singing of this really excellent choir with real pleasure. The voices are all extremely well drilled, and some of them possess a remarkable degree of cultivation. The conductor of the choir, Mr. Madison Mennis, is a thorough master of his profession, and is careful and exacting in his training. The organist, Miss Martha A. Morton, is an accomplished musician, and is a fit colleague of Mr. Mennis. The choir is entirely self-supporting, not drawing a cent from the treasury of the church. Those attending the concerts will have a rich musical treat."

LECTURE AT 15TH ST COL BAP CH (JULY 1872)

Louisville Daily Commercial, July 31, 1872, p 4

"Lecture at the Fifteenth-street Church.+

"Alice Burries, who has gained some notoriety in the field of lecturing, will deliver an original lecture before the colored people at the Fifteenth-street church on Friday evening next. Her subject is, 'The Past, Present and Future,' in which she details the progress of the colored race from the day of slavery up to the present time, and gives some wholesome advice for the future, that if followed would work great good. It is, upon the whole, an interesting document, and the colored people would do well to turn out and hear her."
"Music in the Colored Schools.+

"Mr. Pope referred again to the subject of music, saying that he did not wish to make war on musical instruction, but the gentlemen of the musical fraternity had gone back on their contract, and he wished to offer the following resolution: +

"Resolved. That it is the sense of this Board that the additional assistant for music was appointed on condition that the colored schools shall each have one lesson per week, and also the Primary Branch School.'+

"The resolution was adopted.+

"Mr. Boyce reported having visited the Fourteenth street colored school, and expressed his pleasure at the order and cleanliness he saw there."

"COLORED ODD-FELLOWS CELEBRATION IN LOU 1871

"Fully Three Thousand People Visit Sellersburg, Indiana, on an Excursion.+

"The different lodges of the G.U.O.O.F. celebrated the fourth anniversary of the Union Lodge, No 1,341 yesterday, by a parade and excursion to Sellersburg, Indiana, nine miles from this city, on the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis railroad. The procession formed at their hall, on Third Street, and paraded the principal streets to the bridge depot, in the following order. The St. Luke and St. John lodges led by Cunningham's band and the Union lodge, led by Carter's Union brass band, and the Past P.M.G.C., in open carriages. The orders were in full regalia, and presented a splendid appearance. +

"After a pleasant ride to Sellersburg the lodges were called to order by the marshal of the day and Mr. I.H. Taylor elected chairman of the day, with C.H. Johnson assistant - after which there was an intermission of two hours spent in eating, swinging music, singing and other amusements. At 2½ o'clock the crowd assembled at the speakers stand to hear the orators of the day. +

"After prayer services by the chaplain, Messrs. J.B. Stansberry and J.S. Halliday were introduced and addressed the people on the principles and origin of the Odd Fellowship, giving a history of its growth in the United States. They were listened to with great attention by the assemblage. After the speaking the lodges went through a series of evolutions, called the lodge drill, exciting
COLORED ODD - FELLOWS CELEBRATION IN LOU 1871

There were about three thousand people on the ground, and the best of order prevailed. Nothing occurred to mar the harmony of the occasion. The excursionists returned to the city about 6:30, everybody well pleased. The day was one that will be long remembered by the G.U.O.O.F. and their friends.

BLACKS AND STREET CARS IN LOU 1871

A Credit to Louisville.

There is a good deal of honest prejudice existing in this city against allowing negroes to ride in the street cars, then there are such great numbers of people who think it necessary to get very angry about it, in order to show that they are "sound on the nigger question" that their voices make a kind of pseudo public opinion about it. Considering the amount of feeling from one of these sources and the other, the fact that last Sunday, the day on which the new order of things was formally inaugurated, was as peaceable and orderly a Sunday as usual, is highly creditable to all classes of this community. No people could have behaved better than ours that day, and the mayor the chief of police, the members of the police force, and the street railway companies are all entitled to commendation. Even the Democratic newspapers of the city were not as bad as it was expected that they would be. The Sun and the Ledger, the locofoco organs, did not preach a regular crusade against the colored people, and the Courier-Journal gave really very sensible advice, seasoned, however, with its usual pandering to prejudice and bigotry and hate. None of them could refrain from the attempt to make political capital out of the excitement. The Sun and the Courier-Journal united in the stale expedient of charging the "Radicals" with attempting to incite a riot for political effect, and both attributed to THE COMMERCIAL, a desire that there should
be a riot. The Ledger confined itself to efforts to excite the meakest form of class prejudice, and displayed great ingenuity in doing it, surpassing the most brilliant efforts of the Sun in that direction. In one article in its local columns, yesterday morning, the Ledger got absolutely below contempt something that not even the Sun could do. +

"It is a subject for sincere congratulation, and we do congratulate Louisville upon the entirely satisfactory evidence given on Sunday of the orderly and peace-loving disposition of the great majority of the people."

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"This suit was brought in the Federal Court of this city by Fox, a man of color, for assault and battery, and upon the trial it appeared that Fox, the plaintiff, had enter the defendant's street railway car, on Walnut, near Tenth street, and deposited five cents, the fare; that the driver having charge of the car told Fox that it was against the rules of the company for men of color to ride inside of the car, and requested Fox to leave it; that Fox refused, and the driver by force ejected him. Other facts were established by the testimony, but they do not affect the legal question, and may therefore be considered as immaterial. Upon this state of the case the only question that arises is, "Had the railway company the right to eject him, or was it bound to transport him?" The Court Judge Ballard inquired of Mr. Bijur, the counsel of the defendant, what question of law he wished to raise, when Mr. Bijur replied none. He admitted the company had no right to make such regulation; and thus the Court decided nothing, because no question of law was in issue by the parties. The judge, in charging the jury, remarked that "Mr. Bijur, with that frankness which characterized the cultivated lawyer only, had conceded the liability of his client, by reason of the enforcement of a regulation which he admitted the company had no right to make," and that, therefore, the jury had nothing to do but to assess the damages. +

"It is a common error that this suit arises out of one of the recent amendments to the Constitution, whereas it is based on the common law which
defines the duties and liabilities of common carriers, and the Constitution of the United States has nothing to do with it. Colonel Wharton, who conducted the case for the plaintiff, cited a decision of Judge Pratt, a State judge of California, from which we make the following extracts:

"The defendant is a common carrier of passengers, and it's duty as such, generally expressed, is to receive and carry all persons who apply for transportation. +

"We nowhere learn that the common carrier can refuse to carry any person to suit the preference or antipathies of other passengers. +

"It is no answer to these views to say that the successful assertion of these rights by plaintiff will injure or lessen the profits of defendant's business. +

"The defendant must carry all persons, whether high or low degree in social life, the rich and the poor, the popular and unpopular, the Caucasian and the African, and all other civilized people, without distinction based upon class, race and color." +

"Undoubtedly Judge Ballard believed the law to be as stated by Colonel Wharton, and as admitted by Mr. Bijur, and he so substantially stated to the jury, but we repeat that, in fact, he decided nothing. Had the suit been brought before Judge Stites, in the Court of Common Pleas of this city, and the same testimony received, the result would have been the same there as in the Federal Court, for, we repeat, the case arose under the common law, and not under an act of Congress or the Constitution of the United States."

"Riding in street-cars with negroes is still a sore subject with many high-toned Caucasians, and occasionally some very comical incidents come under the eye of the ubiquitous reporter. Saturday morning, a white man stood on the corner of Clay and Market streets, conversing with a friend. Said he: +

"I have never ridden with a cussed negro in a street car, and won't. They know it, too, blame 'em. If I got into a car where there was a negro, I wouldn't ride with him, and I wouldn't get out, either." +

"What would you do?" said his friend. +

"Why, put the negro out, of course," was the prompt reply. +

"At this moment a car came along and the individual jumped in and took his seat. Between Hancock and Jackson the coal drivers employed by Mr. Goose, twenty-six in number, were waiting for a car, having been hurriedly ordered to the coal floats in the lower part of the city. With a grand rush they swarmed around and filled the car. There was not place for the disgusted white passenger to get out. He looked worried, and peered out of the windows and doors, looking for some means of escape. The coal drivers filled the seats, hung from the straps, and filled the doors. He wanted to get out, and said so. The darkies couldn't budge, with the car in motion, and treated the disgusted passenger's anxiety with great humor.

"Don't get out, master, said a six footer with a mouth like a trap-door. "Tain't often we has the pleasure of riding wid you. Sit still, master." +

"We isn't 'fraid of ridin' with a white man we never makes any objections said another oily coal-heaver with a fragment of a shirt." +
The last seen of the wretched individual he was being driven past Preston street in a rapid manner, with a black crowd of faces hovering around him. He probably has stronger objections than ever on street-car equality, but thinks the "niggers like a good joke as well as any one," only in his particular case the joke was too black a one. We do not ourselves envy him that particular ride.

It is high time that the strong arm of the law should prevail in Estill county and the region thereabouts. From all accounts, it appears a band of lawless men, made up of the worst characters native to that region, or attracted thither by the extensive mining operations of the Red River Iron Company, has been organized as a Kuklux Klan for several months, and in the meantime, have committed numerous acts of villainy, barbarous cruelty and murder. +

These acts have been characterized by the usual proceeding of so called Kuklux, and by an unmerciful and fiendish barbarity, nothing short of the savage deeds of blood by the red men of the plains. +

Even a helpless and harmless woman was so horribly whipped that blood ran from the wounds inflicted, when she attempted to stand upright several days after. Her offense was refusal to pledge that she would cease telling what she thought of such midnight marauders. The trustee of Berea College was whipped for affiliating with the blacks in Pitchburg and several others for less offenses. Three men were murdered at the May election in the Millers creek precinct, and a mob of sixty men, as we have already noticed, lately attempted the murder, at night, of a negro family in Pitchburg. +

Various threats have been made against the blacks in general at the Red River Iron Works and against the skilled miners employed there, who have mainly come from other State. Individuals and whole families have been notified to leave at the peril of their lives, and mining operations in Estill county have for the present entirely ceased, and 400 operators have left. From all these facts we repeat that it is full time for something to
be done by those whose duty it is to protect the rights, the lives, and the property of citizens all over this land.  
"We know enough of the character of the officers of the Red River Iron Company, for dignity, moderation, and justice, to feel satisfied that all has been done by them for peace that could be done by men situated as they are.  
"The evidence is abundant that a State Senator is one of the principal leaders of these outlaws."

"A Negro Murdered in Gallatin County in a Mysterious Manner--The Murderers being Hunted Down.  
"A very mysterious murder took place about four miles from Warsaw, in Gallatin county, on Friday afternoon, the particulars of which reached us yesterday. The victim was a colored man named John Pettit, a very worthy colored man, who had been in the employ of a widow named Sleet. After dinner on Friday, Pettit, in company with a young colored boy and a son of the widow, started for a pasture half a mile from the house, where the three were employed in cutting weeds from a piece of pasture. After reaching an orchard which adjoined the pasture, Pettit and his companions sat down to eat some watermelons which they had picked up after leaving the house. Two of the melons were eaten, and Pettit remarked that he would keep the other till later in the afternoon, as it was then too warm, and he remained seated under an apple tree while the boys went off a few hundred yards to the place where they were to work.  
"Soon afterward they were startled by loud cries, which seemed to come from the spot in which they had a few moments before left Pettit. They quit their work and went as speedily as possible to the place, but failed to find the object of their search. After listening a moment they heard groans, which issued from a ravine close by, and on going thither were horrified to find Pettit in the ravine with a large stone lying on his head. The stone was removed, and disclosed three terrible blows which had been inflicted on the head of the unfortunate man with the pole of an ax in the hands of his murderers.
Daily Louisville Commercial, Aug 1, 1871, p 4

One of the blows was in the right temple, fracturing the temporal bone; one in the forehead, and the other was in the left temple and had driven the fractured bones into the brain. +

"A physician was sent for but arrived only in time to see Pettit die. The two boys saw two men run down the ravine when they approached the place where the injured man was lying, but they disappeared so speedily that the boys were unable to tell whether they were whites or negroes." +

"Suspicion points very strongly to two negroes with whom Pettit had a quarrel on Sunday, the 23d inst., at a basket meeting, and who are said to have threatened to settle with him at some future time. The neighborhood where the bloody deed was committed is greatly excited, and the people declare their purpose to ferret out the murderers and bring them to justice. +

"The coroner held an inquest on the body on Saturday and elicited the names of the two men with whom Pettit had previously quarreled. On his return to Warsaw with this information an officer was sent into the country to arrest and bring in the suspected parties."

W H GIBSON ON "SEPARATE" DILEMMA OF BLACKS

W H GIBSON, hist prog col race of lou, 1897

p 78/ Gibson, while discussing the "Centennial" celebration at Nashville, Tenn., June 5, 1897, / p 79/ said the following:

Whatever might have been the trouble with the local committees or commissions, the parade and the exhibits at the Negro Building were a success, and we think that the sentiment of every visitor will agree with us. We are opposed to the "separate coach," but we must confess that we favored the separate Negro Building at this Centennial, as the exhibits, of which we are so proud, would have lost their identity in the white buildings unless labeled "negro," and this would have been objectionable. There have been so many great and good deeds performed by the negro that never will see the light of history, only as recorded in a general way in connection with the whites, that the negroes are beginning to write their own histories, so that their deeds and accomplishments may not be lost to the future generations of their race. For instance: I have mentioned several artists in this book—musicians whose compositions have been published by some of the leading music houses in America. Their songs were sung and played by thousands, and yet but few knew that the composers were negro artists. This generation is ignorant of the fact that such men ever lived. "Didst Thou ever Think of Me?" a song, was arranged for the guitar by Samuel L. White for the music house of George Willig, Philadelphia, Pa.; "The Heart That Loves Fondest of Any" was arranged by S. L. White for the music house of W. Peters & Son, Cincinnati, O., and Peters & Webb, Louisville, Ky.; "Falls City Polka Quadrille" was composed by George Hamlet for the music houses of Peters & Webb, Louisville, Ky., W. C. Peters & Son, Cincinnati, O., and Balmer & Weber, St. Louis, Mo. These negroes composed for these houses fifty years ago, but their race was concealed, only their names being given, for it would have been unpopular at that day and time to present sheet music composed by negroes to the public. If the artist be a German, a Frenchman, an Italian, or an American, his nationality appears on every sheet; hence our views, that whatever the negro does commendable, preserve his identity, so that future generations may know that you had been along these lines.
W H GIBSON COMPARES 1890's WITH 1840's IN EDUCATION IN LOU

W h gibson, hist prog col race in lou, 1897

p 82/ While writing about the 20th anniversary of the Colored Teachers' Assn, meeting at Central High School, at Ninth and Magazine, in Lou, Gibson said:

(\textit{p. 83})

We listened attentively to the reading of the papers and the discussions which followed. They were of the highest character, and carried the listener to the highest realm of thought. Twenty years of application in this association has truly developed many able writers and thinkers among our teachers, of whom the friends of education and the State officers who are training and supporting this educational work should feel complimented. As an ex-teacher of the "old school," my mind reverted back to fifty years ago, when, in this city, four men—R. M. Lane, Rev. Henry Adams, Rev. Peter Booth, and myself—we were striving, in a modest way, to teach the elementary branches of an English education to those of the race who might be allowed to matriculate. The three first mentioned pioneers have passed away, and I am left, by the providence of God, to witness some of the wishes and desires of our hearts—that our people might be saved educationally, and at the same time be the recipients and participants in the redemption of others in this great work.

W H GIBSON URGES BLACKS TO CAREFULLY RECORD THEIR HISTORY

W h gibson, hist prog col race in lou, 1897

(\textit{p. 84})

CONCLUSION.

\textit{To the readers of my semi-centennial history:}

In this narrative I have not endeavored to make any literary display, but to relate only such facts as actually came under my notice, and such as I participated in during the dark days of slavery and of those since the dawn of freedom and the enfranchisement of our race. The history of our race is just being given to the rising generation by their own "kith and kin." Heretofore, sufferings of the most excruciating nature have been concealed; deeds of Christian love and forbearance and heroic valor have been a sealed book to our students. Colored writers and historians are now collecting evidence from the care-worn veterans of our race who survive the vicissitudes of half century. Our white historians of to-day are yet collecting the past deeds of their fathers of Revolutionary fame; their lineage is sought after that their descendants may know from whose loins they sprung. The story of the landing of the Pilgrims is repeated every day in some school-room; the crossing of the Delaware is a story that never grows old; and the cruelty of the Anderson Military Prison in the South is rehearsed at the camp-fires. \textit{Shall we do less? Is this repetition the opening of old sores, and causing wounds to bleed afresh? No; we think not; we want our own history; we wish to tell it in our own way, and put our children in possession of deeds that would never be known concerning their forefathers through the school histories of our day. In this history we give you the dark cloud with its silver lining—the past and the present. Compare them and be wise.}

With this apology, I close the fifty years history of my public life. Yours, fraternally,

W. H. GIBSON, Sr.
Daily Louisville Commercial, Nov 16, 1871, p 4

"For the satisfaction of the public, and more especially those worshiping in said church, I communicate the following facts: Since the accident at the church I was employed to repair the damage done. I have raised the main church floor to its proper place, taken down the columns, and reset them upon a solid and firm foundation, which I have no hesitation in saying will support three times the weight of any congregation that could be assembled in said church. There was no difficulty in doing this, because there was a good and substantial brick foundation wall under where these columns belong, which enabled me to give them a solid base. *

"The nature of this accident was not such as to strain or injure the walls of the house in the least, and there is not a crack or defect in them that I have discovered. I therefore confidently assure these people that there is no danger to be apprehended now from this building, even if filled with more persons than it will comfortably hold. +

"D.W. Henderson. +

"Having assisted in repairing said church, I fully indorse the above statement. +

S.H. Isom

"The calamity at the church of Fifth and York streets was not as bad as first reported. Only a post on the lower floor in the basement of the church gave way, and some one near the pulpit, up stairs, felt the shock in the room where the meeting was going on, and at the top of his voice, jumped up and ran down the aisles, and said: "Get out; the house is falling in." If this had not been done no one would have been hurt. There was not a crack in the ceiling. The people, from the scare and excitement, rushed to the stairway and fell upon and trampled nine women and two children to death, and these were cared for by the assistance of the pastor and white citizens and friends and families of the dead. Many false reports have gone out about this calamity, and you will find it so in time." "Citizens, White and Colored."
At the last meeting of the Board of School Trustees Colonel John D. Pope, of the Committee on Public Colored Schools, offered a resolution to petition the General Council to ask the Legislature, at its next session, to so amend the city charter that all the taxes collected from the colored tax-payers of the city, less the cost of collection, should be devoted exclusively to the colored educational fund for the period of five years. *

The Board unanimously adopted this resolution, and, at Colonel Pope's suggestion, Messrs. Philip Speed, L.L. Warren, and Clark O. Smith were appointed a committee to present the petition to the Council. This was a wise action on the part of the Board, and we commend them for it. *

"This suggestion, made by the School Board, if adopted by the Council and acquiesced in by the Legislature, will insure the education of the colored children in our midst without incurring any additional taxation upon the white property-holders. It merely takes from the city treasury, for a few years, the insignificant amount paid by the colored people in taxes, and invests it in such a manner that it will be returned with tenfold interest in the future. +

"By an act of the Legislature, approved March 9, 1867, a certain extra poll tax was imposed on the colored people to be devoted to an educational and pauper fund for the use of the colored people exclusively. +

"This fund, in the county of Jefferson, yielded some $1,700 a year, and was collected until about $4,500 had accumulated in the State and city's treasuries at the time the present charter went into effect, under a provision of which the amount collected from the colored tax-payers is thrown into the colored school fund and disbursed by the Board of School Trustees for the benefit of colored public schools. +

"Under that provision the colored people asked the School Board to organize a colored school or schools, under the management of the Board, which request was promptly complied with, and three public schools were organized, costing the first year about $3,200; this was done under the most careful and economical administration of the funds by the zealous committee on colored public schools, assisted by a "Board of Visitors," composed of some of the most intelligent and progressive colored men in the city. +

"They commenced the scholastic year with a fund in the treasury of about $1,400, raised under the act of 1867, and with a prospective income of about $1,500 for taxation on city property owned by colored people. This fund in the treasury has been devoted by the magistrates of the county—who control it—to the erection of a pauper colored almshouse in the county, and to the support of the colored paupers sent there. This was an unwise disposition of the funds. It has had the effect to cripple and embarrass the School Board very materially in their laudable efforts to educate the colored children in our midst. +

"The committee on public colored schools, foreseeing the embarrassments that would arise from the ill-advised action of the magistracy of the county, endeavored to remedy the evil by obtaining contributions from white citizens for the purpose of purchasing a lot and erecting a building thron for the exclusive use of a colored school. To their praise be it said, and to the praise of the benevolent gentlemen who
contributed so liberally, they raised about $3,000; but the sum was entirely inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended. It would only give a small building in one portion of the city, and did not provide any means for the payment of the teachers necessary. *

"The committee ceased their labors in this direction, and after mature deliberation concluded that the suggestion embodied in the resolution referred to above was eminently reasonable, humane, and just. The amount to be diverted from the City Treasury, in the proposed amendment to the charter will only be about $11,000 a year; and, as the cost of maintaining the colored schools will be about $6,000 a year, there will accrue, in the five years for which these taxes are to be set aside, a fund of $25,000 or $30,000, after payment of salaries, which will be sufficient to erect comfortable and substantial houses in the eastern, central and western portions of the city. *

"This is what may be accomplished by the hearty co-operation of the Council. There can be no higher or nobler aim than the education of the ignorant, the lifting up of the poor and degraded, who have for so long been debarred from opportunities of education, self-improvement and development. Educate these colored people, and the almshouses will be turned into school-houses. Lift them up, and give them the advantages of our broad and humanizing school system, and in their increased intelligence, we shall have in them, instead of a burden on society, a valuable element of citizenship. They are destined to remain among us; their interest is our interest—the interest of the Commonwealth. Better that they should have the opportunity of becoming good, honest, intelligent, industrious citizens, than remain ignorant, helpless, dependent, and subject to all the temptations of crime, before which ignorance and the lack of that self-control which education gives will make them so weak. *

"We commend this truly wise action of the School Board, and trust that the Council will view it in the same broad spirit, and co-operate with the Board in accomplishing the desired object."
Fanny Lewis, a colored woman living on Hancock street between Green and Marshal has for several years had the custody of two little white girls, the children of Clara Leveré, a variety actress. Their mother, we believe, at one time played at the old Thompson's Varieties, on Fifth street, but lived in a house of ill-repute in the upper portion of the city, and, not wishing to rear her children amid the scenes of such a life, turned them over to Aunt Fanny (as she is familiarly called) to raise. From time to time she sent money to her for the use of the children, after leaving the city, but for some time past has failed in her remittances. "Aunt Fanny," however, still retained the children and supported them out of her own means. +

Yesterday she was brought before the City Court on a rule to give up the custody of the children, as it was ascertained that she kept a very disorderly house, and that, if left in her charge, the children would grow up in vicious ways. Most of the witnesses who testified were women of not particularly good characters, and the testimony elicited was considerably mixed. None of the witnesses, however, could find anything bad to say of "Aunt Fanny," but intimated that her daughter, during her mother's absence, permitted very disorderly conduct in her house, which children should remain ignorant of. The assertion was also made that the children had been but poorly clad during the winter, and did not attend school. Mr. Joseph, who appeared for Fanny Lewis, stated that he could prove all these statements untrue, and asked for a continuance of the case, which was granted until Tuesday. +

The children are two bright and intelligent looking girls, about nine and eleven years old and were comfortably dressed when they appeared in court yesterday morning. They are exceedingly fond of "Aunt Fanny," and cling to her, and cried when they thought that they were to be taken from her. +

So far as we have been able to learn the principal reason urged why these children should be taken away from their colored guardian is, because of the difference of race. This is decidedly a novel case. While it is contrary to public policy that these children should remain with their present guardian, it is in proof that they have been kindly cared for, and might find a worse protector."
BLACK TROOPS ARRIVE IN UNIONTOWN, 1864; 27 SLAVES IMPRESSED

O Harkins, ed, Brief Hist of Uniontown, 1934

p 72/
"In the year of 1864 on the seventh day of June, Colonel Cunningham, who had command of a regiment of colored soldiers at Paducah, Kentucky, landed on the Kentucky bank of the Ohio at Uniontown and impressed /begin p 73/ 185 slaves from the people of Union County /./ Twenty-seven of the number were from the people of Uniontown. He had with him two Federal gunboats to aid in persuading the slaves owners to give up their property. It seems that the gunboats were a great help, for no one offered resistance."

Taken from Collins' history.

KY BLACKS FED WELL SAYS FOREIGN VISITOR EARLY 1800S

J Melish, Travels through the U S, 1812 (vol II)

p 206/ "Slavery is no doubt hurtful to society, but it is probably more ameliorated in this state than in any other part of the world. /begin p 207/ Indeed so much is this the case, that the blacks are generally as well fed and nearly as well clothed as the white people; and it is questionable whether they work so hard. A gentleman of very excellent information told me that he did not think the produce of their labour was equal to their maintenance. To me it appeared that they were better fed, better lodged, and better clothed, than many of the peasantry in Britain. Still, however, slavery under any amelioration, is a bitter draught, and though thousands in all ages have been made to drink of it, it is no less bitter on that account."
REGIMENTS OF BLACK TROOPS RAISED IN KY DURING C W

J T Wilson, hist of the black phalanx, 1888


p 465/ "4th Regiment, Major Wm. N. Lansing.--Organized at Columbus, Ky., June, 1863, as 2nd Regiment Tennessee. Its designation was changed March, 1864, to the 3rd Regiment, and to the 4th, April, 1864. Battles: Fort Donelson. Mustered out February, 1866."


"114th Regiment, Colonel Thomas D. Sedgwick.--Organized at Camp Nelson, Ky., July, 1864. Mustered out April, 1867."

"15th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Elder.--Organized at Bowling Green, Ky., July, 1864, Mustered out February, 1866."

REGIMENTS OF BLACK TROOPS RAISED IN KY DURING C W

J T Wilson, hist of the black phalanx, 1888

/p 477 cont'd/


"120th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel John Glenn.--Organized at Henderson, Ky., November, 1864. Discontinued June, 1865, and enlisted men transferred to other regiments."

"122d Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel David M. Layman.--Organized at Louisville, Ky., December, 1864; consolidated into a battalion of three companies January, 1866. Mustered out February, 1866."


"123d Regiment, Colonel Samuel A. Porter.--Organized at Louisville, Ky., December, 1864. Mustered out October, 1865."


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5738-A
ACCOUNT OF ATTEMPTED ESCAPE OF SLAVES NOR KY (1844)

Niles National Register, Dec 21, 1844, LXVII (Niles' Weekly Register)

"The western papers give us an account of a serious riot at Georgetown, Ohio, 45 miles from Cincinnati. It arose from an attempt to recover two runaway slaves, from Kentucky, who were found by their pursuers in a house at Georgetown, and arrested. A violent conflict arose between two armed parties, in which a man was killed and others were wounded. After the first conflict, in which a son of Col. Towers was killed, but which had been quelled by the arrival of the sheriff with a posse, and the arrest of the ringleaders, the Georgetown Telegraph relates that—+

"Another band of Kentuckians soon arrived and commenced another scene of bloodshed. One of the slaves was hung without ceremony for resisting a brother of Col. Towers, who had captured him. The houses of Miller and King were burned to the ground, with all their contents. They then went to the house of Mr. Alexander Gilliland, tore him away from his family, and beat him until his life was despaired of.' The telegraph adds: 'The number of the Kentuckians is increasing hourly, and the whole neighborhood is up in arms.'"

HOSTILITY OF CONFED SOLDIERS TOWARD BLACK TROOPS

j t wilson, hist of the black phalanx, 1888

p 354/

"The confederate thirst for 'nigger' blood seemed to have been no stronger in Kentucky than in other Departments, but it does appear, for some reason, that Kentucky and northern Mississippi were selected by the confederate generals, Pillow and Forrest, as appropriate sections in which to particularly vent their spite. The success of Forrest at Fort Pillow rather strengthened General Beauford's inhumanity. He commanded a portion of Pillow's forces which appeared before Columbus the day after the Fort Pillow massacre, and in the following summons demanded its surrender: +

"To the Commander of the United States Forces, Columbus, Ky.: +

"Fully capable of taking Columbus and its garrison, I desire to avoid shedding blood. I therefore demand the unconditional surrender of the forces under your command. Should you surrender, the negroes in arms will be returned to their masters. Should I be compelled to take the place by force, no quarter will be shown negro troops whatever; white troops will be treated as prisoners of war." signed Brig Gen A. Beauford Col. Lawrence of the 34th N. J. decline to surrender & drove the enemy off.
in a very bad condition. The general commanding may rely upon my not being taken by surprise, and nothing that I can do shall be left undone.

I am, captain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. HUDSON LAWRENCE.

Colonel 34th New Jersey Volunteers, Commanding Post.

Capt. J. H. Odlin, Assistant Adjutant-General.

From scouts just in the enemy in squads of 200 or 300 are reported in every direction.

W. H. L.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE POST,

Columbus, Ky., April 13, 1864.

CAPTAIN: I inclose copy of a communication received this morning at 9 o'clock and my reply to the same. This was brought in by a flag of truce. The only information I could obtain was that they had a division under Buford, principally of mounted infantry.

The steamer L. M. Kennedy happened to be here with a battery of 8-pounders and the detachment of Colonel Rimaker's regiment, and we have men in squads. I have detained the steamer. The steamer has been leaving only a few hours behind with 1,500 troops. The gun boat has gone down the river and not yet returned.

I am, captain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. HUDSON LAWRENCE.

Colonel Thirty-fourth New Jersey Volunteers.

Capt. J. H. Odlin, Assistant Adjutant-General.

[Enclosure No. 1]

HEADQUARTERS CONFEDERATE FORCES,

Before Columbus, Ky., April 13, 1864.

The Commanding Officer U. S. Forces, Columbus, Ky.: 

Fuld capable of taking Columbus and its garrison by force, I desire to avoid the shedding of blood and therefore demand the unconditional surrender of the forces under your command. Should you surrender, the negroes now in arms will be returned to their masters. Should I, however, be compelled to take the place, no quarter will be shown to the negro troops whatever; the white troops will be treated as prisoners of war.

I am, sir, yours,

A. B. BUFORD.

Brigadier-General.

[Enclosure No. 2]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE POST,

Columbus, Ky., April 13, 1864.

Brig. Gen. A. BUFORD,

Commanding Confederate Forces before Columbus, Ky.:

GENERAL: Your communication of this date is to hand. In reply I would state that, being placed by my Government with adequate force to hold and repel all enemies from my post, surrender is out of the question.

I am, general, very respectfully,

WM. HUDSON LAWRENCE.

Colonel 34th New Jersey Volunteers, Commanding Post.
SLAVES LEAVE LOUISVILLE MARCH 1833 FOR LIBERIA

Niles Weekly Register, XIV, April 13, 1833

p 98/ A group of "colored emigrants" left Louisville on the 22d ultimo for Liberia, 106 persons total--96 from Ky., 4 from E. Tenn., the other were free. "The emigrants left Louisville in high spirits, having been liberally provided with money and provisions by the people of Kentucky. They were to be conveyed to New Orleans free of expense, ... accompanied by the secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society." From N O they would go to Liberia under the leadership of a Col. Soc. Official.

BLACK WOMAN'S OPINION OF MINSTRELS 1872


"Editors of Louisville Commercial: +

"We have always had an aversion to negro minstrels. Not from any knowledge which we had derived by seeing them perform, but judging from their bills and posters which we have seen around the streets, we had come to the conclusion long since that their chief aim was to ridicule and take off the colored people of this country. Believing that all such performances were calculated to lower, rather than elevate, our people, we have strenuously avoided attending such places. The other evening, however, being in the city, and hearing the Georgia Minstrels spoken of very highly, we concluded to forego all objections, and go for the first time. +

"Accordingly we with another lady and our little daughter, took a car and proceeded to the Hall where these gentlemen were holding forth. Several white persons were in the car with us, and when we arrived at our place of destination they came out just as white as they were before entering. No limbs were broken in consequence of their having been so recently in the car with colored people. On the whole everything passed off very quietly till we had procured our tickets, and were about to enter the Hall. Here the asparation took place. Some of the white persons who perhaps had got into same car with us to the Hall were shown in the dress circle, while we were pointed upstairs. Upon our objecting to do so, "Oh," said he, "they all go up there." We replied that we cared not how many had "gone up there," we would not submit to such proscription in any place of amusement. We requested him to refund us our money, which he did, and we made our exit from the hall. It is humiliating enough to us to know that we are compelled to undergo this proscription while
traveling, without hunting it up in places of amusement. Had we been white women of the utmost depravity we could have gone into the dress-circle without one word. Or had we been black nurses of the roughest kind, we could, if we only had a little white child in our arms, have gone into any part of the house we desired. It is only when we dare to assert our womanhood or manhood that we give offense to some white persons.†

These Georgia Minstrels are wrong in allowing their people to be treated with such disrespect, and sooner or later it will reflect great discredit upon them. If their talents draw large houses for them under the management of white men, why can they not be equally successful under their own direction? These men should insist on having colored people admitted to their concerts without being proscribed. If they do not the colored people should denounce them everywhere and at all times. By allowing colored people to be proscribed in this manner at their entertainments it shows that they foster the same spirit which causes colored ladies of intelligence and refinement to be ejected from the cars running between here and Memphis. It shows that they cherish the sentiment which debars us from receiving first-class accommodation while traveling, although we pay just the same as white people. We do not ask for social equality because we believe no law can fix it. But we do ask for all our civil rights before the law. We believe the time will come and must come when we shall be finding this out and they should be trying to make up their minds to accept the situation."† S.G.

ACCT OF BLACK FAIR IN LOU 1872

The Fair opened yesterday morning with an increased attendance—fully three thousand people being on the grounds. The ring was in a fine condition and quite free from dust throughout the day. Cunningham's band discoursed fine music, during the stirring strains of which the various contestants seemed stimulated to exhibit, to the greatest extent, the excellencies of their various entries. The Fair will be continued to-day, and we urge our readers to visit the Fair Ground and see the last day's entertainment. The following will be among the rings entered: Best turnout for gentlemen and lady, in single or double team; best gentleman riding ring, at two o'clock; slowest mule race, no mule to be ridden by the owner; speed ring, at three and a half o'clock, premium by the barbers.†

The tournament will take place at three o'clock. The following entries were made and premiums awarded yesterday:†

- Best mare, two years old and under--James and John Taylor, of Jefferson and Matt. Bartlett, of Oldham; Bartlett, premium, John Taylor certificate.†
- Best suckling colt, under one year--Isham Lackling, of Jefferson, won the premium, against Matt Bartlett, of Oldham.†
- Best ewe two years old--Premium to Isaac Tucker, of Jefferson.†
- Best ewe lamb--Isaac Tucker, three entries, and Samuel Cravens, of Jefferson. Cravens took the premium. The same won the premium for the best buck two years old, and the premium for the best buck lamb.†
- Best Berkshire boar, one year old and over--James Haltron, of Jefferson.†
- Best boar, under six months--Isaac Tucker, of Jefferson.†
- Best sow, under six months--Same.†
- Best sow, under six months--Mrs. Bullock, of Jefferson.†
Daily Louisville Commercial, Sept 21, 1872, p 4

"In the afternoon the ring for the best mare of any age was formed, and Ben. Rile, of Jefferson, bore away the premium, against Watson King, George Hays, and Solomon Davis of Jefferson, and Matt. Bartlett, of Oldham. Davis, certificate. +

"Best buggy gelding, four years old and under five--Alex Gunn and George Parker of Jefferson, and Charles Heffert, of Oldham: Parker, premium, and Gunn, certificate. +

"Best lady rider--Mrs. Mollie Workeman, Miss Emma Pierce, Mrs. Lizzie Milton, of Jefferson, Mrs. Milly Ballard, of Shelby. Mrs. Mollie Workeman, premium, and Mrs. Milly Ballard, certificate. +

"Best buggy gelding, three years old and under four--Jackson Brown, Shorter Barns and Lewis Smith, of Jefferson. Brown, premium, Smith, certificate. +

"Tandem team--Lewis Smith and Wm. Buckner, of Jefferson. Smith, premium.

"Best gelding any age to harness--Charles Heffert, Henry Smith, Alex. Swan, Geo. Lewis, Jackson Brown and George Parker, all of Jefferson. Henry Smith, premium, Geo. Parker, certificate. +

"The fourth day's exhibition closed with this ring and the assembly quietly dispersed. As on the previous days, nothing happened to mar the pleasure of the entertainment."

Daily Louisville Commercial, Sept 12, 1872, p 2

"Eddyville, Ky., September 5th. +

"Editors Louisville Commercial: +

"A meeting of the colored voters of Lyon County was held in this place on Saturday, August 31, 1872. Rev. Hery Hallock was appointed Chairman, and Hery Bond, Secretary. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That we, as colored citizens of Kentucky, have great and special reason for rejoicing at the opening of the political campaign upon which the country has just entered, as it was our misfortune as residents of a Democratic Commonwealth to be the last of our down-trodden race in the Republic who were elevated to the broad plane of citizenship and political freedom, and the colored men of Kentucky will for the first time in the history of the country be allowed a voice in the selection of a President to rule over and administer the affairs of a mighty nation in which all are now equal before the law, and the blessed boon of liberty is vouchsafed every human being. +

"Resolved, That we, heretofore recognizing Charles Sumner as one of the best friends of our unfortunate race, deeply and sincerely regret his recent political action, and honest in our belief that his abandonment of the great party of progress and civilization, whose measures and principles he has so ably advocated in the past, and his coalition and pretended sympathy with the wrangling and disappointed elements of the country in an attempt to organize a party under the guidance and leadership of Horace Greeley, is the result of groundless animosity and malignity toward our tried and true friend, President Grant. Mr. Sumner, therefore, as a
leader, is no longer entitled to our respect and confidence.+

"Resolved, That we will never follow the dictation or leadership of any man who seeks the overthrow of the great party which gave to us emancipation and civil rights."+

"Resolved, That we distrust any alliance with the men North and South who have always acted and voted with the Democratic party, and we will not vote for any man who relies upon that element for success, and who must and will, if so elected, conform to the usages and yield to the wishes of a Democratic constituency."+

"The next resolution indorsed Grant's Administration and the action of the Philadelphia Convention:"+

"Resolved, That we freely and unhesitatingly indorse the Administration of President Grant, and most earnestly and heartily approve the action of the Philadelphia Convention, held on the 5th day of June last."+

"The next approved the Philadelphia platform:"+

"Resolved, That we look upon the platform of principles adopted by that convention as unexceptionable to any patriotic man, and believe the safety of our Republican institutions, and our very existence as a nation depend upon the successful triumph of those principles."+

"The next pledged hearty support to Grant and Wilson:"+

"Resolved, That we pledge our hearty and united support to Ulysses S. Grant and Henry Wilson, the nominees of that convention, and believe that, in the support of this ticket, we are carrying out the true principles of the National Republican party, as taught us by the immortal Lincoln, whose memory we hold most dear as the liberator of our race."+

"Resolved, That we have unbounded confidence in the wisdom and justice of the great masses of the American people, and believe the hurricane of patriotism now sweeping over the Republic will hurl the so-called Liberal party to the ground and bury it where it rightly belongs, in the grave of that treason-stained and faithless party whose dissolution gave it birth."+

"Resolved, That we request The Louisville Commercial and Cincinnati Gazette to publish these resolutions."+

"If there is a single Republican, white or black, in Lyon County who will support Greeley we have not as yet been able to find him."+

"A number of our most influential citizens, who have been life-long Democrats, positively refuse to surrender to the G.B. swindle. L."
"There has been a prodigious amount of depreciation of the ambition and intelligence of the colored people in certain quarters. It has been stated over and over again that the race would, upon the attainment of freedom, relapse into barbarism. The avidity with which they seek the schools established for their benefit, and what is more, the actual self denial and painstaking they exhibit to establish schools for themselves, is a sufficient refutation of the malicious depreciation continually made by those who do little or nothing for them."

"In addition to the two public schools established for the colored children in this city, there is on Madison street, between East and Floyd streets, a large and well organized school called the "Polytechnic Preparatory School." It has two hundred and fifty pupils enrolled, with a daily average attendance of two hundred. The majority of the pupils are orphans or fatherless, and the principal object of the institution is to educate the colored orphans, but of course includes in its beneficent design the education of all indigent children of African descent."

"The school is conducted on the same principle as the public schools of Louisville. Rev. W. W. Taylor, of the York-street Baptist Church, is superintendent, Mrs. M. A. Johnson principal, and Misses Fischer and Roberts first and second class assistants. An industrial department is attached to the school, where the girls are instructed in plain sewing and other useful work two days in each week."

"We take pleasure in making this record, for it reveals the irrepressible desire of the colored people to acquire the education which shall fit them to be intelligent members of the great republic of whose strength they form such an important part."

5TH ST BAP CH RESOLUTIONS HONORING ELDER HENRY ADAMS 91872

At a meeting of the officers of the Fifth street Baptist Church, held yesterday, Rev. A. Heath was called to the chair, and Q. B. Jones elected Secretary. The chairman stated the object of the meeting to be the taking of proper action in regard to the death of Elder H. Adams, pastor of the church."

"On motion a committee of three was appointed to draft and report suitable resolutions, consisting of B. Martin, Cain Baizel, and Q. B. Jones."

"The Committee reported as follows:"

"Whereas, It has pleased the great Head of the Church, on Sunday evening, the 3d inst, at fifteen minutes after two o'clock, to call our dearly beloved and worthy pastor, Elder H. Adams, from his earthly labors to reap his glorious reward in Heaven, and our great loss is his great gain therefore be it."

"Resolved, That we have lost a worth citizen, a devoted and eminent Minister of the Gospel, and the family of the deceased a kind parent and affectionate husband."

"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 Lord's vineyard, punctual in all 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."

"Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved family of our deceased brother."

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the church
On motion, the Board adjourned.

Q. B. Jones, Secretary.

It was rather a common saying among Democrats of Kentucky last summer, when they were running their party as a "White man's party," that they didn't want "niggers" to vote for their candidates; and some of their candidates were so strict in their Democracy that they didn't want any Republican votes, whether cast by white or black. Witness Mr. J. B. Beck's letter while he was a candidate for the Senate. +

"From the appeals which have come from them since they have been converted to Greeleyism, we supposed that this strict exclusion of negro votes had been abandoned; but either because they still want to keep the Kentucky wing of the Greeley faction a "white man's party," or because they have found out that they can't get the colored vote, the Kentucky Greeleyites still persist in it. Here is a copy of the agreement made between Messrs. E. E. McKay and W. N. Beckham, Greeley candidates for Congress in the Fourth District, to govern in the primary elections in that county. The colored voters will see that they are not wanted: To the Judges of the Primary Election on Saturday, August 17, 1872: +

"We, E. E. McKay and W. M. Beckham, candidates for Congress, have to say, that we request the Judges of the several precincts in this county to exclude all negroes, and the white men who are for Grant for the Presidency, from voting; or, if any negroes vote for either, that they shall be marked colored, and not counted."

(Signed) E. E. McKay
W. N. Beckham
Rev. Peter H. Clark, of Cincinnati, delivered a lecture last night at the Fifth-street Colored Baptist Church, before the Young Men's Library Association, upon "The Real Danger of the Republic." The audience was very large and attentive, and the music, executed by the choir of the church, was admirable, and enlivened the occasion delightfully. Mr. Clark is a good speaker and readily engaged the attention of his audience and was loudly applauded during his lecture, of which we append a brief extract.

He congratulated then that a time had come when the colored people could give themselves to the consideration of purely literary questions. The time had been, and not far in the past, when meetings of colored people which were not religious, were devoted to the consideration of questions involving their rights. Sometimes there was an attack threatened upon those rights; sometimes there was an outrage to denounce; sometimes it was to concert measures of defense.

But now they could meet in quiet with none to molest or make them afraid.

The culture of literature marks all people who hold a high place in the world's history, and the colored people, if they expect their children to be prepared to contend on equal terms in the intense competition of American life, must train them to literary pursuits.

The Young Men's Library Association is an auspicious beginning of such a training.

The most important branch of human knowledge is that of history. We can dispense with all other branches of knowledge better than that. From it we learn to avoid the errors and to imitate the virtues of the past.

History shows that all great nations have been founded by men distinguished for truthfulness and honesty, and that all have decayed in the same ratio that these virtues decayed.

Whatever tends to undermine them tends to undermine the commonwealth.

The millions of office-seekers in America brought into being by the pernicious principle of rotation in office threatened the perpetuity of the Republic. Every American contends that he has a right to hold an office. This may be true, but it is not the duty of every man to hold an office. To get an office, me steal; to maintain themselves in office, men steal; to return themselves to office, men steal; and the whole community is demoralized by this stealing.

The ballot is placed in our hands to get the right men into the right place, and when we get them there to keep them there.

Offices are of two sorts--those which are merely executive or clerical in their nature, and good men placed in such offices should be kept there as long as they will stay.

Another class of offices are such as reflect the policy of the people, such as Congressmen, members of Legislatures, &c. Incumbents of such positions might be changed as often as the people desired. To avoid the establishment of an office-holding caste, the right to impeach any office-holder should be placed in the hands of every citizen.

Such a civil service reform would be of some value.
At a meeting of the colored people of Livingston County, convened at the Methodist Episcopal Church, this July 30, 1872, the Rev. P. R. Anderson was called to the chair, and Newton Baker and George Sabs appointed secretaries. A committee, consisting of two from each precinct, was appointed, to act in concert with the white Republican committees of such precincts.

The following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That to the Republican party belongs the honor of placing all equal before the law, regardless of race or color."

"Resolved, That the attempt of the Democratic party to catch the votes of the colored people by using such bait as Horace Greeley and like sore-heads, is an insult to the intelligence of the colored race."

"Resolved, That the principles of the Republican party made Greeley and his paper, he being only an appendage of inconsistencies."

"Resolved, That the extraordinary and herculean feat of converting nearly 3,000,000 of Democrats, with hearts and souls opposed to the principles of Republican doctrine, and more especially Horace Greeley's radical policy, is unparalleled in American history, and causes great doubt of their genuine conversion."

"Resolved, That we would advise all to vote for Grant and Wilson, the men who have never proven recreant to their trust."

The meeting was addressed by the chairman and other speakers. Great contempt was expressed for the man who, after gaining our confidence, would try to barter his principles and our souls back into bondage. We have confidence that the great Republican party will expose fraud and swindle, and we promise to do all in our power. Not one, either white or black, Republican has been deceived in this county. All are unanimous for Grant and Wilson."

P. R. Anderson, Chairman.

N. Baker, Secretary.
A large number of colored citizens, from Louisville and Shelbyville, met in the woods near Anchorage, on the Fourth, to celebrate the day appropriately. The day was fine, and the woods were filled with the vast and happy assembly, for whom every means of enjoyment was afforded. At eleven o'clock, the audience—numbering many thousands of men, women, and children—was called to order, and J. T. Marrs, Esq., was called to the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. S. Strams, of the A. M. E. Church, Shelbyville; after which, Capt. Barrett's fine cornet band discoursed some beautiful music. The Declaration of Independence was then read by Miss Dupree, in an impressive and effective manner. The president of the day then introduced Rev. Strams, as the first speaker. The reverend gentleman delivered a telling and eloquent address, which was fully appreciated by his audience, and which drew from them hearty and frequent applause.

At the conclusion of this speech, an adjournment to dinner came next in order, and for an hour the music of knives, forks, and plates superceded the flow of the usual Fourth of July speeches.

After doing ample justice to the eatables the audience was once more attracted to the speaker's stand, guided thereto by the soul-inspiring notes from Captain Barrett's band.

The President of the day then introduced Hon. G. A. Griffith, who came forward and said that he did not appear there as a mere politician in a mercenary character, but in the interest of truth and justice. He hoped everyone was prepared to act in such interest, and that he could better evice a desire to do so than by casting his vote in November for Grant and Wilson.

After a brilliant eulogy of General Grant the orator contrasted the condition ten years later. In 1861, 3,953,760 bondsmen toiled painfully, wearily, and hopelessly. In 1871, the light of liberty had broken upon the land, and all were free. They owe this to the Republican party, and the speaker exhorted his hearers to be faithful to that organization, while they acted strictly upon deeply-rooted principle. They must act unitedly against the Democratic party, which was combined to create a white man's government and exclude nearly five millions of colored citizens. Their claims to friendship are all deceitful, and we must exercise our vested rights. He earnestly exhorted his auditors to stand by the old Republican party, and let Greeley, Clay and Brown know that they have minds of their own.

Mr. Griffith's speech was loudly applauded, and, after music by the band, J. Henri Burch, editor of the Grand Era, of Louisiana, was introduced, and delivered a long and eloquent address, graphically portraying the causes which led to the American Declaration of Independence and its results. He then referred to the blot of African slavery and its inconsistency with that declaration of rights, the culmination of the abolition movement into the war and accompanying emancipation with its glorious results. He then eloquently set forth the duty of the colored race under the new regime, and concluded with an exhortation to a deeper appreciation of their proud title of "American citizens." The day will long be remembered by our colored citizens as one of the red-letter days in their calendar.
"We had the pleasure of attending the wedding of Miss Edmonia Cowan and Mr. Anthony Scott, at Fifth-street Baptist Church, on Thursday evening last, which we think worthy of note. At half past eight o'clock the bridal party arrived, preceded in the church by the mother and brother of the bride, and four young lady friends handsomely attired. Then came the bride, gracefully leaning on the arm of her chosen for life. As the bride entered, the organ gave us the beautiful strains of the Wedding March, which ceased as the happy pair reached the altar."

"The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Andrew Heath, acting pastor, in the presence of a large audience, comprising some of the most fashionable of our colored citizens. There were also quite a number of white friends of the bride present."

"The bride wore a white rep silk with satin trimmings, and overdress of illusion finished with point aplique and orange flowers; an illusion vail enveloped her entire figure, confined to the hair with flowers arranged as a crown and pearls. The groom was dressed in faultless style, after the most approved fashion."

"After the ceremony the invited guests repaired to the residence of the bride, where a splendid collation was spread, and which the favored few did ample justice to, spending the time in gayety and mirth until warned by tired nature to depart and seek repose, only to dream of beautiful forms and beautiful faces."

"On Friday evening a reception was given the bride at the residence of Mrs. Robinson, on Oak street. The affair was surpassingly grand, the bride being more lovely than on the previous evening. The invited guests were worthy of more comment than we have time to spare, but we will give a hurried description of a few of the dresses worn on the occasion."

"Miss F. E. wore white silk court-train, lace trimmings, and pearls."

"Miss S. J. wore blue satin, white lace fringe and orange flowers."

"Miss S. Miller wore white silk, lace overdress, and flowers."

"The Misses C. and S. A. wore pink rep, lace overdress, flowers, and pearls."

"Miss S. J. wore cherry-colored rep, black lace overdress, and flowers."

"Misses M.B., K. M., A. S., J. W., M. W., and a host of others that your humble servant could not learn the names of, were alike splendidly attired, and, through the entire evening, chained a number of admirers to their side with bright eyes and bewitching smiles. We were participants of the bounteous supply of eatables prepared for dainty lips and fastidious tastes. The table fairly groaned under the heavy weight of the goody viands spread for the cream of colored society. The whole was under the direction of Mr. William Robinson, who deserves the highest eulogium. We had no G. D. A. to welcome, no Nilsson to praise, yet we were contentedly happy. We close our hurried description with a number of good wishes for the happy pair. May the storms of adversity pass over them lightly, and each day be more pleasant than the past."

An Observer
The Ky first const of 1792 said that all the laws of Va., were to be in force in Ky. This meant that the "... Virginia acts of 1705 and 1727, declaring slaves to be real estate, and explaining the variations necessitated by the difference between the physical properties of human beings and of land. In 1748 the general assembly of Virginia 'thought best to reduce them /the slaves/ to their natural condition, so that they might not at the same time be real estate in some respects, personal in others, and both in others'; for the 'last act being in the first part explanatory, was productive of many suits;'" caused many problems.

1806 COURT HOLD PROMISE OF FREEDOM CANNOT BE LEGALLY BINDING

"Beall v. Joseph (a negro), Hardin 51, May 1806. 'The negro, Joseph, had been the slave of Woods. Woods, in 1799, sold a tract of land ... to Edwards, and agreed to let Edwards have Joe for four years; after which Joe was to be free. ... Edwards sold him to the defendant as a slave. After the expiration of this four years, Joe brought his action of false imprisonment against Beall, to try his right to freedom.'

"Held: /32/ 'it not appearing that he ever was out of the limits of this state, and the one from which it was separated, there is no law of either of them, by which slaves in that situation, can obtain freedom, or enjoy the rights of free persons, only by deed in writing, or the last will and testament of the owner, duly authenticated and recorded: but no such deed, nor will, nor certificate, of freedom in favor of Joseph, was produced at the trial. It is therefore clear, that no declaration nor promise made to a slave in this state, or for his benefit, ... can be enforced by a court, either of law or equity,'..."
Editors Louisville Commercial;

"The card of Mayor Baxter, in yesterday's paper, is, perhaps, the thinnest document he ever issued. Let us for a few moments examine it. He denied emphatically being in favor of mixed schools. His "public acts are public property," he says, and by these we will judge him. It is not necessary to reiterate, or consume time and space in going over the Veto of his Honor on this subject, for both white and colored people, who were interested alike in both schools, saw the effect of his veto, and many think and believe that the veto was based upon a latent opposition to the common schools, both white and colored. The Trustees of the schools, both white and colored, deprecated a mixture of the two races in the same schools. They were satisfied that such mixture would result in injury to both, but the more especially to the colored school. The tax proposed was devised and heartily endorsed by both white and colored people, as a remedy for the thing, and both believed then and believe still that it would quiet all the apprehension on the subject, by making the colored schools self-supporting and independent. The Mayor knew then as he knows now that the tax as fixed by the city for the support of the colored schools, was and is inadequate. He knew then as he knows now that under the Constitution of the United States, the colored children would be forced into the regular public schools, regardless of the charter provisions to the contrary. He knew than as he knows now, that the effect of forcing the colored children into the regular schools would result in throwing out of employment all colored teachers—would discourage a great many colored children from going to school, besides deter many white children from going also. We say his Honor knew these things because they are self-evident propositions. These results follow as surely as any effect will follow cause."

"But his Honor may attempt to dislodge again by asserting that the School Board is extravagant; that their present resources are ample for all purposes, and that the city cannot afford to do without the tax from colored people. If this be his dodge, as it was on his veto message, it devolves him to show in what particular the School Board has been extravagant. Their report for the last year is full and explicit and published with other doings of the city government, and open for full inspection and criticism. There may have been leaks in the fund; if so, his Honor should point them out. The gentlemen composing the School Board are as earnest in their work, as careful of the city finances, as honest in the discharge of their duty, as the Mayor or any other city officials. When, therefore, Mayor Baxter attempts to disparage the School Board and its management of the school funds; when he undertakes to charge extravagance and intimate that this board has resources enough to run two sets of schools, a scrutinizing people want some proof. Let him make his charges and specifications, or dry up and acknowledge the corn that his veto of the colored school tax was a threat at the entire city school system."

"Now, what was Mr. Jacob's course on this subject? With a promptness characteristic of the man, so soon as the proposition was presented to him, he saw its utility. He saw its bearing upon the regular schools,
and its salvation to the colored schools, as independent branches of the system. He saw the elevating tendency to the colored race, and in his quiet but firm and forcible manner, he commended it to the favorable consideration of the Council. +

"This question required the action of the Legislature and afterward the approval of the people, before becoming law. Mr. Baxter gave neither a chance to act on the proposition. Was he as considerate as to other amendments? He did not veto the proposition to make himself ineligible, nor to increase the pay of the City Attorney from $4,000 to $6,500 per annum. Oh! NO! These were questions of which the people were not competent to decide, but must be pushed through the Legislature as a whole and not be submitted to the people. But more anon."

Citizen

1811 COURT HOLD SEPARATE SALE OF MOTHER & 2-3 YR OLD CHILD
MORALLY WRONG

h t caterall, ed, judicial cases concerning slavery, i, 1926

p 287/ In Lawrence v. Speed, 2 Bibb 401, Fall 1811, A sheriff seized and sold 4 slaves. "... the sheriff sold Ruth, and David her son, between two and three years old, in on lot at the price of $400...." The defendant attempted to quash the sale,"'at least so far as respects Ruth and David, because they were sold together, whereas they ought to have been sold separately, and because the sale of both was not necessary to make the money then due on the execution.'" The court held: "'The mother and child were indeed physically divisible, but morally they were not so; and the Sheriff in selling them together certainly acted in conformity to the dictates of humanity,..."

/Boyle, C.J.
In Ely v. Thompson, 3 A.K.Marsh. 70, Dec 1820. "This is an action of trespass, assault, battery, and imprisonment, brought by a free person of color, against a justice of the peace and constable in their individual characters. The justice pleaded his office, and the fact, that the plaintiff had lifted his hand in opposition to a white man, who had proved the fact before him, and that he had issued his warrant to apprehend the plaintiff, who was accordingly brought before him, and that he gave sentence, that for the offence the plaintiff should receive thrity lashes on his bare back, according to an act of assembly...." The Judgment for the defendants reversed: (1) the reliance on had been repealed " as to all ... assaults ... committed by free persons of color," as contrary to the constitution; also "If a justice... should ... inflict the stripes against a free person of color, who lifted his hand to save himself... from death or severe bodily harm, all men must pronounce the punishment cruel indeed...." Also subjects a free person of color to punishment without a trial.

In the Courier-Journal of yesterday appeared the following singular card, to which was appended a dozen names, some of which we recognize as those of colored Republicans, whom we have been accustomed to look upon as intelligent men devoted to the success of Republican principles no less from conviction than from an enlightened self-interest: A CARD.

"We, as colored citizens of Louisville, desire to state some of the reasons that have impelled us to give our support to Dr. E. D. Standiford, as against Colonel Boone, his opponent for Congress in this district."

"First—we believe Dr. Standiford to be the more efficient and capable man of the two."

"Second—Because we believe Dr. Standiford to be the better friend to our race. Colonel Boone's army record is certainly not of a character to deserve that our support should be given him; while again Colonel Boone's support of the city charter, which we believe not favorable to our interests does not recommend him to any of our people, and he has publicly announced that he has in nowise changed any of his opinions on that point."

"Third—If there is salvation to our race in the election of either of those two gentlemen, we believe it to be in the election of Dr. Standiford."

Here we have three reasons given why the signers of this call prefer Dr. Standiford to Colonel Boone. As to the first reason we have nothing to say. Men can shut their eyes and ears and say they believe the moon is made of green cheese. The second reason given is a most remarkable one. Let us look into it a little and see if we can tell through what medium those who signed this call were looking that they could get such distorted
ideas about things. This second reason is that the signers of the card believe Dr. Standiford is a better friend of their race than Colonel Boone is, and as a reason for that belief they say that Colonel Boone's record as a soldier is not of a character to deserve their support, and that he supported the present city charter. If Colonel Boone's army record is not satisfactory to them, they are much harder to satisfy than General Thomas and General Sheridan, and other gallant commanders under whom he served. His army record was satisfactory to them. We give his record in another place in this paper, taken from the report of Adjutant General Lindsey, himself a gallant soldier and a true Republican. If it is not satisfactory, few men who fought for the Union can show one to justify those who signed this call. We are afraid that they were too much in a hurry to satisfy themselves for taking their singular position to look into Colonel Boone's record for themselves. They have preferred to take the statements of interested parties, and are ready to do injustice to a gallant soldier, in order to excuse themselves. It has been reported that Colonel Boone allowed John Morgan's men to massacre thirty colored men who were captured at Gallatin with him, and colored Standiford speakers are asserting this to their audiences. The story is utterly false, and has not even a decent show of truth to justify it. No thirty colored men were captured there, and not a colored man was massacred. The same Standiford men have asserted that Colonel Boone resigned on account of the emancipation proclamation. The Adjutant General's report gives the lie this. The emancipation proclamation was issued on the 1st of January, 1863, and Colonel Boone did not resign till June, 1864, more than a year and a half afterward. He had then re-enlisted for another three years, and only resigned because his health had given way, and his physicians told him he would not live two weeks if he didn't quit the army; and when he resigned he left a gallant son to take his place. His regiment re-enlisted more unanimously than almost any other in the service. They were entitled to an immediate furlough, but the army was about to attack the enemy, and Colonel Boone said that he would sooner die than leave his comrades at such a time, and the furlough was put off till later, and he and his regiment marched against the enemy. And such an army record as this is not satisfactory to the men who signed this call! Shame on those who pretending to be Union men and Republicans throw discredit on the services of a gallant soldier of his country to shield themselves.

"Colonel Boone's connection with the present charter is objectionable to these men because the city charter prescribes that all officers under it shall be white male citizens. The present city charter prescribes no other qualifications than those that were in the old charter, and in the constitution of the State. We suppose that this provision of the charter attracted very little attention, and was put in as a matter of course. Did Dr. Standiford object to it then, and does he object to it now? He was in the Legislature at the time, and he hindered the passage of the charter until an indignation meeting was held here, and then he withdrew his opposition, and let it pass at once. But he never opposed its passage because this provision was in it, but because it interfered with the schemes of some of his friends. If Dr. Standiford was opposed to this provision why didn't he have it stricken out? He has had many amendments passed
since then to please himself and friends without consulting the people of this city. If he was opposed to this provision why didn't he have an amendment passed striking it out? The signers of this card know that at the time this charter was passed nobody in this city would have proposed to make colored men eligible to city offices. They know that Dr. Standiford would not have done it. They know that Dr. Standiford is not in favor of it now and never was in favor of it. They know that if the proposition was to come up now, Dr. Standiford would be against it, and every white man in this District who is for him would be against it. What do they mean then by this hypocritical pretense of preferring Dr. Standiford to Colonel Boone, because more than three years ago Colonel Boone did not propose to change the law in their favor, when they knew that Dr. Standiford was opposed to it then and is opposed to it now and that every one of his white supporters is opposed to it? The hypocrisy of pretending to prefer Dr. Standiford to Colonel Boone on this account, is shown more strikingly when we remind the signers of the call of another thing. Dr. Standiford is in the Legislature and he has been there ever since this charter passed. He not only never proposed to amend it by striking out the feature they object to, but he did all he could to pass a bill—the most iniquitous that was ever proposed in our State—to disfranchise all the people of Lexington, to take away from them the right of electing their own officers, simply and solely because the colored people had a majority of the voters.

in that city and could elect any body they chose. And he not only voted for the Lexington bill but he voted for other bills to change the charters of towns in this State in order to cut off the colored people from their right, not to hold office but to vote. If we thought these would-be leaders of the colored people knew these things, we would cry shame on them. If they did not know then what right have they to be leaders? No Republican should ever vote for a legislator who voted for this iniquitous Lexington bill until he had publicly confessed his sins and shown his repentance by a long career of good works. +

"The third reason given in this card is the most singular of all. When did Dr. Standiford become the Moses of the colored people? What is he ready to do for their "salvation?" Is he in favor of so changing the city charter as to make them eligible to office, and does he dare to come out and say so? Can the colored people so clearly see that they cannot wisely trust Mr. Greeley because he is in the control of Dr. Standiford's party, and yet look to Dr. Standiford for "salvation?" Dr. Standiford was a rebel Democrat; Colonel Boone was a Union Democrat; Dr. Standiford was a stay at home rebel; Colonel Boone was for three years a gallant soldier of the Union; Dr. Standiford has been a member of the Legislature for a long time, he killed the negro testimony bill, and he only voted for it at last when it was certain to pass anyhow; he voted to deprive the people of Lexington of their rights as freemen because of the number of colored people there; and he voted for many other bills to prevent their voting in town elections. Colonel Boone was an Emancipationist in 1849; he presented resolutions in favor of emancipation in a meeting in Jefferson
county, and supported them by a strong speech, at a time when he lost popularity and business by it. He was in favor of negro testimony as every intelligent lawyer was. Dr. Standford is the regular candidate of the party which has opposed every measure that conferred rights upon the colored people and which the colored people rightly refuse to trust to-day. Colonel Boone is an independent citizens' candidate whom Republicans can vote for without helping to strengthen the party which opposes all their principles. And yet the signers of this call look to Dr. Standiford for "salvation!"

"We are sorry that they have acted so precipitately, and put themselves in a position which their honest judgment, and the honest judgment of the colored people will not on consideration approve. It will weaken their influence, which in the case of many of them has, we know, been heretofore exerted for the good of their people."

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SLAVE WITH A GENERAL TYPE PASS ARRESTED; HELD INVALID PASS

Jarrett v. Higbee, 5 T.B.Mon. 546, Oct 1827. Jarrett sought to get money back for loss of service & expenses to free slave from a Fayette Court. Slave Allen was apprehended by Higbee "... in the highway, in Fayette county, suspected to be a runaway, ...." The pass was examined and "The negro got in a rage at being called a runaway, and drew out of his boot another pass; ...." Slave taken to jail. The pass was from J. Jarrett of Livingston Co, Ky., said that Allen could "bargain and trade for himself... pass and repass from Livingston county... to ... Morgantown /Va/ and return home...." The judgment said the pass was too general being a "'violations by master and slave, of the policy, spirit and letter of the statute... permitting slaves to go at large and hire themselves,...""
"Know all men by these presents, I, J. Jarrett, of Livingston, and State of Kentucky, do agree that this black man Allen, do bargain and trade for himself until the first day of May next; and also, for to pass and repass from Livingston county, Kentucky, to the Monongalia county, State of Virginia, Morgantown, and then to return home to the same Livingston county, Kentucky, again, near the mouth of Cumberland river, Smithland. Given under my hand this 26th day of September, 1822... John Jarrett."

1st day

p. 308/ suspected the pass a forgery

free pass good until May 1, 1828

FREE BLACKS WHO ENTERED KY ARRESTED UNDER 1808 LAW; FREED (1833)

"Case of Doram and Ryan (freemen of color) v. Commonwealth, 1 Dana 331, May 1833. Doram & Ryan, free men of colore, were arrested for entering Ky in violation of the law of which required blacks entering Ky... to give a recognizance, binding them to depart from the state, and directing that if they should fail to do so, they should be sold for the term of one year." Court held the law of 1808 to the ... a temporary disfranchisement of a free man, as a punishment for violating a public and economical law of the state... the act of 1808 should be interpreted as dispensing with a jury; and therefore it, so far, conflicts with the supreme law of the land. The act cannot be constitutionally enforced without the intervention of a jury. A free man cannot be sold, even for an instant, unless a jury of his peers shall have passed condemnation upon him... the order, for selling or hiring Doram and Ryan, is set aside, and annulled."
SLAVE HIRED BY L & N RR TO CONNECT CARS IN LOU; INJURED; RR LIABLE

p 427/ Railroad Company vs Yandell, 17 B. Mon. 586, Dec 1856. In this case one Yandell hired Henry, his slave, to the L & N RR for $25 per month. "... the duty which was assigned him, was that of connecting the cars, one with another, and of connecting cars with the locomotive, and, also, of attending to the brake at the front end of the car nearest the engine. In November, 1855, a train of cars left Louisville for Shepherdsville, under the superintendence of the conductor, Henry being aboard.... When the locomotive approached the first wood car, the negro man, Henry, as was his duty and business, got down from the train, and whilst it was stationary, fastened the first wood car to the locomotive. Then took his stand upon the pilot block, which is a part of the cow-catcher, and remained there until the train started and came in collision with the second wood car. This collision was so severe as ... to cause Henry to fall from his position on the pilot block, whereby, his leg was crushed from the knee down to the foot. The injury was so severe as to render it necessary to amputate the fractured part of the limb, and to reduce, greatly, the value of the slave, if not to render him valueless." The court held the RR liable for the injury. The fact that the slave is a slave forces him to stand by his duty, in this case causing injury.

CASE INVOLVING THE AFRICAN METHODIST CHURCH IN LOU 1853

p 407/ "Harper v. Straws, 14 B. Mon. 48, June 1853. 'a contest between ... two portions of a divided congregation of African Methodists, in the city of Louisville, each claiming the church property... about the year 1845, the lot and meeting-house thereon, which had been erected by the Methodist Protestant Church, in Louisville, at the corner of 4th and Green streets, was sold /to Harper/ ... for the benefit of the African Society of Methodists, called "Asberry Chapel:" .../49/ and in 1847, a deed was executed conveying the property ... to David Straws and four others, among whom was Harper, "to be held ... in trust, for the use and benefit of the religious Methodist Society of the African race, now worshipping, or which may hereafter worship in said church, now called Asberry Chapel." In the meantime, the society... had worshipped at the house at the corner of 4th and Green streets,... with three hundred and forty-four members, under the superintendence of the Methodist Episcopal Church, south, under the charge of William Holeman, the stationed minister at 8th street church in Louisville; and the said Harper was their pastor of the African race... he was expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church, south, and his congregation supposing that his expulsion was occasioned by his unwillingness, that their church property should be given up to the Methodist Episcopal Church, south, according to the discipline of /p 408/ that church adhered to him, and continued for some time, to worship under his pastorship, without connection with any other organization. In a short time, however, he and they, at his instigation, were received into connection with a body called the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S., which had its principal organization in the free states. Under the authority of this church, Harper was removed from the society...
/p 408 cont'd/ worshipping at Asberry Chapel, in Louisville, and sent as a preacher to New Orleans, and H. S. Revel was appointed as pastor to the society in Louisville. After remaining some time in New Orleans, Harper returned to Louisville, and being expelled from the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S., for insubordination, induced a number of persons who were, or had been members of the society of Asberry Chapel, to unite with him in forming an independent Methodist Church, which was done in July 1851... /53/ if a trust for the use of a religious society of the African race be not lawful, of which there is no intimation, then this contest presents simply a question of property, that is, of pre-existing rights, and considerations of expediency or policy growing out of the institution of slavery, and the proper relations of whites and blacks in the community, can no more authorize the imposing of conditions or restrictions upon the right when determined, than they can properly influence the determination itself... Harper had acted with great impropriety towards the ministers and officers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, south, while that church claimed the superintendence of the original society... /54/ according to the weight of the testimony, so many of those who united with Harper in erecting the independent new church, had previously been expelled or withdrawn from the society, that a majority of the actual members at the time, remained with Revel. All the parties are now seeking a reunion with the Methodist Episcopal Church, south. /58/ 'the record contains pregnant proof that these people ought not to be left wholly to their own guidance in the management of their ecclesiastical affairs and relations;' +

"Held: /56/ 'the seceders /under Harper/ lost their identity with the society from which they seceded, and forfeited the rights dependent upon that identity.'"

AN ACCT OF THE HANGING OF A BLACK BY A MOB IN B G C 1890 5761

letter from John B. Rodes to Mary R. Rodes Helm, July 29, 1944, written from Bowling Green, in John B. Rodes, mss, ky lib, wku. (typescript)

Rodes says "... the mob is a beast and should always be so described. I have seen instances of it in my lifetime. When I was studying Law in Bowling Green, over half a century ago, an unforgivable crime was committed against a Miss Anderson, who lived at the outskirts of Bowling Green, at the foot of the cedar knob on the Nashville Road. The place is now where Prof. Leiper lived (now Mrs. Mary Moore). Great excitement prevailed. A negro, Bob Harper, was arrested. An examining trial was begun at the Court House and Mr. James C. Sims (who subsequently became my law partner) was prosecuting, representing the Commonwealth. A mob marched in with guns and took the prisoner from before the Judge and carried him out to the old Fairgrounds, where Laurel Avenue now is, and there hung /sic/ him. I saw it all. It made me sick. There were many members of the local militia company in the group, with guns taken from the armory. It was led by a prominent man, Crit Alexander, who was a leader in the Christian Church (Campbellite) in Bowling Green. I saw them drag the poor fellow along and at the Fairgrounds he was placed in a wagon and a noose put around his neck. I saw the man who tied the noose. The wagon was driven from beneath Harper, whom I saw dangling and kicking. Then, I turned away with loathing. Nothing was ever done about it. No indictment was ever returned, although the mob was unmasked. Mr. Sims was outspoken in his criticism, although he was the prosecuting attorney. He laid some blame on Dr. McCormack as encouraging the mob. Your cousin, Col. Will Hobson (the father of Julia and Margaret and Jim) published a pamphlet to show that Harper was innocent, but Harper was under ground and the people lost interest."
Minutes of the Trustees for the City of Bowling Green, typescript, June 7, 1825, Vol I, March 13, 1823-Dec 7, 1839

p 17/

"A large majority of the citizens of Bowling Green having petitioned the Legislature to authorise the Trustees of said town to form a town watch or patrol whenever the Trustees of said town might deem it necessary, in pursuance of which petition a law has been enacted authorising the same, and whereas experience has shown the benefits of such a watch and recent occurrences have proved the necessity thereof. Therefore be it ordained by the Trustees for the town of Bowling Green, that the free male white citizen in said town between the ages of eighteen and fifty years old shall constitute a patrol for said town, which shall be organized in the following manner to wit there shall be twenty six watches which shall be numbered from one to twenty six inclusive. Each watch shall consist of one Captain one Lieutenant and as many privates as the Trustees may from time to time allot to each Captains command.

"It shall be the duty of each Captain of a watch to call out the Lieutenant and men assigned and allotted to his watch at least one night in every week and not oftener than three nights in any one week for the purpose of patrolling the streets of said Town."

"It shall be the duty of each Captain with his watch to visit all places in said town where he may suspect any collection of slaves to be assembled after Ten o'clock at night, and in visiting such places or in patrolling the streets if the Capt. of the watch shall find any slave off her or their masters or mistresses premises after Ten o'clock at night, without a pass or without being able to give a good and satisfactory excuse it shall be the duty of such Captain to cause any number of lashes not exceeding ten to be given to said slave on his or her bare back, or to imprison and confine said slave until the sun is one hour high the next morning."

p 18 cont'd/
ms letter from Elizabeth C. Underwood to Husband /Joseph Rogers Underwood/ dated Dec 1, 1849, Bowling Green, in Underwood Collection, MSS 58, Series I, Box 1, folder 7.

Elizabeth C. Underwood informed her husband by letter that:

"I have concluded not to hire Mr. Ogden's Ben. $100 for his master, $25 for himself & clothing besides, is very high. It will be much cheaper for us to hire a smaller hand for the dining room & get one by the day, in the busy gardening season. My whole object is to save you expense, as far as possible. I would rather do with some inconvenience to myself. That woman who lived with Mrs. Field as Cook, I have declined hiring, as on a conversation with Mrs. F. I find she will not suit. She is a good cook, but wasteful & extravagant, high-tempered & encumbered with a crippled child which takes up a good deal of her time, & is a great nuisance, & they have to pay $45 for her & clothe both Mother & child. I expect I will get Harley Smith's woman, who has no incumbrance, except a clever man for a husband, whom we can hire occasionally in the garden."

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PRICES OF SLAVES, SERVANTS IN BOWLING GREEN AREA 1850

"The valuation I put upon all the servants was very low. John's boy could be sold for $600, as young girls go at that price. My nurse Harriet would bring that sum, her minstress having been offered it. The McCormicks have had a division of their property & a little boy of 5 years was sold for $375. +

"I have been very fortunate in securing the woman & her child set free by old Mr. White. She is neat & of a good disposition. She agreed to come to me for $50 & clothing for both herself & daughter & a blanket for herself. This is very reasonable & since the rates of yesterday's hire were known, she thinks she has not bargained for enough. Unincumbered women like herself, bring this year from $50 to $60, & much more at the Taverns. Miss McCormick to whom Harriet now belongs, has doubled the price upon me & I pay $24 for the girl this year, besides clothing. She could get $30 but the girl is so anxious to remain with me. I have also hired of Peyton Cooke a very likely half grown man servant for $50 & clothing, making the sum of $124 for 4 servants, this & side of the River. This is the very lowest outlay of money for the purpose. I thought it better to hire an active well grown lad to cut wood, work in the garden, catch a horse, etc, etc, for $50 than to pay double the price for a man. And besides old Brutus promises great things this year. He & the boy ought certainly to raise us plenty of vegetables & keep our stock. The boy James has been used to both waiting in the house & working out of doors, & in event of company, he will be an acquisition as waiter on the table."
ms letter from E.C.C /Elizabeth C. Underwood/ to Husband /Joseph Roger Underwood/ dated Jan 2, 1850, Bowling Green, in Underwood Collection, MSS 58, Series I, Box 1, folder 7

Amelia's daughter Catharine will serve me commonly in that capacity. She is a smiling, willing servant.

"Thomas has hired again the boy Wash for $50 & expects to get a man for $90. You have authorized him to go as high as $125 and the remaining $15 he will pay out of his own purse. Nothing lower can be arranged."

WHITE COMMENTS ON PROGRESS OF BLACKS; NEED FOR SCHOOLS 1873

Daily Louisville Commercial, jan 30, 1873, p 2; letter to the editor from J.M.Jones, Com. School Com. for Green County, dated Jan 27, 1873, Greensburg, Ky.

"How the Children of Our Colored Citizens can be Educated Without Taxing the Property of the White Citizen--No Mixed School Required." The letter says "The education of our children is a debt due by the present for the future,..." "Since their emancipation from slavery and their participation in civil and political rights, they have manifested a most commendable zeal to enlighten and inform themselves as to the duties to be performed by them. Poor and unaided, often retarded and obstructed in their efforts, they have, nevertheless, succeeded in establishing for themselves in almost every county in the State, schools, supported by them alone. They exhibit a will and determination to make themselves and their children good citizens, useful, intelligent, and moral, and trying to contribute to the general welfare and prosperity of the State." The writer suggests that Ky establish a system of education for blacks, based on taxes paid by black citizens. Further, he states that Ky should take advantage of the funds the Federal government will provide in the National Education Act. (He says that would be $50,000 per yr).

"Judging from the progress made in the past five years by the colored people in this State in accumulating and acquiring property, it would be safe to estimate that in a couple of generations under salutary, wise and liberal laws, their quickening intelligence, stimulated industry, and well known tendency to possess homes, would enable them to support a well regulated system of common schools for themselves by a tax upon the property which they would and could acquire, and thereby largely contribute to the social, moral and material welfare of the commonwealth by their steady and constant exertions in the cause of mechanic and agriculturists.
Daily Louisville Commercial, Feb 20, 1873, editorial on p 1

Says only 6 or 8 counties represented.

"The temper of the convention was unfortunate, and we are satisfied that its action will work evil rather than good for the colored people of Kentucky. The preamble and resolutions are in bad taste, and do not, we are satisfied, reflect the wishes and opinions of the colored people of the State generally. The convention has demanded what the delegates ought to have had sense enough to know would not be granted, and what the great body of the colored people do not ask--do not desire.+

"We over-estimated the good sense of our leading colored men if they do not, without delay, take steps to set their people right upon the subjects acted upon by the convention.+

"The convention was both a failure and a blunder, and it would have been far better for the colored people if it had never been held; and such, we are satisfied, will be the judgment of most of the delegates themselves when they shall see its effect upon the public mind."

Daily Louisville Commercial, March 27, 1873, p 2 editorial comment

"The Courier-Journal is very much disturbed about the late legislative election in the Fourth and Fifth Wards, and is especially annoyed about Mr. Drake, the colored candidate." The C-J called it a contest "between Needham and Sacksteder, 'a negro by the name of Drake being thrown in as a make weight.'" Daily Commercial says CJ no longer has the influence in Lou. it thinks it has. "There was something of a race between Needham and Drake, and Needham came out about a neck ahead,..." but Sacksteder did poorly, in the election. The CJ also pointed out accurately, the Lou Commercial said, that the white republicans did not help Drake by voting for him in this election. The Lou Comm says of Drake:

"The trouble in Drake's case was two-fold. In the first place, he was making the race of his own volition, and nobody, white or black, felt called on to vote for him on party grounds. In the second place, the voters, white and black, generally felt that he did not possess the necessary qualifications of education and information to make a proper representative for a great city. We know Mr. Drake as an honest, well-meaning man, of good, sound sense, and a better political speaker than the average. That he wasn't equal with Sacksteder and Needham in the matter of education was not his fault, but the fault of the Courier-Journal's party. If he had been as well qualified as they, he might still not have been elected, but he would certainly have beaten the Courier-Journal's candidate." The CJ was only trying to divide the black vote. Said CJ should work for equal education, accomodation in travel & hotels, etc rather than the division of blacks.
Rev. Willis W. Taylor, of the Colored Bap Ch of Lou, acquitted of rape. Paper says charges were false, the work of a family named Thomas who had been expelled from Taylor's church. The article goes on to say:

"No man has done more than Willis W. Taylor for his race in Louisville, and for the cause of Christianity among them. He has built a church in the city that is nearly out of debt, and is an honor to the cause."

6th annual concert of First Colored Baptist Church, at Weisiger Hall. "The entertainment was of a rare and rich character, and those who took part in the performance evinced a love for music, and an ability of execution far beyond the general average;..." Fine solo by Mrs. Waters.
"Salaries of Colored Teachers.+

"The small salaries paid to the teachers in the colored schools in this city effectually prevents the employment of capable men and women, and is a subject that demands the prompt consideration of the Board of School Trustees. It is a notorious fact that the applicants for the places are in almost every instance unfit to perform the duties of the positions they seek. This will continue to be so, and the colored schools will remain as unsatisfactory as at present as long as the present rate of salaries are paid. We urge upon the members of the School Board the necessity of a prompt and liberal investigation of this matter."

"The Colored Church Fracas.+

"The York street Colored Church fracas was thoroughly investigated in the City Court yesterday morning. A large number of witnesses were examined and a great deal of conflicting testimony given, but as there was no evidence against Kennedy and Joe Ford, they were discharged. Montgomery was fined $20, R. Hathaway placed under bond of $500 for one year, and Hannah Harris, who threatened to annihilate one of the officers who arrested her, fined $15, which was promptly paid."
NEED FOR HOUSE OF REFUGE FOR BLACK LADS (Aug 1873)

The Louisville Commercial, Aug 19, 1873, p 5

"A house of Refuge for colored boys is greatly needed in this city." Several suggestions have been made, but nothing done. When black lads get into trouble, there is no place to send them. Says blacks pay taxes & should be served as whites.

1873 COLORED AGRI & MECH FAIR IN LOU

The Louisville Commercial, Sept 17, 1873, p 5

"Fair of the Colored Agricultural Association.+
 "First Day--Premiums Awarded.+
 "Yesterday the Second Annual Fair of the Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association of Louisville opened under favorable auspices, especially so far as numbers are concerned. There were about six hundred persons on the grounds.+
 "The managers this year are, J. Meriwether, President; Marshall Woodson, Vice-President; the National Savings Bank, Treasurer, and Clarence M. Miller, Secretary. +
 "The Board of Directors are William Spalding, Thomas Rudd, A. Crooms, Peter Butler, Silas Ford, N. Thompson and J. H. Taylor." There are "liberal cash premiums" for exhibitions of stock etc. Cattle look good. Listed several prizes: best 3 to 4 yr old stallion, 1st to Edward Fields of Louisville, and second to Henry Terrell. best stallion 2 to 3: 1st to Louis Bull; 2d to Henry Terrell. Best brood mare 3 to 4 yrs old: 1st to Frank King; 2d to Louis Bull. Best suckling mule any age or sex: 1st name not given; 2d Alex White.
The Louisville Commercial, Sept 19, 1873, p 5
Says the attendance on Sept 18 picked up to 1000, announced winners.

The Louisville Commercial, Sept 20, 1873, p 5
Says attendance on Sept 19 about 2,000; announced winners.

The Louisville Commercial, Nov 16, 1873, p 4

"The Colored Schools.+
"Examination of Teachers, &c.+
"The examination of teachers for the Colored Central School and other schools for the colored race was had yesterday at the committee room, corner of Center and Walnut streets. It was a very satisfactory one, especially so for as on applicant was concerned. Her name is Miss E. la Bass, from Xenia, Ohio. She came very highly recommended, and answered the questions put to her with promptness, showing a full knowledge of the department she is to take charge of. She was assigned to the Western School, and will commence her duties to-morrow. There are several other teachers needed in these schools, and female teachers are preferred to male. They seem to do better service, understand fully the wants of children, take an interest in all their foibles; and, taking everything into consideration, are the persons that should fill positions as instructors of the children in these schools. The committee have had several applications, but are careful to select only those who come with good recommendations and are thoroughly qualified for teachers."
"The First Arrest by Colored Policemen in Kentucky.+

"Just after the murder of the colored man, near the Fair Grounds, a few weeks ago, which followed close on the heels of numerous petty depredations, the people living in that locality held a meeting at the Fair Grounds to devise means of protecting themselves and their property, and appointed several men to act as patrolmen, including two colored men named Smith and Halton. The appointments were confirmed by Judge Hoke of the County Court, and the men given the power and authority of police.+ "Since their appointments were confirmed there have not been any depredations committed in the county. The rascals who had made frequent raids on the farm-houses knew what was best for them and kept out of the way. For several days past a suspicious-looking man has been loitering around the Fair Grounds, and when questioned by the officers could not give any satisfactory explanation, but was very indignant at being questioned by colored men, and used the most insulting, blasphemous language toward them. Yesterday he was seen in the vicinity of the Fair Grounds again, when Officers Smith and Halton arrested him, and bringing him to the city locked him up in jail as a suspected felon. This is the first arrest ever made by colored policemen in Kentucky. This man gave his name as Jake Warner. He will have an examination to-day."

AUDITOR'S REPORT ON BLACK, WHITE VOTERS IN KY 1873

"In response to a demand of the General Assembly, the Auditor reports the number of voters in the State, as returned to his office, at 288,216, of whom 241,191 are white and 47,125 are colored."
"Another Democratic Act to Deprive Colored Men of Their Votes.+

"The House of Representatives passed on yesterday another one of those local acts to deprive colored voters of their suffrages which have become so numerous on the statute-books of Kentucky. This time it is made to apply to Harrodsburg, and the title of it is 'An act to change the charter of Harrodsburg.' It makes payment of taxes a prerequisite for voting. Such acts are never passed in the Kentucky Legislature to apply to any towns except those in which the Republicans have a majority. We do not suppose that there is a Democrat in the Legislature, or a Democratic journal in the State, which will have the brazenness to pretend that the act was made for any other purpose. The fact that colored voters are not mentioned as such, and that the act on its face applies to voters without distinction of color, is the flimsy cover under which the Democratic majority make a pretense of hiding their real purpose. The experience of Lexington shows how effectually this disfranchising provision can be used to put power into the hands of the minority, and the fact that no such act has ever been passed, to apply to a town in which there was a Democratic majority, shows very clearly the motive." The paper asks why such a law has not been passed for Louisville, a Democratic town, if it is not designed to disfranchise blacks?--

"House of Refuge for Colored Children +

"Messrs. Thomas P. Jacob, T. C. Tucker, and Andrew Graham, committee on the House of Refuge building, met on Friday evening to make arrangements for the building of a House of Refuge for colored children. A piece of ground near the House of Refuge was selected as a site, and the cost of the building estimated at $30,000. The matter will be placed before the City Council at the next meeting. This is a subject of much importance, and one that should receive prompt attention at the hands of the Council."
"The branch in our own city, at the corner of Third and Walnut streets, from the day it went into operation to the present time, has proven a most complete success. The director are men of sound judgment and practical commercial habits. We learn from the cashier, Mr. Horace Morris, that their books show 2,875 individual depositors; and, so far as we can learn, the bank has been the means of schooling hundreds of the colored people in the habit of saving their odd change; and now, not only men and women, but many boys and girls have small amounts on deposit." Says some "... of our most influential white citizens are also its patrons." Says that recent unemployment has caused some to withdraw their money, causing some strain on the bank, but that that has eased.
your committee are of opinion, that it would have been courteous on the part of the coloured Church to have consulted with said committee, relative to the appointment of Trustees to hold property for the benefit of said Church yet your committee think that said coloured Church pursuant to right vested in her by a regular constitution, were, and would have been justifiable in making her own election of Trustees; without the concurrence of the views of said committee. Since however a difference of views to some extent, has occurred relative to this matter, in order to prevent the recurrence of a similar difference of views hereafter, and to adjust and settle whatever of difficulty, in relation hereunto, may have existed, your committee would respectfully recommend either a continuation of the aforesaid committee, as a committee, and the creation of another committee, to be styled a standing committee, for the protection of the coloured Church in the exercise of her legal functions.

16th March 1844

G. Gates
H. Wilkins
I.H. Bagby

On motion: that part of the above report, which recommends the discharge of the present committee; and the appointment of a new committee for the protection of the coloured Church in the exercise of her legal functions; was adopted; and Brothers Gates, Green and Birdsell; were appointed said committee.

The committee to consider the propriety of continuing the committee on the African Church reported as follows.

Your committee believe that a standing committee as a medium of connexion between this Church, and the African Church, such a one as contemplated by this Church at the time the African Church was organised, should exist. But after hearing the opinion of the standing committee; and Brother Adams of the African Church there appears to be some difference of opinion as to what that committee was appointed for. Brother Adams says the committee were for the purpose of consulting with, whenever they of the African Church think necessary; and the standing committee think if they are not to be consulted on all important business relative to the Church they do not see the necessity of a committee at all. Therefore your committee would recommend that a committee from this Church to meet with a committee from the African Church to come to some understanding what the duties of the standing committee are, and further your committee are of the opinion; if the object and designs of the Church in appointing said standing committee cannot be accomplished it would be better for this Church to discharge said committee; and dissolve all apparent connection with said Church

Samuel Clark
E B Newkirk
Jonathan Storms
C S Hampton
Cideou Shryock

The above report was recieved; and Brother Bagby, Wilkins and Cates, were appointed to meet with a committee from the African Church as recommended in the report.
The colored citizens of Bowling Green held a large and enthusiastic meeting on Friday evening, the 13th ultimo, at the Baptist Church, to express their indignation at the dismissal of the indictment pending against Judge Hallrell for refusing to admit negro testimony in his court. The meeting was called to order, and Virgil Loving was elected chairman who briefly stated the object of the meeting in a few spicy remarks, and suggested the appointment of a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. The power being granted the chairman to appoint a committee, Dr. R.A. Green, George Winlock and Geo. W. Brown were selected. The committee retired, and after due deliberation returned, presenting the following preamble and resolutions as the result of their action.

Whereas, The Government of the United States is founded on the broad principles of equity and justice, and built up in the belief "that all men are created free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and

Whereas, A class of individuals did so misconstrue the Constitution and laws of the country as to doom a large mass of native-born Americans to slavery, and barred the doors of justice against all the descendants of those unfortunate people until the ravages of a terrible civil war, which threatened destruction to the nation, resulted in their emancipation and enfranchisement; and,

Whereas, The Constitution of the United States has been so amended as to give equal protection and security to all American citizens regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and declaring that none shall be debarred of any privileges under her Constitution except as punishment for crime; and,

Whereas, The recent amendments to the Constitution has been repeatedly violated and set at naught by the judicial authorities of the State of Kentucky, and the arm of justice has been rendered powerless in securing the citizens of this Commonwealth in their lives and property by the courts refusing to admit the testimony of witnesses on account of their color, and,

Whereas, In the case of the United States vs. Judge Halsell for violating the above amendment to the Constitution, certain individuals did so interest themselves as to secure the quashing of the indictment, thereby thwarting justice of her demands, and leaving the mass of the colored population of this State to the mercy of bands of desperadoes, and no redress of grievances can be had in any of her so called halls of justice; therefore,

Be it resolved, That we, the colored citizens of Bowling Green, in mass meeting assembled, denounce all parties interested in securing the dismissal of the above mentioned case as enemies to the principles of the Republican party, and unworthy of being recognized as members of the same.

Resolved, That we recognize in the U.S. Attorney, Col. Wharton, a man who will tamper with the liberties of law-abiding citizens, and refuse to prosecute the laws of the country against criminals of high standing, for fear of creating the displeasure of the wealthy, and that his conduct in other cases, where wealth was arrayed against poverty, has shown
leniency towards the rich and his neglectfulness of the claims of the poor, and that we araign him for neglecting to protect inviolate the amendments to the Constitution, the whims of Kentucky to the contrary notwithstanding.†

"Resolved, That the statement made through the columns of The Louisville Commercial, that the dismissal of the charges would meet the approbation of the citizens of his community, regardless of party, is unauthorized by the Republicans of this district, and censured as false in every particular.‡

"Remarks were made by Dr. Green, Mr. Underwood and others, and the resolutions were adopted unanimously.†

"On motion the meeting adjourned.†

"Virgil Loving, Chairman."

Editors Louisville Commercial:‡

"In two former articles I have endeavored to give a faint history of some of Mr. Baxter's "public acts, which are public property," in connection with his veto of the action of the Council in reference to the colored public schools. In this I propose to compare his "public acts" on this subject with some of his "public acts" on others.†

"In Mr. Baxter's veto of the proposition to foster and protect the public colored schools, he took the ground that the city could not afford to spare the money from general purposes. It was estimated that the tax paid by colored property holders would amount to about $12,000 per annum. This was an immense sum to be withdrawn from the general fund. The city could not stand so heavy a drain. It would bankrupt the city treasury. It was really outrageous to ask such a thing. The School Board made ninny's of themselves by asking so preposterous a measure, and the Council was no better in indorsing its action. The people, the School Board, the General Council, know nothing of these matters, and though the two latter bodies have acted unanimously, I have it in my power, quoth the Mayor, to keep it from the people. They will be as foolish as their representative bodies. How was it about the other charter amendment proposed?†

"Fifty thousand dollars had been appropriated by the Council for the relief of the Chicago sufferers, and had not been paid, because never needed, and yet through the influence of the Mayor, authority was granted by the Legislature to issue bonds for that amount. As yet the public is not aware of the fact, if any such existed, that this money was ever paid,
or if there was really any necessity for its payment. Let us have some information on the subject, Mr. Mayo! If paid, to whom, and when? Fifty thousand is not much—only four times as much as was asked for the schools in one year, and a little less than was asked for the whole term of five years.

Then again about the increase of salary to the City Attorney. He was being paid $4,000 per annum, which was regarded as pretty fair compensation. It is very certain various and sundry other lawyers could have been persuaded to take the position at the same salary—lawyers in any sense equal to the present incumbent, and yet saying nothing in disparagement of his ability, his integrity and his peculiar fitness for the office. The Mayor's economical fit had subsided by this time. Twenty five hundred dollars per annum to one man, in addition to an already fixed and ample salary, was not much. The general fund could stand this when it inured to the benefit of one individual, but it could not stand it when it was to go to a parcel of niggers! The one man is a great lawyer and such talent and such services should be remunerated liberally, but the niggers have no use for an education. They are only fit for "hewers of wood and drawers of water." "A little learning is a dangerous thing." Indeed, we might go on almost ad infinitum with fair, logical deductions from a comparison of these two acts of the Mayor. No veto was interposed to stop this measure; but on the contrary a corps of lobbyists was kept at Frankfort, supplied constantly with creature comforts, to give cheer and comfort to the hungered and thirsty representatives. It so happened, too, that all cases before the Court of Appeals in which the city was a party were fixed to meet the time when the questions for amending the city charter were pending, and the very valuable services of the City Attorney was absolutely necessary for weeks to watch these important cases. Besides interested parties from this city, lobbyists, not residents here, were kept under pay. Rumor has it, that only a very short time since, within a few weeks, perhaps a few days, for rumor is indefinite as to dates, a gentleman of some distinction, and supposed to be a man of considerable weight and influence, was paid a fee of one thousand dollars, possibly more, for his services in getting these charter amendments through the Legislature. Were these expenses paid by the city? If so, from what fund? If on the contrary these immense sums were not paid by the city, but were paid by individuals, it shows conclusively that such individuals were very deeply interested, and the natural conclusion is that such interested parties expected to get their money back. If this be the case, who are these interested parties? The same interest which prompted these ruling spirits thus to work and bleed made them fear a trial before the people. Deeds which require so much plotting, so much work, so much money, about matters of this kind will not stand the scrutiny of a people zealous of their rights. Deeds which lead to the overthrow or uprooting of a fixed organic law—a law which had been approved by the people, and by their consent was only to be amended—could only be perpetrated through secret conclaves, and by such persuasions as oysters and liquor, with their attendant demoralizing influences. That Mr. Baxter was at the head of these movements, it is to be presumed, is apparent; but where was he to get pay for his trouble, and work and taxation? Under the charter he was not eligible for a second term. This could be remedied by repealing that clause of the charter. It was presumed that with all his positions—Mayor, member of Sinking Fund, Commissioner,
of the police and Fire Department, one of the Charity commissioners, with a score of contractors at his beck and call, no one would have the hardihood or audacity to oppose his re-election, and thus he would have another term of two years.+

While this is a surmise as to the motives of the workers and the effect and operations of these maneuvers for amending the city charter in so many particulars, it is now asserted that the Mayor has in several instances lately turned off policemen who are not in his interest— that very many now on duty are busy electioneering for him—that the police commissioners have not been consulted as to such removals. It cannot be that the Chief of Police is a tool of Mr. Baxter to secure his re-election.+

"Captain Jenkins is too thoroughly drilled, not only in military government, but all those characteristics of a high toned gentlemen, to allow such things to be done, if a taint of suspicion would thereby hang upon his fair name and fame. The police department of this city is too important an element of its good order, its prosperity, and its welfare in every respect, to permit it to be used to the aggrandizement, pecuniarily or politically, of any man or set of men. The chief, therefore, owes it to himself, as well as the public, to show to this community the reasons for his course in dismissing men from the force who are not in favor of Mr. Baxter's re-election, and all that is necessary for his vindication is an indorsement by the commissioners as a body of his action, if done by him, and if not him, on whose authority it was done. +

"As there was no spare blood in the turnip for the benefit of the colored schools, and it seems there was for other purposes, we will endeavor to follow up this question, and endeavor to find its source."

LOU MAYOR HAS NO MONEY FOR BLACK SCHOOLS 1872

Daily Louisville Commercial, Oct 24, 1872, p 2

LOU MAYOR HAS NO MONEY FOR BLACK SCHOOLS 1872

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Daily Louisville Commercial, Oct 24, 1872, p 2
The amount due for servant's hire is $299, viz: 90 for Joe, 50 for Wash, 40 for old Phoebe, 55 for Meely & daughter, 50 for Jim & 14 for Harriet. However I will make the amount you send, answer in this manner. Mr. Dunawan hold the note due for Wash's hire, amount to $50. The $38 held by him on account for taxes, which you wrote about some little time since, he has credited on this note, which amount deducted from the whole sum due for hire leaves $261, making the check you send me serve within one dollar, which I can furnish.
"Servants are hiring this year at the most unheard of prices. It looks more like buying them. Cooks without children & possessing a good character, have gone at $85 & clothes, & none such as described, below $60. Young house girls of 16 years of age bring $50 & 55. The boy Wash we had on the Farm last year & all of his age (about 17 years) have been hired at $75. I offered his master $60 for him this year, but he will not take a cent less than 75, & he retained him at home to drive a wagon. The boy James we had last year, gets $100 now in Louisville. Grown Farm hands hire readily at $125, & those who have a trade at $250 & upwards.

"I have made a dozen different applications for a girl, but will not give such extortionate prices. I had a little girl sent tome a day or two since, about Johnny's size with the price of $40, & I would not take her." In each of the prices above mentioned clothing would also be provided. Repeats has Rozetta for $40. She says Meely, last year's cook, could easily hire herself out for $100 or more. She says: "... and while the yearly charge is so much increased, the price of daily labor continues the same, 25cts for a woman. I have no dining room servant yet & must have some one for that, if I do without a nurse. I have sent this evening to offer Mrs. Hiram Smith $30 for the little girl for whom she asked $40, & have not heard yet in reply." Says Meely is making a mistake hiring by the day.

"I wrote you of having secured a good cook at $40. In addition, I have hired a steady boy of fourteen to cut wood, help at the stables, &c, for $50, which I think is far better than paying $60 for one two or three years older. The boy (James) belongs also to Mr. L. Barclay. I have secured an excellent, steady girl of the same age from Mr. Hiram Smith for $30, who will act as dining room servant. And finally, a sprightly little girl of ten years belonging to Mrs. Volney Graham, for $6, who is Edith's nurse. They all entered on their duties this morning, & to my great delight Edith went immediately to her merry faced nurse, & has not troubled me all day, which is the first respite I have had for three weeks." Eliz Underwood ended up spending on $2.00 more on servants than the year before.
On Aug 17, 1864, W. S. Underwood, at age 56, engaged in his diary in a "brief retrospect of my past life,..." Says he went on a trip with Mr. Charles Skiles in 1833 (he thinks) to visit Mississippi. "I hoped on starting to have found some pleasant place to settle at in Miss to practice my profession and to place my negroes where they could be rendered profitable in cultivating cotton--for they were entirely unprofitable in Kentucky and I may as well here, as elsewhere record the fact--that mine have never been a source of profit to me--That it has more than taken all that the profitable ones could produce to support the old, the young & the unproductive--so that I have supported my negroes and not they, me."

Reflecting on life, at age 56, Underwood wrote on Aug 17, 1864: He was raised by his grandmother who had 70 slaves. "The older of these were my friends--affectionate & true--The younger were my playmates & companions in whom I remember no dissimulation or guile. Blessed childhood, whose innocence sees no faults and whose love detects no enmity." Tells of a whipping given him by his grandfather, which he says he did not deserve. "It became doubtless necessary in the necessary discipline of a large number of negroes, frequently to use the rod, especially among the younger I remember no case however where it was used with cruelty. Yet, to use it at all, seemed then cruelty to me, who did not know the cause why it was used--and who doubtless lent a more sympathetic ear to the story of my (as I thought injured) companions than to the sterner & less intelligible reasons of those who who /sic/ had whipped them. Such however was the pain & influence then produced on my mind & emotions by these incidents that I formed a strong antipathy to slavery and the earliest original composition that I remember to have written, was a brief expression of my aversion to it, and of my determination if I lived to be a man, not to own slaves." He says he is still perplexed by slavery. "... the influence of the social state in which I have lived, and a consideration of the perplexing political & humanitarian relations of the subject, have modified--not my ideas of the inherent wrong of slavery, as an abstract proposition--but of the proper & necessary course to be pursued in regard to it, as an existing evil."
S. M. Starling to "Dear Daughters" / Mary & Anna/ mss, June 19, 1864, from Bowling Green, in Lewis-Starling Collection, MSS 38, Box 8, folder 2, ky lib, wku

"The people here are terribly exercised about the negro recruiting station which is fixed at this place. It is publicly done, 140 have been sent to Louisville, and they are sent off in squads every day--They talk fiercely about counter revolutions but they will be very clear of doing an overt act."

Legal Indenture of Rhoda, a Mulatto girl, age 13, Aug 30, 1827, by Thomas Helm, mss, ky lib, wku. (Thos Helm was clerk of Ct, Lincoln Co) to E. B. Taylor.

Rhoda is a free girl, age 13, indentured 1827 until 18 to Edmond B. Taylor who will "teach the said Rhoda (or use his utmost endeavors so to do) the art trade and mystery of a Spinster & Weaver and the said Taylor further covenants with the said Thomas Helm Clerk and the said Rhoda - that he will at all times furnish the said Rhoda with good wholesome diet cleanly lodging and suitable for an apprenticeship ...."
CASE OF HENRIETTA BELL VS JAMES CUMMINS; 1829: CLAIMS ILLEGAL IMPRISONMENT

MSS Brief from Jefferson Circuit Court, Louisville, June 16, 1829, Small Collection 126, Ky Lib, WKU

Henrietta Bell, a free woman of color, complained that James Cummins held her as a slave involuntarily.

RECRUITING OF BLACK TROOPS IN GREENSBURG FEB 1865


"I want Colored Recruits and must have 75 or 80 by the first of March 1865 or they will be Drafted and made go into the United States Service. +

"I will give $300 dollars Bounty for three years $200 dollars for two years & One hundred dollars for one year. +

"No Bounty for Drafted Men  You will will /sic/ have to go
Come now and at once to my Office in Greensburg." E.M.Angel, Dept Prov Marshal 4th Cong Dist Ky
ACCT OF KY MULATTO; ESCAPE TO OHIO; JOIN FED ARMY 1861; DIED NASHVILLE OCT 1862

letter from M.A. Harris, Pres Negro Hist Associates in NYC to Riley Handy, Jan 2, 1873, in M. A. Harris Small Collection, ky lib, wku

Pvt. James Stone, civil war soldier. Harris found in an old newspaper, but did not send a copy of the article. "... escaped from slavery in Ky. He reached Ohio and settled down as a white man because of his fair complexion. He married a white woman, reared a family and was doing well until the Civil War broke out and he enlisted as a Union soldier on 23 Aug. 1861 as shown by the enclosure. According to the news item, he was wounded in Ky. and died of his wounds. I sent for his record of which the enclosure is one piece. ... /National Archives records / ... show his oldest of five children was born in 1853 which was during the slavery period. The date of his enlistment pre-dates official enrollment of colored soldiers by almost two years."

Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D.C., July 6th, 1868, Record of Pension Application of Mrs. Emily Stone, of Oberlin, Ohio, in M. A. Harris Small Collection, ky lib, wku

Shows: James A. Stone enrolled Aug 23, 1861, in Oberlin, in 1st Regt of Lt. Artillery Ohio Volunteers, mustered in as a private, 7th Oct 1861 at Camp Dennison in 1st Regt Lt Artillery Ohio Volunteers, for 3 yr term. On the muster roll of Company E of that Regt for the months of Sept & Oct 1862, "... he is reported Died in General Hospital at Nashville Tenn Oct 30 1862."

CUMBERLAND PRESBY SCHOOL FOR BLACKS IN BOWLING GREEN 1876

Copy, notes compiled by Milton L. Baughn for book, A People Called Cumberland Presbyterians, in Milton L. Baughn Small Collection 644, ky lib, wku

Taken from Report of Comm. on Ed. The black ministers of the "Colored" church asked for aid in establishing a school at BG; the committee recommended aid to the school.

The 1878 Minutes indicate a collection taken in behalf of young blacks preparing for ministry in Colored Cumb. Presby Ch.
ms letter from Jesse Kennedy to "My dear friend & brother"/George Waugh/ dated Sept 3, 1837, Bourbon County, Ky., in Jesse Kennedy Small Collection, ky lib, wku

"Soon after the death of my beloved wife,..." others got sick. "... two of my negroes died in a few weeks after my wife. One a boy between 15 & 16 years old the other a girl between 6 and 7." "My Servants also are obedient, faithful & well disposed; I have a woman (Nancy) of whose value I had but a very inadequate conception til since the death of my wife. She is as handy with a needle as common white women & makes & mends our common clothes. She is industrious & careful & sees well to the household concerns."

EARLY LEADER AMONG BLACK LEXINGTON METHODISTS: HENRY H. LYTLE

w h riley, 40 years in lap of methodism, 1915

p 29/

"Father Henry Hopkins Lytle was born in 1802, in the State of Maryland. He did not have any school advantages but he learned to read, write and spell, around the fireside during the days of slavery. He began preaching at the age of twenty-one. + "In those times facilities for traveling were poor and he often walked from Lexington to Louisville, Ky., to preach the gospel. + "His labors of faith and love in our conference will never be forgotten. He laid the foundation of our Methodism in Lexington, Ky., with only twelve members. He served among us as pastor and presiding elder, and died in Lexington, Ky., in the year 1890, at the ripe old age of eighty-eight years."
Israel Simms was born, June 21, 1819, near New Castle, Ky. He learned to read and write on the farm where he lived as a slave. He joined the Lexington Conference in 1869. Was ordained deacon by Bishop Thompson, elder by Bishop Bowman. He served as pastor for the following charges: Jackson Street, Louisville, Ky.; Smithfield, Ky.; Carrollton, Ky., and Lagrange. He organized several of the churches of the conference. He served as Presiding Elder on Lexington district. He died at Jeffersonville, Ind., December, 1912.

Zail Ross was born, June, 1824, at Georgetown, Ky. He was licensed to preach in the early days of slavery. He preached for many years with no book in his library but a Bible and a copy of Wesley's sermons. He was ordained by Bishop Levi Scott. He was a strong preacher in his day. He served the church both as pastor and as presiding elder. He was gathered to his fathers, June 5, 1892, while living in Bowling Green, Ky.
William H. Lawrence came into the church early in life. In answer to a call to preach he joined the old Kentucky Conference and was transferred to the Lexington Conference in 1869. He served the church as pastor in the following appointments: Dorsey Chapel; Coke Chapel, Louisville, Ky.; Flemingsburg, Ky.; North Middletown, Ky.; Lagrange, Ky.; Chaplin, Ky., and Jeffersonville, Ind.+

"Father Lawrence fell asleep in Jesus at his home near Anchorage, Ky., January 19, 1900.+

"He left to the church a splendid legacy, Rev. E. D. Lawrence, one of his sons, who is a minister of the gospel."

Marcus McCoomer was born, July 29, 1834.+

"He was a great preacher in his day. Although he had little or no schooling he served the church faithfully and acceptably. He filled many of the leading appointments in the conference.+

"During the session of the conference at Terre Haute he preached the conference sermon from the text, 'Men ought always to pray and not to faint.' His sermon on this occasion was instructive and helpful. Strange to say the messenger of death came for this servant of God the very next night and during the session of the conference, April 4, 1899.+

"He was a faithful husband and loving father. He left us one of his sons, Rev. J. W. McCoomer, to take the place of his father in our conference."
"On March 12, 1865, by order No. 10, I announced the passage of this law 'the wives and children of colored men who have heretofore enlisted, or who may hereafter enlist in the military service of the United States, are free' to the colored people of the department. I said in the order, 'This act of justice to the soldiers, claims from them renewed efforts of courage, fortitude and discipline, to gain a good name to be shared by a free wife and children. To colored men not in the army, it offers an opportunity to earn freedom for themselves and their posterity. The rights secured to colored soldiers under this law will, if necessary, be enforced by the military authorities of this department.'"

In speaking of the act of congress which freed a female if she married a soldier, Palmer said: "The law was greatly abused by the colored people of Kentucky, and there is no reason to doubt that polygamous alliances were very often formed for the sake of freedom under this act of congress."
"I had great trouble to prevent the oppression of the colored people who were often sold to the government as 'substitutes,' and the city of Louisville went into the business of buying substitutes in order to meet the 'draft,' and I was compelled to issue the following: +

"General Order No. 5. Officers charged with recruiting colored troops are informed that the use of force or menaces to compel the enlistment of colored men is both unlawful and disgraceful. Several cases of this kind have been reported to these headquarters, and are under investigation. The able-bodied men of the state are enrolled, and have the right to volunteer for the service of the country. In this respect, there is no difference on account of color. No man can be forced into the service unless in pursuance of the law. Any violation of the order or threat towards white or black men to compel them to enlist will be severely punished. No bounty-broker will be allowed to accompany any recruiting party or in any way intermeddle with other operations.' +

"The city council made an appropriation for providing such substitutes, and at the same time were using the prisons and slave pens, which existed in the city for compelling colored men to enlist. I therefore issued an order which prohibited the confinement of any person in any other place than a jail recognized by the civil authorities, and also an order authorizing the 'Rev. Thomas James (colored) to inquire into the case of all colored persons arrested and held in confinement by the civil or military authorities in this department.' " In May 15, 1865, Palmer notified police court judge Geo. W. Johnston, that he had heard that "... colored men and women are confined in the workhouse for improper causes." Palmer said he was sending someone to investigate.

"Trey answered by shouts, and for a few minutes I could hear nothing more. I said to them: 'Thank Judge Johnston.' Hundred of them followed me to my boarding house, where I was compelled to address them again. +

"I heard them during the afternoon and night singing, using all kinds of musical instruments, even to the 'jews harp,' for a crow serenaded me with that primitive abortion."
"The reasons for issuing Order No. 32 will be found upon the face of the order, but the reasons which influenced the mayor and his friends to apply to me do not. Large numbers of negroes were then in Louisville from the surrounding country, who had escaped from or had repudiated the authority of their masters. The mayor and others desired my approval of a plan they had arranged for the general enforcement of the laws against vagrancy, and the law which forbids slaves to go at large and hire themselves out as free persons. To have enforced these laws would have produced great misery and alarm amongst the blacks. To leave the negroes in the city would have alarmed the fears of the citizens, who were beforehand taught to think their presence would cause a pestilence. They sought to make me responsible for either consequence. To avoid both, I issued Order No. 32. Under it over five thousand negroes have crossed the river at this place alone."

5000 SLAVES IN LOUISVILLE IN SUMMER OF 1861

McDowell says that the announcement of the Emancipation Proc. caused "slight" interest in Louisville when it was announced because it coincided with the Confed invasion of Ky. Says Louisville had about 5,000 slaves worth $2.5 million at the time.
BLACKS PARTICIPATE IN BUILDING DEFENSES OF LOU DURING CONFED
INVASION SUMMER 1862

r e mcdowell, city in conflict, lou, 1861-65, 1962

p 83/ Men and material arrived in lou for defense of the city "Men
worked around the clock throwing up entrenchments even
by candlelight. A thousand laborers were called for, and all citizens
ordered to report the number of slaves they would furnish. If enough
weren't forthcoming, the provost marshal was ordered to impress laborers.
Negroes were taken from the county jail to work on the entrenchments."


NEGROES IN LOU FALL 1862 "CONTRABAND" BLACKS IN LOU

r e mcdowell, city in conflict, lou, 1861-65, 1962

p 126/ From a chapter entitled "Nigger on the Brain"
"The Negro problem was getting out of hand also./ had been talking
about unruly troops/ On November 19, 1862, the 77th Illinois Regiment
arrived in Louisville from the South. With the regiment was a group of
Negroes--'contrabands' as they were called--who had fled their masters
and had attached themselves to the troops.+
The owners appeared shortly afterward and attempted to recover their
property, but were stopped by the soldiers. One /begin p 127/ of the
slaves was arrested. The troops advanced on the jail, apparently
intending to storm it and rescue the Negro." The mayor, Delph, "called
for the maintenance of state law" and General Jerry Boyle "...issued
an order that no slave would be allowed to enter the army camps, and
the soldiers were forbidden 'to intermeddle in any way.'"

source: Lou Journal, Dec 6, 1862
FOREIGN VISITOR SAYS KY SLAVES MORE INTELLIGENT (1857) & AWARE

james stirling, letters from the slave states, 1857

p 51/

"The slaves of the more Northern /slave/ States have somehow become more intelligent than they were. I have been quite struck with the intelligence and frankness of some of those with whom I have conversed. They know very well the state of matters between the North and the South, and they are evidently biding their time; they know also the feelings of Englishmen, and speak very openly to them. Their owners are aware of this intelligence, and it makes them more suspicious and more severe. They cannot abide free negroes. Indeed, it is now unlawful in Kentucky to manumit a slave."

DESCRIPTION OF AUCTION BLOCK, WHIPPING POST IN LEX

w h townsend, lincoln and his wife's home town, 1929

p 81/ "In the southwest corner of the public square at Lexington stood the auction-block, rickety and worn from many shuffling feet, while near the northeast corner was the whipping-post of 'black locust one foot in diameter, ten feet high and sunk two and a half feet in the ground.' A visitor to the town in those early days, witnessing the use of this instrument of torture, observed in his journal that the public square was 'occasionally the scene of a barbarous practice; for it is here that incorrigible or delinquent negroes are flogged unmercifully. I saw this punishment inflicted on two of these wretches. Their screams soon collected a numerous crowd--I could not help saying to myself, "These cries are the knell of Kentucky liberty.""
Two black Kentuckians arrived in Cincinnati, having run away, their home being only 25 miles away. They were hidden in a black Zion Baptist Church basement. Mrs. Haviland went to Levi Coffin's where clothes could be gotten. They were sent about 80 miles away where George decided to stay. George worked hard for about a year, keeping the suit I gave him for his Sunday suit, and used his old Kentucky suit for his work, patching them himself, until patch upon patch nearly covered the old brown jeans of his plantation wear. When warm weather again returned, without revealing his design of going back to his master in Kentucky, for he knew his abolition friends would discourage his project, he took the eight dollars he had earned since he left his master, and wore the suit of clothes he brought away, and in the darkness of night went to this wife's cabin. Here he gave a full history of the kind friends who had paid good wages for his work, and said he was going to take all to his master, and tell him he was sick of freedom; "... He said he would also tell his master he was angry with his wife. But at the proper time, after having "proven" he was faithful, he would get his wife and they both would escape, because, he said, "... I ain't got whole freedom without you." George convinced his master, though other slave owners in the region were skeptical.

After Lizzie's master became quite satisfied with her hatred toward Tom, his old slave name, he allowed the hound, which he kept over two months to watch for Tom, to go back to the keeper. Though Tom and Lizzie lived eight miles apart, they had a secret dispatch-bearer, by whom they reported to each other; but visits were very few and far between." Lizzie and Tom pretended to have a bad quarrel over some of Tom's old clothes. "A few months after this there was a holiday, and Tom was so faithful, his master gave him permission to visit his aunt, six miles distant in an opposite direction from Lizzie's home, and she too got permission to visit her friends five miles away, but not toward Tom's master. The plan laid in his midnight visit was to start after sundown, and go until dark in the direction of the place each had their permission to go, and then go for Licking River; and she was to go up the river, while he was to go down, until they met. He was to secure the first skiff with oars he could find to aid them down the river with all possible speed to the Ohio. They succeeded in making good time after they met, until day dawn overtook them, when they hid the skiff under a clump of bushes, and the oars they took the precaution to hide some distance away in case the skiff was discovered and taken away. They secreted themselves still further in the woods, but not so far but they could watch their tiny craft through the thicket. Much to their discomfiture a number of boys found their skiff, and had a long hunt for the oars, but not succeeding, furnished themselves with poles and pushed out of sight to the great relief of the temporary owners, so near being discovered during the hunt for the oars. At ten o'clock, when all was still, they crept out of their hiding-place, took their oars, and hunted two hours before they found another skiff. Though smaller and harder to manage than the one they lost, yet they reached the Ohio just at sunrise. Two men on the opposite side of Licking River harlooned, 'Where are you going?' + 'To market, sir.' +
"What have you got?" +
"Butter an' eggs, sir." +

As he saw them in the skiff and pushing toward them, he expected every moment to be overhauled, but he pulled with all his might for the opposite shore, and did not dare look back until they had reached the middle of the river, when, to their great relief, the two men had given up the chase and turned back, and had almost reached the place of their starting. He said Lizzie trembled so hard that the coat over her shook, so great was her fear. George went to the basement of the Zion Baptist church. Mrs. Haviland soon appeared to ascertain what the two new arrivals needed. She at first didn't recognize George. George reminded her that he had been there before, and that she had given him and Jim clothes and sent them on toward freedom.

"Yes, but how came you here again?" +
"It was for this little woman I went back." Then George explained the entire store to Mrs. Haviland.

"Another Slave Case.--It appears from the records of the Police court, that one Andrew Martin, a negro man, had voluntarily sold himself into slavery in this city, and was punished with stripes as a slave for committing petit larceny. The object he had in selling himself, was to better enable him to pursue an idle life, and to be personally irresponsible for his own acts. The Court gave him to understand that as he was a free nigger he was bound to stay free; but as the lashes upon his back couldn't be taken back, he was let go acquit."
"The Fugitive Slaves Caught.--Yesterday afternoon four of the five slaves that were abducted from Mr. C. Q. Armstrong a short time ago, were recaptured and brought back to this city. They were caught in a negro quarter in the town of Charlestown, Indiana, only 14 miles from this city. The woman Mary and her three children, are the parties captured. The other woman and the kidnappers unfortunately have escaped. +

"Mr. Allen, partner of Armstrong's had an intimation of the whereabouts of the fugitives Wednesday and crossing the river, secured the assistance of Messrs. Jackson and Reeder, of Jeffersonville, and proceeding to Charlestown, succeeded in finding the slaves. They were hid in a bed room, between two feather beds, in a negro house. They encountered no difficulty in bring them away as no resistance was offered--The negroes had been secreted in that place ever since they escaped. They had no chance to get away from the start, as every avenue toward Canada was closely watched."
SLAVE HIRING ADS JAN 1855

The Louisville Daily Courier, Jan 3, 1855, p 2

"For Hire. +
"Two valuable Negro men. Enquire of Rily & Muir."

"Negro Woman Wanted. +
A first rate negro woman wanted for the year. None but those well recommended need apply. Four such, a liberal price will be given. WatkAMS & OwSley."

"To Hire. +
"A likely Negro boy, about 14, years old, suitable for dining room servant. Appl to Newland, Hughes & Co."

"For Hire. +
"I wish to hire out for the present year, some valuable servants. One is a woman, about twenty-seven years old, a good cook, washer and ironer, and is in every way an excellent servant. One is a likely man, about twenty three years old. He will suit well as a carriage driver, and to work in a yard and garden. The balance are active, intelligent young men, suited to render any ordinary service. J.B. Kinkaid."

Other ads: "Boys and Girls of various ages," A boy about 17 and some girls. A woman about 50 and her daughter age 18.

INSURANCE ON NEGROES 1855

The Louisville Daily Courier, Jan 3, 1855, p 2

"Insurance on Negroes. +
"The lives of sound, healthy Negroes free from dissipated habits, insured on favorable terms. James E. Tyler, Agent, Union Mutual Insurance Co."


"A Nigger Lets The Cat Out.--Miles Wilson, a free negro, was convicted last week in the Criminal Court, of aiding in the escape of a slave of Frank Moore. When he was sentenced yesterday by Judge Muir, he owned up that he was guilty, but stated that John Sanscisco, a coffee-house keeper of Jeffersonville, was the prime mover and instigator in the matter, and that the plan was concocted by the white man, not to help the nigger off to Canada, but to get him into Indiana, and return him when a reward was offered for his apprehension. How far this may be true it is not our business to inquire; we merely report what the convict said. He is sentenced to ten years in the State prison."

"Our Negro Population--Disease and Death.+

"The sanitary condition of our negro population, which has of late been largely increased, merits the instant and careful scrutiny of the city authorities. We are informed by physicians that unless some steps be taken to improve the hygienic state of the thousands of poor blacks who are now inundating Louisville the most appalling consequences must ensue. Disease is rife among them. Many are literally starving. In rags and wretchedness, but few are prepared to withstand the cold of the winter. Deprived of the kind attention and thoughtful supervision of their former masters, they are suffering from all the dire evils of newly-acquired freedom--from want of bread, of clothing, and the presence of sickness. +

"These poor creatures are huddled, like so many cattle, in every alley of the city. They occupy out-houses and cellars, and subsist--if they manage to subsist at all--after the most precarious fashion.+ 

"Humanity demands that we do something to alleviate this woe and misery. It is no fault of ours that a former happy race has been thus cursed, but that is no excuse for neglect of the plain duties that Christianity imposes upon us. Especially since, by active and prompt measures, we may be enabled to forstall the appearance of a pestilence in our midst."
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 $25,000. The Falls City Band played, Rev. T. K. Noble, supt of Freedmen's schools called on the children for a song. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Hays.

"Rev. D.K. Noble /sic/ then explained the object of the occasion for which they had assembled. It was a day to be remembered and commended." First school for blacks; named from Gen. John Ely, as Ely Normal School, to train teachers for blacks. E. W. Cravath, of Cin., spoke saying that as Sec. of Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, he first sent teachers to Louisville almost 2 yrs before; have had 7 teachers in Lou. He hopes to establish elementary and secondary schools throughout ky & other southern states. Also colleges.

Louisville Daily Courier, April 22, 1868, p 3. An article which says that the architect of the Ely School says the actual cost was $18,258.
"You mentioned in the columns of your journal a few days ago the fact that a delegation of colored men from Bowling Green and other portions of the State were in this city for the purpose of advancing the educational interests of the particular localities which they represent, as well as the promotion of a similar interest for those of the same class throughout the State."

"During the week your correspondent has had the opportunity of learning something more definite with regard to the efforts of these persons, and the objects which they seek."

"They are men of more than the ordinary or average intelligence to be found among the colored people, and their energy will be acknowledged when I inform you that within forty-eight hours after their arrival in this city they had made the acquaintance, and had interviewed with the most satisfactory results, many, and indeed nearly all the leading or representative men of both parties and in each branch of the Legislature."

"The delegation, besides presenting the claims of their own district through their own representatives in both Senate and House, have had a pleasant and interesting interview with Hon. H.A.M. Henderson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who has taken great pains so explain to them the various items of the new bill proposed for the establishment of a general system of public schools for colored youth."

"Mr. Henderson has done himself great credit by the interest he has taken in regard to this matter, and by his kindness in offering facilities to these men to post themselves in regard to this question of so much interest to all the people of the State and in so doing he has but reflected the uniform sentiment exhibited toward these people by men of every shade of political sentiment here at the capital. These men tell me they have been surprised at the ready spirit of kindness and co-operation which they have met from the men of the opposite party, as well as from those with whom they have always been strictly identified in political affinity."

"Mr. Potter, it is understood, will lead off with the bill for Warren county, and will be earnestly and heartily supported in securing its passage by Hon. J.J. Gatewood in the Senate."

"As Republicans, we have but one desire in regard to these several bills proposed, and that is that they may be carefully examined, and so amended, if necessary, as to secure the hearty indorsement of the people of the State, and then harmoniously contribute to the elevation of the class of persons they are more immediately designed to benefit, and relieve at the same time the opposite class of our citizens of much of the perplexity and anxiety which now seems to engage their attention upon this subject."

"The general bill touching this subject the delegation say will be presented in the Senate today."

Yours, for justice.
Typescript Minutes of the Trustees for the City of Bowling Green, Sept 9, 1825, Vol I, March 13, 1823-Dec 7, 1839.

"Minutes of 9-9-1825/ close paraphrase

James Keel was appointed agent for the trustees and was vested with full power and authority to apprehend any slave or slaves who is or may be hiring their time in the town and to bring such slaves before a board of the Trustees of the town to be dealt with according to law and that he also procure such testimony before apprehending any such slave or slaves as will justify the Trustees in his opinion to have such slaves hired out by the trustees for one month according to law."

COLORED EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION IN LOU 1873

Daily Louisville Commercial, Feb 19, 1873, p 4

"The Colored Educational Convention met in the Circuit Court room at the Court-house yesterday and was called to order, a few minutes after twelve o'clock by Mr. N.R. Harper, of Louisville, with the desire and hope that the delegates assembled would all labor zealously toward the advancement of education among the colored people of Kentucky, and that peace and harmony would attend all their deliberations.

"Rev. Mr. Gaddy, of the Main street Baptist Church then offered the following prayer:"

"O, God, our Heavenly Father, in whose presence we have come: We present ourselves to Thee with the desire to be instructed in the important matter of education which has called us together, that we may forward the work of instructing the minds of the young, and be led into that prosperity and health which pertains to all who truly love Thee. Keep us and help us to see that which we need most, and give us an attentive ear to all that pertain to our true welfare in this life, and that which is to come. We pray for harmony in our deliberations, that we may agree in whatever is for our good. Bless those who are prevented from meeting with this assembly, and hear us, and answer us, and praise shall be forever to Thy name. Amen.

On motion of N.R. Harper, J.H. Taylor, of Louisville, was then appointed temporary chairman, and Isaac Black, of Covington, secretary.

"Committee on Credentials"

"Mr. Dickson, of Covington, moved that a Committee on Credentials be appointed, which on motion was carried, but in selecting the committee it was found that there were only six counties represented."
Mr. Dickson seemed to think that those whose duty it was to notify the people of the meeting, had been remiss in said duty. 

Mr. Bruck, the temporary Secretary appointed, replied to Mr. Dickson, that due and timely notice had been given in the different papers throughout the State of the time and place of meeting, and fully exonerated all those who had been appointed to call the committee together. 

Dr. Fitzbutler, of Louisville, then moved that where a county was represented by but one delegate, that one should be appointed on the Committee on Credentials. Carried. 

The following committee was then appointed: R.D. Cross, of Kenton county; W.H. Lawson, of Jefferson county; George Russell, of Nelson; J.D. Starks, of Meade; Henry C. Marrs, of Shelby; J.H. Jones, of Franklin, and George Jackman, of Woodford county. 

The committee then retired to examine the credentials of the attending members, when the Rev. J. Holliday, pastor of the Fifteenth-street Church, who had been appointed to deliver the address of welcome, arose and spoke as follows: 

WELCOME ADDRESS 

Delegates of the Educational Convention of the State of Kentucky: I greet you and welcome you to our city and to our hospitalities. We welcome you as men seeking the interest of the whole people; as men favorable to science and literature; as men who desire to show to the world that your liberty is not a failure, but to prove it to be a blessing to yourselves and all mankind. 

We welcome you as men who are ready and willing to meet in consultation with your brethren, to take into consideration the best way to pursue to educate the colored children of this commonwealth. 

And while we have some chance of educating out children in the city of Louisville, we sympathize with you who live in other counties, where you don’t enjoy the blessing of educating your children as we do who live in this city. 

We welcome you as citizens of the United States of America and of the State of Kentucky, who are seeking to move away the disabilities that prevent you from educating your children that they may be better able to shun vice and practice virtue, and thus become better citizens. 

And I assure you that I speak the sentiments of all the lovers of liberty and civilization and education of the city of Louisville when I tell you that you are welcome to their city, and that they sympathize with you in your struggle to educate your children. 

We welcome you, for we stand on the broad Bible platform of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and believe in us all being united to educate our race; and we believe in freedom of thought and freedom of speech, and freedom of conscience, and that every man should have a fair chance in the race of life to prove himself a man. 

And thus we welcome men from the East and West, North and South, to come and help us push on the great cause of education among our people. 

And may the great God that liberates us guide the minds of the members of this convention, so that all that is said and done here may be to enlighten and elevate us as a race. May his blessing rest on the State and on your family you have left behind. 

WELCOME ADDRESS
"After the delivery of the address, Mr. J.D. Sparks moved that one person from each county represented should be appointed on a committee of permanent organization, which motion was, after some discussion, carried.\*" 


"LIST OF DELEGATES\+---\+---\+

"Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Alexander, after which the minutes of the first meeting were read and adopted.\+" 

"MORE DELEGATES\+---\+---\+

"Mr. A.S. Roberts, Eleventh ward, Louisville; Rev. J. Holliday, Twelfth ward, Louisville; W.H. Russell, of Shelby, and James Graves, of Jefferson county, on motion, had their names enrolled on the list of delegates.\+" 

"PERMANENT ORGANIZATION\+---\+---\+

"The Committee of Permanent Organization then tendered their report, which, on motion of W.R. Harper, was received and adopted.\+" 

"The names of the officers appointed are as follows: Dr. H. Fitzbutler, of Jefferson, President; W.H. Lawson, Jefferson; Brown Allison and J.H. Jones, Franklin; J.D. Stake, Meade; and J.H. Dixon, Denton, Vice-Presidents; I.E. Black, of Covington, Secretary; H.C. Marrs, of Shelby, Assistant Secretary; and G.W. Guy, of Kenton, Sergeant-at-Arms.\+" 

"On motion of T.F. Cassells, of Louisville, the report was received and adopted.\+" 

"COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION\+---\+---\+

"After some discussion as to the manner in which a committee on permanent organization should be appointed, the following names were reported and confirmed as such committee: T.F. Cassells, Jefferson county, George W. Guy, Denton; George Russell, Nelson; J.D. Starks, Meade; H.C. Marrs, Shelby, and J.H. Jones, of Franklin county.\+" 

"THANKS\+---\+---\+

"Rev. J. Holliday, of Louisville, then arose, and on behalf of the convention, thanked the officers of the Circuit Court for their kindness in vacating the court-room for their meeting; also, the reporters, for their attendance to take the proceedings of the body.\+" 

"On motion of N.R. Harper, the meeting then adjourned until half-past three o'clock p.m.\+" 

"On motion of Mr. Harper, the chair appointed Messrs. Wm. Spaulding and W.H. Russell to escort Dr. Fitzbutler, President elect, to his seat."
The President assumed the chair with a few remarks, particularly requesting that there be no angry contentions or debates between the members, and expressing the hope that wisdom might pervade their actions.

"COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTION"

"On motion of Mr. Harper, Messrs. Vincent Helm, of Louisville; T.F. Cassells, of Jefferson; N.R. Harper, of Louisville; R.D. Cross, of Kenton; Jas Cowan and J.W. Guy, of Covington; J.D. Starks, of Meade; D.M. Brown, of Nelson; J.H. Jones, of Franklin; W.H. Russell, of Shelby, and George Jackman, of Woodford county, were appointed a Committee on Resolutions."

"On motion of Mr. Sibra C.A. Pickens and A.J. Pickens were elected honorary members to this convention. The names of Henry Scroggins, J.B. Stansberry, and Samuel Breckinridge, of Fayette county, were then added to the list of delegates, when, on motion of Mr. Cassells, the meeting adjourned to this morning at ten o'clock."

CONCERN OF LOU BLACKS FOR BLACK POOR 1873

"THE COLORED POOR"

"Meeting of the Colored People Last Night"

"There was a large meeting of the colored people at the Court-house last night to devise means to aid the poor and destitute of their race. Vincent Helm was chosen President."

"The meeting appointed ward committees to ascertain the wants of the destitute, and report the same to the Executive Committee of the Relief Association. Vincent Helm is chairman of the ward committees."

"The following resolutions were adopted, when the meeting adjourned until Wednesday next:"

"WHEREAS, A financial crisis is visiting the country, and some of the best manufacturing houses, being unable to dispose of goods, have been compelled to suspend payment, thus leaving a large class of laborers unprovided for."

"Whereas, The great railroad corporations, doing extensive business and labor within the limits of this city, have for some months past been unable to pay their employees retained in service, and a large number of persons usually employed by these corporations have been unable to support their families by honest labor; and,"

"Whereas, it is indispensiable that some adequate means be provided to meet the present exigencies, and that some policy be adopted with a view to remove the present financial embarrassment, that we may again be restored to honor and prosperity; therefore, be it."

"Resolved. That said committee shall select a chairman, not one of
CONCERN OF LOU BLACKS FOR BLACK POOR 1873

Daily Louisville Commercial, Dec 30, 1873, p 8

themselves, and a secretary, not one of themselves, who shall keep a true record of all the transactions of said committee, and report the same to the chairman of the committee or to the city authorities whenever required; and said secretary shall have no vote at any meeting of said committee. +

Resolved, That the above mentioned committee shall be known as the United Relief Committee, and may act in conjunction with any other committee organized in this city for a similar purpose, or independently, under the supervision of the Mayor, Council, and Aldermen +

Resolved, That we most earnestly request the railroad corporations and manufacturing establishments, which have heretofore given extensive employment to a large number of the workingmen of the city who are now unemployed, to use their utmost endeavors to renew an active business at the earliest moment consistent with the financial conditions of the country. +

Resolved, That we have implicit confidence in the wealthier citizens and authorities of this city to effectually relieve any excessive suffering which may exist while business is adapting itself to any change resulting from the financial crisis. +

Resolved, That we encourage friendly relations between labor and capital, the essential elements of progress, and that we discourage all hostile or factious demands that may be made in behalf of alleged sufferers, since it cuts off a present supply of real sufferers, and must in the end result injuriously to the community at large. +

Resolved, That we return our sincere thanks to the Mayor of Louisville and those who have assisted him, by donations and otherwise, in giving relief to those who have been unable to provide for themselves."

THE EASTERN COLORED SCHOOL IN LOU 1874

Daily Louisville Commercial, March 4, 1874, p 4

"The Eastern Colored School +

"The School Board, at their meeting on Monday night, took action in reference to the location of the Eastern Colored School, at which the colored people of that section of the city feel greatly aggrieved. The lot authorized to be purchased by the School Board is situated on Roseland, near Campbell, a portion of the city in which very few of the population to be benefited reside. Besides being at a very inconvenient distance for the great majority of the children, the lot is next door to a brewery. The Board of Visitors of the Colored Schools do not wish to stand before the people they represent as having any responsibility for this selection. In accordance with their wish, the Committee on Colored Schools advertised for proposals for furnishing the necessary ground within the area bounded by Chestnut and Laurel and Preston and Clay. A lot selected within these bounds would have been sufficiently convenient for all the children who are to attend this Eastern School. The proposals were received and opened, and, having been submitted to the Colored Board of Visitors, they selected a lot on Jacob street, between Preston and Jackson, the price of which was set at $2,500, the same amount as asked for the lot which the School Board authorized to be purchased. We understand that the proposal to sell the lot selected was not handed in till after the others were opened. It did not come within the scope of the advertisement for proposals, as it was not within the territory named, and was handed in as a separate proposition. +

"The School Board has heretofore shown so invariably a disposition to consult the wishes of the colored people in the location of the schools
for their children that we are sure its action Monday night was taken without due consideration or in the absence of full information. We hope that action will be reconsidered while it is time. A more inconvenient selection for the colored children than the one made was hardly possible, and it is very unsatisfactory to those chiefly interested. The children, who are usually small and but poorly prepared for long tramps through snow and rain, will have to walk great distances in order to reach Roselane, near Campbell, and will be carried entirely outside of the localities inhabited by their own race and into the midst of a population where they will be unwelcome. The objections to the lot selected are manifold, and we know of no corresponding advantages. We hope the School Board or the proper committees will suspend action until the question can be more fully considered."

KY FUGITIVE TELLS MRS HAVILAND OF ESCAPE TO CANADA; TWO ATTEMPTS

1 s haviland, a woman's life work, 1881

Michigan

Upon finding Mrs. Haviland in Michigan the fugitive told her, "I started once before, and traveled three nights by the North star; and as Indiana was a free State /begin p 231/ I thought I would stop and buy me some bread, an' the people was mighty kind, and said I could rest a week, and they would pay me for the work I did, to help me on to Canada. But firs' I knew my master come for me, an' I seed him pay them money--s'pose 't was reward.' + "This time he was so cautious that he would make a friend of no one until he reached Michigan. They had always heard people were friends to colored people in this State. He was six weeks from Kentucky, and had not dared to make his condition known to any one, white or black, until he saw a colored man in the yard at Dr. Bailey's, of whom he inquired for my house." He describes second escape: "But I got an ing'on to rub over the bottoms of my shoes so dogs couldn't foller me, an' I got four loaves o' bread and a big piece o' boiled meat, an' crawled into de barn an' tuck dis bag an' buffalo-robe for my bed, an' dragged it into de woods, and tuck my bes' frien', de Norf star, an' follered clean to dis place.' + /begin p 232/ "'What did you do for something to eat?' /Mrs Haviland asked/ "'I tuck corn in de fiel'. When I foun' log heaps an' brush burnin' I roasted a heap to las' a few days; but I was weak an' trimbly to start, an' kep' so all de way.'"
RECOLLECTION ACCT OF KIDNAPPING OF PETER STILL; TAKEN TO KY
before 1856

kate e r pickard, kidnapped and ransomed, 1856
and his brother Levin
from N. J.

p 25/ Young Peter was playing in front of his mother's cabin, about six or eight years old. /p 26/ Man appeared in wagon; their mother not home; man said he would take them to church to fetch their mother. /p 27/ The man put them in the wagon and covered them with blankets. "He spoke kindly to them, meanwhile, still assuring them that he would soon take them to their mother." They were driven to water and "hurried on board a boat." /p 28/ They travelled a long time; the first place they remembered was Versailles, KY. "Here their self-constituted guardian, whom they now heard addressed as Kincaid, placed them in a wagon with a colored woman and her child, and conveyed them to Lexington." He took them to the house of John Fisher; they were presented to "Aunt Betty, the cook. + "There, my boys," said Kincaid, 'there is your mother--we've found her at last.' + "'No! no!' they shrieked, 'that's not our mother! O, please, sir! take us back!'" Fisher told them to 'hush': "'You belong to me now, you little rascals, and I'll have no more of this. There's Aunt Betty, she's your mammy now;'" Fisher "... was, in the main, a kind, indulgent man--but were they not his money?" To Fisher, they were his slaves, and that was that.

PETER STILL, KIDNAPPED BLACK, TELL OF WORKING, AGE 9, IN BRICKYARD
before 1856

kate e r pickard, kidnapped & ransomed, 1856

p 35/ "When Peter was about nine years old, he too was employed in the brick-yard, as 'off-bearer.' Three thousand brick a day was the task for two boys; and if one of them chanced to be by any means disabled, his companion must 'off-bear' the whole. The moulder must not be hindered." Says the moulders were slaves and "were cruel tyrants." Those who hindered the process faced tough punishment, apparently.
Peter Still and Brother Levin Sold to Nat. Gist of Lex at Age 13

Kate E. R. Pickard, Kidnapped & Ransomed, 1856

P 37/ Thinking he was moving to Cincinnati, Fisher sold Peter and Levin to Mr. Nat. Gist of Lexington for $450 each. Gist lived in a small house on Dutch (or Hill) St. Gist's slaves, about 20 total, were "... fed sparingly, clothed scantily, and worked hard." In the winter, when they did not make brick, they were hired out. /p 39/ Peter became a favorite of Gist.

Peter Still Attended School for Blacks in Lex Illegally

Kate E. R. Pickard, Kidnapped & Ransomed, 1856

P 40/ "A few benevolent individuals, about this time, established a Sabbath School in Lexington, for the instruction of such slaves as might be permitted by their masters to learn." Peter's master objected to the school. But, "Peter went to the school.+

"The teacher received him kindly, and inquired for his 'pass.'+

'Ain't got none, massa.' +

"I am sorry," said the teacher, 'for we are not per-/p 41/ mitted to instruct any servants without the consent of their masters." Peter knew that he couldn't get a pass from his owner, but wanted to attend, "So he told the teacher that his master didn't care nothin' 'bout his comin'--he'd get a pass next Sunday; and he was permitted to remain." The next Sunday he said he had forgotten his pass. The third Sunday another excuse; allow to stay again. After the 4th Sunday the teacher refused to allow Peter to return. /p 42/ Says he had learned the alphabet, and to spell a few words in the four Sundays.
p 43/ Peter and Levin hired to George Norton, to work in tobacco factory, for 1 year. /p 44/ "About thirty men and boys were employed in Mr. Norton's establishment. Of these, three were white men, who were hired to do that part of the work which required more experience and skill than the negroes were supposed to possess. These acted as spies and informers; ..." /p 51/ Tells of whipping. /p 52/ Severe whipping. /p 53/ Peter got away and hid between the wall and some presses, a very narrow space. Eventually they forced him out & whipped again. /p 54/ Peter went to his owner who allowed him to come home for a week. Norton tried to hire them again for the next year /p 55/ year, but Peter and Levin's owner refused.

PETER STILL TELLS OF MISFORTUNE OF SEPARATION OF SLAVES BY MOVING SOUTH 1817

p 56/ Nat Gist decided to send six slaves with two favorite nephews who were going to Alabama to seek their fortune. /begin p 57/ "The command to prepare to go with Master Levi, fell with crushing weight upon the hearts of the doomed slaves. Old Frank and his wife Peggy were the first to learn their sentence. They were indignant at the word. Long and wearily had they toiled in their master's service. Patiently had they endured hunger. Stripes and cursings had been their frequent portion, and these they had learned to receive without complaint. Now they were growing aged, and to be torn from the old place, and from all the friends in whose society the Sundays passed so pleasantly, seemed too hard a trial. +

"Their two children were to go with them. That was some comfort, but a deeper sorrow, for they would be forced to work in those great cotton fields, where venomous snakes would hiss at them, and cruel overseers watch their toil.+ "Yet old Frank and Peggy had not the deepest cause for grief. Levin and Alfred / a young lad/ were destined to accompany them, and they must each leave behind his brother, dearer to him than life itself." These laborers were to establish a plantation. /p 58/ "The thought that his brother must go to the South was agony to Peter. In all their sorrows, thus far, they had been together." /p 59/ "The servants all shook hands, and strove to speak in cheering tones to their departing friends; but great tears stood in their eyes as they watched the little company slowly marching down the hill."
kate e r pickard, kidnapped & ransomed, 1856

p 68/ Nat Gist died. He owned only 11 slaves at his death, the others having been sold off earlier. Three of these were Aunt Mary and her two sons. /begin p 69/

"Her husband, a native African, named Sam, who still spoke but broken English, was soon to be free, according to contract with his importer. Sam had the spirit of a prince. To live always as a slave he would not consent; and, lest he should kill himself or his master, his liberty was promised him at a stipulated time. +

"Mary was fully determined she would never leave him nor Lexington; and when in the December following his uncle's death, the young heir came from the South to remove his goods, and desired Aunt Mary to prepare for the journey, she revolted. They might kill her, she said, but she would not go--she indeed, would hang herself, and that would end it.+ The young man coaxed, and threatened, but in vain. She liked Mars Levi--everybody liked him--a heap better than old massa; but as to leaving 'Kaintucky,' and going away to the South, she could not.+ "At last, finding that it was useless to attempt to remove her, Master Levi sold her, with her two boys, to his father,--and she was left to spend the evening of her days in her beloved Lexington."

p 70/ Peter left Lexington with John Gist, younger brother of Mars Levi, for Alabama, Dec 20, 1818. /p 72/ Arrived in Hopkinsville on Christmas morning. /p 74/ Left Hopkinsville on Jan 3, 1819. Spent one night in Nashville and one in Columbia, Tenn. Reached Bainbridge, Ala, on Jan 6. /p 129/ Stayed in Ala until /p 219/ Peter, in Ala, bought himself in /p 227/ 1849. /p 252/ Peter found his mother in N. J. /p 307/ Eventually redeemed his family.
LEWIS CLARKE TELLS OF BIRTH, BACKGROUND 1815

lewis clarke, narrative of the sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 9/ Born in March 1815, "as near as I can ascertain" in Madison, Co., Ky, 7 miles from Richmond on the plantation of his grandfather, Samuel Campbell. Says his father, was from Scotland, and married Letitia Campbell, the daughter of Mary, a half-white slave, and Samuel Campbell, his grandfather. His father died when he was 10 or 12. /p 10/ At the age of 6 or 7 Lewis fell into the hands of Mrs. Betsey Banton, Campbell's sister. /p 14/ He remained 14 years with Mrs. Banton, where he was treated harshly.

LEWIS CLARK TELLS OF SLAVE DUTIES AS A CHILD (c. 1825)

lewis clarke, narrative of the sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 16/ "There were several children in the family, /of Mrs. Banton/ and my first main business was to wait upon them." Says he and another young slave took turns all night watching a baby's cradle. /p 17/ In work around the house, "not ... so hard work as the field hands..." slaves were constantly "...exposed to the whims and passions of every member of the family;..." "We were always required to sit up until all the family had retired; then we must be up at early dawn in summer, and before day in winter." /p 21/ Three or 4 years after going to live with Mr. Banton, "I was put to spinning hemp, flax and tow, on an old fashioned foot wheel. There were four or five slaves at this business a good part of the time." Worked long hours. "... It was very hard work..."
lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 17/ "During the ten years that I lived with Mrs. Banton, I do not think there were as many days, when she was at home, that I or some other slave, did not receive some kind of beating or abuse at her hands. It seemed as though she could not live nor sleep unless some poor back was smarting, some head beating with pain, or some eye filled with tears, around her. Her tender mer- ies were indeed cruel. She brought up her children to imitate her example." Two of her children displayed an attitude of kindness toward the slaves; Clarke says they were not her favorite children. To punish slaves she used raw hide, "... a bunch of hickory-sprouts seasoned in the fire and tied together." But she would use anything at hand to beat a slave. She also used an oak club 1½ feet long and 1 inch sq, which lasted 4 years.

LEWIS CLARKE TELLS THE PAIN OF BEING SEPARATED FROM FAMILY (c. 1822-1832) 5840

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 22/ "But all my severe labor, bitter and cruel punishment for these ten years of captivity with this worse than Arab family, all these were as nothing to the sufferings experienced by being separated from my mother, brothers and sisters; the same things, with them near to sympathize with me, to hear my story of sorrow, would have been comparatively tolerable. +

"They were distant only about thirty miles, and yet in them long years of childhood, I was only permitted to see them three times. + "My mother occasionally found an opportunity to send me some token of remembrance and affection, a sugar plum or an apple, but I scarcely ever ate them--they were laid up and handled and wept over till they wasted away in my hand.+

"My thoughts continually by day and my dreams by night were of mother and home, and the horror experienced in the morning, when I awoke and behold it was a dream, is beyond the power of language to describe."
LEWIS CLARK PASSES TO NEW OWNER, MR. K, ABOUT 1831-32; LIVING CONDITIONS

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 24/ Clarke says he had been mortgaged along with other property from time to time, and when he was 16 or 17 he passed to a Mr. K. Mr. K was kinder, but his situation "far from enviable." For the next 4 or 5 years he worked under an overseer, doing the work of an adult. He worked in growing tobacco, "... a work which draws most cruelly upon the back." About 150 slaves on new master's plantation. Fed ... enough in quantity of food. We had however but two meals a day, of corn meal bread, and soup, or meat of the poorest kind. Very often so little care had been taken to cure and preserve the bacon, that when it came to us, though it had been fairly killed once, it was more alive than dead. Occasionally we had some refreshment over and above the two meals, but this was extra, beyond the rules of the plantation. And to balance this gratuity, we were also frequently deprived of our food as a punishment." During winter they ate before day break and after work at night. In summer they ate about 9 AM and 2 in the afternoon. Clarke says the slave drivers did not give slaves enough water; drivers and masters drank too much whiskey. "The slave drivers have the notion that slaves are more healthy if allowed to drink but little, than they are if freely allowed nature's beverage. The slaves quite as confidently cherish the opinion, that if the master would drink less peach brandy and whiskey, and give the slave more water, it would be better all round."

LEWIS CLARKE TELLS OF SLAVES STEALING FOOD; PUNISHMENTS (c1832-37)

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 25/ "When we were cheated out of our two meals a day, either by the cruelty of caprice of the overseer, we always felt it a kind of special duty and privilege to make up in some way the deficiency. To accomplish this we had many devices. And we sometimes resorted to our peculiar methods, when incited only by a desire to taste greater variety than our ordinary bill of fare afforded."

"This sometimes lead to very disastrous results. The poor slave, who was caught with a chicken or a pig killed from the plantation, had his back scored most unmercifully. Nevertheless, the pigs would die without being sick or squealing once, and the hens, chickens and turkeys, sometimes disappeared and never stuck up a feather to tell where they were buried. The old goose would sometimes exchange her whole nest of eggs for round pebbles; and ...." One shrewd "old slave woman ... would go out to the corn crib, with her basket, watch her opportunity, with one effective blow pop over a little pig, slip him into her basket and put the cobs on top, trudge off to her cabin, and look just as innocent as though she had a right to eat of the work of her own hands. It was a kind of first principle, too, in her code of morals, that they that worked had a right to eat. The moral of all questions in relation to taking food was easily settled by Aunt Peggy. The only question with her was, how and when to do it." Aunt Peggy cooked for Lewis and another slave named George.
SLAVE RUNS AWAY FOR 6 MONTHS; RETURNS AFTER INTERCESSION OF
MASTER'S SON-IN-LAW; LATER ESCAPE NORTH, CAPTURED

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 27/
"A slave, called Hall, the hostler on the plantation, made a
successful sally one night upon the animals forbidden to /begin p 28/
the Jews. The next day he went into the barn loft and fell asleep.
While sleeping over his abundant supper, and dreaming perhaps of his
feast, he heard the shrill voice of his master, crying out 'the hogs are
at the horse trough--where is Hall.' The 'hogs and Hall' coupled
together, were enough for the poor fellow. He sprung from the hay and
made the best of his way off the plantation. He was gone six months,
and at the end of this period he procured the intercession of the
son-in-law of his master, and returned, escaping the ordinary punishment.
But the transgression was laid up. Slave holders seldom forgive, they
only postpone the time of revenge. When about to be severely flogged for
some pretended offence, he took two of his grandsons and escaped as far
towards Canada as Indiana. He was followed, captured, brought back and
whipped most horribly. All the old score had been treasured up against
him, and his poor back atoned for the whole at once."

LEWIS CLARKE PASSES TO MR K'S SON c.1836-37; WORK HIRED OUT

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 30/ After 4 or 5 years with Mr. K, Lewis Calrke passed to Mr. K's
son, who was "... not so cruel as his father." "Of him I hired my time
at $12 a month, boarded and clothed myself. To meet my payments, I
split rails, burned coal, peddled grass seed, and took hold of whatever
I could find to do. This last master, or owner as he would call himself,
died about one year before I left Kentucky. By the administrators I
was hired out for a time, and at last put up upon the auction block for
sale. No bid could be obtained for me. There were two reasons in the
way. One was, there were two or three old mortgages which were not
settled, and the second reason given by the bidders was, I had had too
many privileges—had been permitted to trade for myself and go over the
state—in short, to use their phrase, I was a 'spoil't nigger.' And sure
enough I was, for all their purposes. I had long thought and dreamed
of LIBERTY; I /begin p 31/ was now determined to make an effort to gain
it."
I had long thought and dreamed of LIBERTY; I was now determined to make an effort to gain it. No tongue can tell the doubt, the perplexities, the anxiety which a slave feels, when making up his mind upon this subject. If he makes an effort and is not successful, he must be laughed at by his fellows; he will be beaten unmercifully by the master, and then watched and used the harder for it all his life.

And then if he gets away, who, what will he find? He is ignorant of the world. All the white part of mankind, that he has ever seen, are enemies to him and all his kindred. How can he venture where none but white faces shall greet him? The master tells him that abolitionists decry slaves off into the free states to catch them and sell them to Louisiana or Mississippi; and if he goes to Canada, the British will put him in a mine under ground, with both eyes put out, for life. How does he know what or whom to believe? A horror of great darkness comes upon him, as he thinks over what may befall /sic/ him. Long, very long time did I think of escaping before I made the effort.

At length the report was started that I was to be sold for Louisiana. Then I thought it was time to act. My mind was made up. This was about two weeks before I started.

Clarke heard rumors that he would be sold to Louisiana. He decided to run away. "The first plan was formed between a slave named Isaac and myself. Isaac proposed to take one of the horses of his mistress, and I was to take my pony, and we were to ride off together, I as master and he as slave. We started together and went on five miles. My want of confidence in the plan induced me to turn back. Poor Isaac pleads like a good fellow to go forward. I am satisfied from experience and observation that both of us must have been captured and carried back. I did not know enough at that time to travel and manage a waiter. Every thing /begin p 32/ would have been done in such an awkward manner that a keen eye would have seen through our plot at once. I did not know the roads, and could not have read the guide boards; and ignorant as many people are in Kentucky, they would have thought it strange to see a man with a waiter, who could not read a guide board. I was sorry to have Isaac, but I am satisfied I could have done him no good in the way proposed." He went back and remained two weeks.
At Chatham I hired myself for a while to recruit my purse a little, as it had become pretty well drained by this time. I had only about sixty-four dollars when I left Kentucky, and I had been living upon it now for about six weeks. He made a little money and went looking for his brother Milton, said to be in Oberlin, Ohio.

Lewis Clarke went to Chatham, Canada, 1841. "I made diligent inquiry for several slaves that I had known in Kentucky, and at length found one named Henry. He told me of several others with whom I had been acquainted, and from him also I received the first correct information about brother Milton. I knew that he had left Kentucky about a year before I did, and I supposed, until now, that he was in Canada. Henry told me he was at Oberlin, Ohio." Lewis went to Sandwich, crossed over to Detroit, on his way to Oberlin to find Milton. He traded a pistol he had for a watch; lost the watch, went back to find it, placing his suitcase with his money on board to boat. He got back too late to catch the boat & lost everything. He managed to get across the river to Detroit. Sold a recently purchased hair brush; sold his "greatcoat," and set out for Oberlin. Found Milton in Oberlin.
LEWIS CLARKE RECOUNTS ESCAPE, WORK OF BROTHER MILTON 1840

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lwis clarke, 1845

p 45/ Had not seen Milton for over a year. "Brother Milton had not encountered so much danger in getting away as I had. But his time for suffering was soon to come. For several years before his escape, Milton had hired his time of his master, and had been employed as a steward in different steam boats upon the river. He had paid as high as two hundred dollars a year for his time. From his master he had a written pass, permitting him to go up and down the Mississippi and Ohio rivers when he pleased. He found it easy therefore to land on the north side of the Ohio river, and concluded to take his time for returning. He had caused a letter to be written to Mr. L., his pretended owner, telling him to give himself no anxiety on his account; that he had found by experience he had wit enough to take care of himself, and he thought the care of his master was not worth the two hundred dollars a year which he had been paying for it for four years; that on the whole, if his master would be quiet and contented, he thought he should do very well." Lewis Clarke said he and Milton had "... a little respite, and through the following winter and spring, we were employed in various kinds of work at Oberlin and in the neighborhood."

AFTER ESCAPE OF CYRUS CLARKE, ACTIONS OF WIFE 1842

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

p 58/ Cyrus Clarke's wife did not run off (she was free); the plan was to confuse Cyrus' owner. "Monday morning she went down in great distress to the overseer to inquire for her husband. She, of course, was in great anxiety about him, Mr. Logan threatened her severely, but she, having a little mixture of the Indian, Saxon and African blood, was quite too keen for them. She succeeded in so far lulling their suspicions as to make her escape, and was very fortunate in her journey to her husband."
p 58/ In Aug 1842 Lewis and Milton want to Madison, Lake Co., Ohio to visit friends. Two slavecatchers from Ky were in the area. While Milton was out in a carriage, the slave catchers caught him. They "... bent his head down to the ground, and bound him with a rope." Taken to Centerville before a magistrate. The magistrate turned Milton over to the slave catchers. Milton's friends were trying to stop the abduction in court, by having the slave catchers arrested. /p 60/ The writs were served against the slave catchers, Milton released and fled.

p 65/ His mother died in 1833, of cholera. Lewis was unable to go to her funeral. 1. Archy (a brother) was the oldest child. Through hard work and aid from C. W. Clay he purchased his freedom (repaid Clay). Cost $600. He died leaving a wife and 4 or 5 children in bondage./p 66/ 2. Christiana (sister) married a free black; master ran her husband off. 3. Dennis, a free man in Ky, "... is doing a very good business there." Mr. Wm L. Stevenson & his sister helped Dennis acquire his freedom. 4. Alexander, a slave of Dr. Richardson "... has with him a very easy time; lives as well as a man can and be a slave; has no intention of running away. He lives very much like a second-hand gentleman, and I do not know as he would leave Kentucky on any condition." 5. Fifth child died shortly after birth. 6. Delia was "uncommonly handsome" and owned by Joseph Logan. When she rejected being his mistress, Logan abused Milton, his mother, and sold her south. He says she married a Frenchman. She visited Ky once to help family acquire freedom. /p 68/ 7. Lewis Clarke. 8. Milton. 9. Manda, died at age 15-16. 10. Cyrus, now living in Hamilton, NY.
Lewis Clarke, Narrative of Sufferings of Lewis Clarke, 1845

P 69/ Holidays—Usually 6 days at Christmas, 2 or 3 others during the year is typical. How do slaves spend the Sabbath? "... Salt the cattle, collect and count the pigs and sheep, mend fences, drive the stock from one pasture to another. Breaking young horses and mules... Filing and burning brush... grubbing brier patches..." Shelling corn/ Says only 1 slave in 10 attends church on Sunday. Says he "... never saw more than three or four that could properly read at all. I never saw but one that could write." "Are families often separated? ... I never knew a whole family to live together, till all were grown up, in my life. There is almost always, in every family, some one or more /begin p 70/ keen and bright, or else sullen and stubborn slave, whose influence they are afraid of on the rest of the family, and such an one must take a walking ticket to the South." Other causes of separation: Death of a slave owner, bankruptcy, heartlessness of owner. He saw mothers and children separated. Description of slave cabins: made of small logs, 10 to 20 ft square. "The roof is covered with splits, and dirt is thrown into raise the bottom,..." Chimneys made of cut sticks and clay. Pens of straw in the corners for sleeping. "Very commonly two or three families are huddled together in one cabin, and in cold weather they sleep together promiscuously, old and young." Food: Slaves "... are not put on allowance; they generally have enough of corn bread, and meat and soup are dealt to them occasionally." Clothing? "For summer he has usually a pair of tow and linen pants, and two shirts of the same material. He has a pair of shoes, a pair of woolsey pants, and a round jacket for winter."

Early Life of Milton Clarke

Lewis & Milton Clarke, Narrative of Sufferings of L & M Clarke, 1846

P 69/ At age 6 Milton said the estate of his owner-grandfather, Samuel Campbell, was sold at auction. The slaves were to stay in the family. Judith, the wife of Joseph Logan, bought Milton's father, mother, Delia, Cyrus, and Milton. They were moved to Lexington. Logan was a tanner.
Milton Clarke tells of early work, age 12, in tannery

p 70/ Logan was a tanner. /p 71/ At "... about twelve years old, I was put to grinding bark in the tannery. Not understanding the business, I did not make such progress as Logan /begin p 72/ thought I ought to make. Many a severe beating was the consequence."

Milton Clarke tells of whipping as 12 yr old that laid him up 4 wks

p 72/ Once, upon being reprimanded by Joseph Logan, his owner, Milton Clarke went into the barn, which he thought was out of ear-shot of Logan, and cursed and denounced his owner. Logan heard him seize the lad /p 73/ and gave him a severe lashing. Milton said 300 lashes. His mother took the beaten child into the cabin. It took Milton 4 weeks to recover. He says: "Words can never tell what I suffered, nor what mother suffered."
ATTEMPTED SEDUCTION; SELLING OF MILTON CLARKE'S SISTER DELIA TO NEW ORLEANS

1 & Milton Clarke, Narrative of Sufferings of L & M Clarke, 1846

p 74/ Says "... Logan attempted to subdue sister Delia to his diabolical wishes." She was about 16 or 18 yrs old. Lewis has said she is virtually white; Logan whipped Delia; his mother ran to her aid. "He Logan/ turned around with all the vengeance of a fury, and knocked poor mother down, and injured her severely;..." Milton ran for an axe. His mother stopped him. "Sister soon came out, covered with blood." His mother bathed the sister's wounds. "In six days after this, sister was chained to a gang of a hundred and sixty slaves, and sent down to New Orleans.

Sold to NC about 1830-31 or p. 81

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A BLACK COMMENTS ON COLORED EXCURSIONS IN LOU 1873

Daily Louisville Commercial, July 4, 1873, p 4

"COLORED EXCURSIONS +

"Much has been said about excursions and picnics by leading colored men during the past few weeks. We certainly indorse the sentiment expressed against them, without prejudice to any man, or set of men. The fact is, no man in this day is too good to make money in a legitimate way. The good old time when men used to look out for the welfare of their neighbors has passed, and now every man, white and colored, must look out for himself. If A can legally call the people together and make money off of them in a legal way, he certainly has a right to every dollar he can get; and very few of us refuse to do so when emergencies are upon us. But the colored people, and not a few whites--the later, of whom we seek example in those things--need something to agitate the mind upon the question of economy. Because an article is cheap does not furnish a reason why I should buy unless I really want it. If A prepares a way for me to spend my money, that he may get a share of it for what he offers, and I willingly surrender it to him, and he gives me his wares, I certainly have no lawful right to complain of A. But if my children are without bread, my house rent unpaid, my board bill due, my coal-house empty; if I live over a stable, or in a basement cellar; or ask alms of friends to bury my children when they are dead, then any man in the community has a right to complain of my extravagance, for by it he may in some way be affected. C owes D some money, C cannot pay him until B pays C. B goes to A to collect a debt to pay B, but A has spent his last cent on a pleasure excursion and can't pay, hence they all must suffer. Again, there are very few poor persons who do not owe a dollar in the world, and we venture the assertion that every large excursion among
the colored people carries out from 500 to a thousand debtors in various amounts. A thousand able bodied men at a picnic all day is just 1,000 days labor lost for one man in the community, or from $1.50 to $5.00 per day for each man for that day. Besides this, if each man spends only one dollar, one thousand dollars will be spent in cash, and a loss of from $1,500 to $5,000 in a day's time. If we put ten or twenty of these excursions in one season, which is a small estimate, we certainly have an alarming waste of time and money for a class of people so poor as the colored citizens of Louisville are. A poor spendthrift who sees pleasure in the summer and begs in the sinter, who lives beyond his means seldom has credit among his immediate associates, neither have ten thousand such fellows credit among those who are not their immediate associates.†

"It is argued that because the white people engage in these things that the colored people are warranted in doing so too. It is generally safe to follow the white man in our transactions, but we must not forget that he has his alms-house for paupers, that he too calls on the mayor for coal in the winter, that his children sometimes beg from door to door. Not every white man, idling away a day at a picnic frolic, is able to afford it in this day of progress and industry. Because white men are sent to prison, it does not follow that the colored people should have a representative there. Again, the very ground upon which we live, move, act, and have our being is owned by some one else, with a comparatively few exceptions, and every time our white neighbor turns out, he, probably, to some extent, uses part of the rent money we have paid him. Every time we turn out we put into his hands for another purpose not half so beneficial,

that which should go to pay the rent. These facts, in our opinion, have seized thinking minds, and a change for the better will certainly be the result of labor in discouraging the extravagance."
"An Epoch for the Colored People"

Yesterday marked an epoch in the history of the colored people of Louisville. The formal opening of the large, handsome, and conveniently arranged school house, on Sixth street, was a significant event. The report of the proceedings, which we give in another column, shows that they were participated in by a number of our ablest and most respected citizens, of all shades of political opinion, as well as all shades of color. The appropriate and interesting ceremonies arranged for the occasion, as well as the speeches delivered, show that its importance and significance were fully appreciated by all concerned.

The events of yesterday proved that there was a way in which the colored people of this city could be furnished with excellent opportunities for getting an education. There is room for no further doubt on the subject. It is now only a question of efficiency and of intelligent patriotism on the part of those charged with looking after the welfare of the Commonwealth. The contemplation of the work, of which yesterday's ceremonies marked the accomplishment, will animate the colored people throughout the State to agitate for similar educational facilities, and that they should have like facilities is so undeniably just and fair that a persistent demand for them will in time get them. If our Legislators are efficient in doing their duty and wise in discerning it, and if they are truly patriotic enough to rise above mere prejudice and act for the best interests of the State the time till every colored child as well as every white child in the State has a school house to go to within convenient distance will be short.

We see various projects put forward in the newspapers of the State to meet this question of the education of the colored children. This is a good sign in one respect, for it shows that the necessity for their education is accepted as an unavoidable fact. In another respect it is not such a good sign, because all of these plans are devices, more or less ingenious, for avoiding the only simple-feasible, fair, and decent way of finally settling the whole question, which is to appropriate to the education of the colored children of the State a share of the common school fund proportionate to their numbers. If the addition of the colored children to the list of school children reduces the pro rata for each scholar too low, make the school tax heavier.

There is no tax so heavy on the people of a State as the presence among them of a large body of ignorant people. Rather than endure that tax they can afford to pay pretty heavily in money. It is worthy of note that now the wealthy counties which pay the heaviest school tax are those in which are found the greatest number of colored. It is to the interest of these rich counties that the colored children should be educated; that they should not grow up idle and ignorant and consequently vicious. It stands them in hand to see that the money they pay in taxes over and above what goes to educate their own children should rather remain in their counties to educate the colored people, from whose ignorance they would suffer, than go to educate the white children of other counties remote from them. If this arrangement makes the pro rata for each scholar too small, the way to remedy that is to make the school tax a little higher.

But this is not exactly what we started out to say. The school building turned over yesterday by the School Board to the Board of Visitors
of the colored schools is not surpassed in this State except by one, two, or three of our public school buildings here. We doubt if anywhere in the country a building better or even so good is provided for colored children. To-day such a school will begin there as the colored children of this city have never had opened to them before. Within two years more similar buildings for similar schools will be erected in the eastern and western sections of the city respectively. Surely this marks a wonderful progress. Who imagined the possibility, even ten years ago, when slavery was stricken kown, of such a scene as that of yesterday? It was hardly in the dreams of the colored man most sanguine and hopeful about the future of his race. *

When first-class houses are provided for school everything else to correspond will be furnished in due time. Yesterday took away the last leading string from the colored race hereabouts. They stand squarely upon their own merits henceforth. Their children are to have a fair start with everybody else's children in the race of life. If they fail, they justify those who have said that they were incapable of rising to the white man's standard. If they succeed, they more than justify all that the friends of humanity have done or helped to do for them. The issue depends upon themselves. They have the "equality of opportunities" which a speaker said yesterday was the boon of most value to them now. Wisdom to avail themselves of their opportunities is the need of the hour with them. We believe that they have it. We look forward to the work of this school with confidence that its results will justify those who have labored so zealously to establish it. We congratulate the colored people of Louisville on this glad fruition of their hopes. We congratulate the Board of Visitors of the colored schools on the achievement of the results they have so long worked for, and we congratulate and thank those members of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools who have faithfully and steadily and sincerely urged forward this work of justice and wisdom."
After this failure I said about two weeks, and, after having arranged every thing to the best of my knowledge, I saddled my pony, went into the cellar where I kept my grass seed apparatus, put my clothes into a pair of saddle-bags, and then into my seed-bag, and thus equipped set sail for the North Star. O what a day was that to me. This was on Saturday, in August, 1841. I wore my common clothes, and was very careful to avoid special suspicion, as I already imagined the administrator was very watchful of me. The place from which I started was about fifty miles from Lexington. The reason why I do not give the name of the place, and a more accurate location, must be obvious to any one who remembers that in the eye of the law I am yet accounted a slave, and no spot in the United States affords an asylum for the wanderer. True, I feel this protection does not come from the laws of any one of the United States. But to return. After riding about fifteen miles, a Baptist minister overtook me on the road, saying, "How do you do, boy; are you free? I always thought you were free, till I saw them try to sell you the other day." I then wished him a thousand miles off, preaching, if he would, to the whole plantation, "Servants obey your masters;" but I wanted neither sermons, questions, nor advice from him. At length I mustered resolution to make some kind of a reply.—What made you think I was free? He replied, that he had noticed I had great privileges, that I did much as I liked, and that I was almost white. O yes, I said, but there are a great many slaves as white as I am. "Yes," he said, and then went on to name several; among others, one who had lately, as he said, run away. This was touching altogether too near upon what I was thinking of. Now, said I, he must know, or at least reckon, what I am at — running away.

However, I blushed as little as possible, and made strange of the fellow who had lately run away, as though I knew nothing of it. The old fellow looked at me, as it seemed to me, as though he would read my thoughts. I wondered what in the world a slave could run away for, especially if they had such a chance as I had had for the last few years. He said, "I suppose you would not run away on any account, you are so well treated." O, said I, I do very well — very well, sir. If you should ever hear that I had run away, be certain it must be because there is some great change in my treatment.

He then began to talk with me about the seed in my bag, and said that he should want to buy some. Then, I thought, he means to get at the truth by looking in my seed-bag, where sure enough, he would not find grass seed, but the seeds of Liberty. However, he dodged off soon, and left me alone. And although I have heard say, poor company is better than none, I felt much better without him than with him.

When I had gone on about twenty-five miles, I went down into a deep valley by the side of the road, and changed my clothes. I reached Lexington about seven o'clock that evening, and put up with brother Cyrus. As I had often been to Lexington before, and stopped with him, it excited no attention from the slave holding gentry. Moreover, I had a pass from the administrator, of whom I had hired my time. I remained over the Sabbath with Cyrus, and we talked over a great many plans for future operations, if my efforts to escape should be successful. Indeed we talked over all sorts of ways for me to proceed.

But both of us were very ignorant of the roads, and of the best way to escape suspicion. And I sometimes wonder, that a slave, so ignorant, so timid, as he is, ever makes the attempt to get his freedom. "Without are foes, within are fears."

Monday morning, bright and early, I set my face in good earnest toward the Ohio River, determined to see and tread the north bank of it, or die in the attempt. I said to myself, one of two things, Freedom or Death. The first night I reached Mayslick, fifty odd miles from Lexington. Just before reaching this village, I stopped to think over my situation, and determine how I would pass that night. On that night hung all my hopes. I was within twenty miles of Ohio. My horse was unable to reach the river that night. And besides, to travel and attempt to cross the river in the night, would excite suspicion. I must spend the night there. But how? At one time, I thought, I will take my pony out into the field and give him some corn, and sleep myself on the grass. But then the dogs will be out in the evening, and if caught under such circumstances, they will take me for a thief if not for a runaway. That will not do. So after
ACCT OF ESCAPE OF LEWIS CLARKE FROM KY 1841

lewis clarke, narrative of sufferings of lewis clarke, 1845

weighing the matter all over, I made a plunge right into the heart of the village, and put up at the tavern.

After seeing my pony disposed of, I looked into the barroom, and saw some persons that I thought were from my part of the country, and would know me. I shrank back with horror. What to do I did not know. I looked across the street, and saw the shop of a silversmith. A thought of a pair of spectacles, to hide my face, struck me. I went across the way, and began to barter for a pair of double eyed green spectacles. When I got them on, they blind-folded me, if they did not others. Every thing seemed right up in my eyes. I hobbled back to the tavern, and called for supper. This I did to avoid notice, for I felt like any thing but eating. At tea I had not learned to measure distances with my new eyes, and the first pass I made with my knife and fork at my plate, went right into my cup. This confused me still more, and, after drinking one cup of tea, I left the table, and got off to bed as soon as possible. But not a wink of sleep that night. All was confusion, dreams, anxiety and trembling.

As soon as day dawned, I called for my horse, paid my reckoning, and was on my way, rejoicing that that night was gone, any how. I made all diligence on my way, and was across the Ohio, and in Aberdeen by noon that day!

What my feelings were when I reached the free shore, can be better imagined than described. I trembled all over with deep emotion, and I could feel my hair rise up on my head. I was on what was called a free soil, among a people who had no slaves. I saw white men at work, and no slave smarting beneath the lash. Every thing was indeed new and wonderful. Not knowing where to find a friend, and being ignorant of the country, unwilling to inquire lest I should betray my ignorance, it was a whole week before I reached Cincinnati. At one place where I put up, I had a great many more questions put to me than I wished to answer. At another place I was very much annoyed by the officiousness of the landlord, who made it a point to supply every guest with newspapers. I took the copy handed me, and turned it over in a somewhat awkward manner, I suppose. He came to me to point out a Veto, or some other very important

news. I thought it best to decline his assistance, and gave up the paper, saying my eyes were not in a fit condition to read much.

At another place, the neighbors, on learning that a Kentuckian was at the tavern, came in great earnestness to find out what my business was. Kentuckians sometimes came there to kidnap their citizens — they were in the habit of watching them close. I at length satisfied them, by assuring them that I was not, nor my father before me, any slave holder at all; but, lest their suspicions should be excited in another direction, I added, my grandfather was a slave holder.

At Cincinnati I found some old acquaintances, and spent several days. In passing through some of the streets, I several times saw a great slave dealer from Kentucky, who knew me, and when I approached him, I was very careful to give him a wide berth. The only advice that I here received, was from a man who had once been a slave. He urged me to sell my pony, go up the river to Portsmouth, then take the canal for Cleveland, and cross over to Canada. I acted upon this suggestion, sold my horse for a small sum, as he was pretty well used up, took passage for Portsmouth, and soon found myself on the canal-boat, headed for Cleveland. On the boat I became acquainted with a Mr. Conoly, from New York. He was very sick with fever and ague, and as he was a stranger and alone, I took the best possible care of him for a time. One day, in conversation with him, he spoke of the slaves in the most harsh and bitter language, and was especially severe on those who attempted to run away. Thinks I, you are not the man for me to have much to do with. I found the spirit of slaveholding was not all South of the Ohio River.

No sooner had I reached Cleveland, than a trouble came upon me from a very unexpected quarter. A rough, swearing, reckless creature in the shape of a man, came up to me and declared I had passed a bad five dollar bill upon his wife, in the boat, and he demanded the silver for it. I had never seen him nor his wife before. He pursued me into the tavern, swearing and threatening all the way. The travellers, that had just arrived at the tavern, were asked to give their names to the clerk, that he might enter them upon the book. He called on me for my name, just as this ruffian was in the midst of his assault upon me.
On leaving Kentucky I thought it best for my own security to take a new name, and I had been entered on the boat, as Archibald Campbell. I knew, with such a charge as this man was making against me, it would not do to change my name from the boat to the hotel. At the moment, I could not recollect what I had called myself, and for a few minutes, I was in a complete puzzle. The clerk kept calling, and I made believe deaf, till at length the name popped back again, and I was duly enrolled a guest at the tavern in Cleveland. I had heard before of persons being frightened out of their Christian names, but I was fairly scared out of both mine for a while. The landlord soon protected me from the violence of the bad-meaning man, and drove him away from the house.

I was detained at Cleveland several days, not knowing how to get across the Lake into Canada. I went out to the shore of the lake again and again, to try and see the other side, but I could see no hill, mountain, nor city of the asylum I sought. I was afraid to inquire where it was, lest it would betray such a degree of ignorance as to excite suspicion at once. One day I heard a man ask another, employed on board a vessel, "and where does this vessel trade?" Well, I thought, if that is a proper question for you, it is for me. So I passed along and asked of every vessel, "Where does this vessel trade?" At last the answer came, "over here in Kettle Creek, near Port Stanley." And where is that, said I. "O, right over here in Canada." That was the sound for me, "over here in Canada." The captain asked me if I wanted a passage to Canada. I thought it would not do to be too earnest about it, lest it would betray me. I told him I some thought of going, if I could get a passage cheap. We soon came to terms on this point, and that evening we set sail. After proceeding only nine miles the wind changed, and the captain returned to port again. This I thought was a very bad omen. However, I stuck by, and the next evening at nine o'clock we set sail once more, and at daylight, we were in Canada.

When I stepped ashore here, I said, sure enough I am free. Good heaven! what a sensation, when it first visits the bosom of a full grown man — one, born to bondage — one, who had been taught from early infancy, that this was his inevitable lot for life. Not till then, did I dare to cherish
All this time I was deliberating upon a plan by which to go down and rescue Cyrus, our youngest brother, from bondage. In July 1842, I gathered what little money I had saved, which was not a large sum, and started for Kentucky again. As near as I remember I had about twenty dollars. I did not tell my plan to but one or two at Oberlin, because there were many slaves there, and I did not know but that it might get to Kentucky in some way through them sooner than I should. On my way down through Ohio, I advised with several well known friends of the slave. Most of them pointed out the dangers I should encounter, and urged me not to go. One young man told me to go, and the God of heaven would prosper me. I knew it was dangerous, but I did not then dream of all that I must suffer in body and mind before I was through with it. It is not a very comfortable feeling to be creeping round day and night for nearly two weeks together in a den of lions, where if one of them happens to put his paw on you, it is certain death, or something much worse.

At Ripley, I met a man who had lived in Kentucky; he encouraged me to go forward, and directed me about the roads. He told me to keep on a back route not much traveled, and I should not be likely to be molested. I crossed the river at Ripley, and when I reached the other side, and was again upon the soil on which I had suffered so much, I trembled, shuddered, at the thoughts of what might happen to me. My fears, my feelings overcame for the moment all my resolution, and I was for a time completely overcome with emotion. Tears flowed like a brook of water. I had just left kind friends; I was now where every man I met would be my enemy. It was a long time before I could summon courage sufficient to proceed. I had with me a rude map made by the Kentuckian whom I saw at Ripley. After examining this as well as I could, I proceeded. In the afternoon of the first day, as I was sitting in a stream to bathe and cool my feet, a man rode up on horseback, and entered into a long conversation with me. He asked me some questions about my travelling, but none but what I could easily answer. He pointed out to me a house where a white woman lived, who he said had recently suffered terribly from a fright. Eight slaves, that were running passing in and out on that day, and I thought I should be much less observed than on any other day.

When I approached the city and met troops of idlers on foot and on horseback, sauntering out of the city, I was very careful to keep my umbrella before my face, as people passed, and kept my eyes right before me. There were many persons in the place, who had known me, and I did not care to be recognized by any of them. Just before entering the city, I turned off to the field, and laid down under a tree and waited for night. When its curtains were fairly over me, I started up, took two pocket handkerchiefs, tied one over my forehead, the other under my chin, and marched forward for the city. It was not then so dark as I wished it was. I met a young slave driving cows. He was quite disposed to console me with, and said, in a very sympathetic manner, "Massa sick." "Yes, boy," I said, "Massa sick,—drive along your cows." The next colored man I met, I knew him in a moment, but he did not recognize me. I made for the wash-house of the man with whom Cyrus lived. I reached it without attracting any notice, and found there an old slave as true as steel.
inquired for Cyrus, he said he was at home. He very
soon recollected me; and while the boy was gone to call
Cyrus, he uttered a great many exclamations of wonder to
think I should return.

“Good heaven, boy! what you back here for? What
on arth you here for, my son? O! I scared for you!
They kill you, just as sure as I alive, if they catch you!
Why, in name of Liberty, didn’t you stay away, when
you gone so slick! Sartin, I never did ‘pect to see you
again!” I said, Don’t be scared. But he kept repeating,
“I scared for you! I scared for you!” When I told him
my errand, his wonder was somewhat abated, but still his
exclamations were repeated all the evening. “What
brought you back here?” In a few minutes Cyrus made
his appearance, filled with little less of wonder than the
old man had manifested. I had intended, when I left him
about a year before, that I would return for him, if I was
successful in my effort for freedom. He was very glad to
see me, and entered with great animation upon the plan
for his own escape. He had a wife, who was a free
woman, and consequently he had a home. He soon went
out, and left me in the wash-room with the old man. He
went home to apprise his wife, and to prepare a room for
my concealment. His wife is a very active, industrious
woman, and they were enabled to rent a very comfortable
house, and at this time had a spare room in the attick,
where I could be thoroughly concealed.

He soon returned, and said every thing was ready. I
went home with him; and before ten o’clock at night I was
stowed away in a little room that was to be my prison-
house for about a week. It was a comfortable room; still
the confinement was close, and I was unable to take exer-
cise, lest the people in the other part of the house should
hear. I got out and walked around a little in the even-
ing, but suffered a good deal for want of more room to
live and move in. During the day Cyrus was busy mak-
ing arrangements for his departure. He had several little
sums of money in the hands of the foreman of the tan-
yard, and in other hands. Now it would not do to go
right boldly up and demand his pay of every one that
owed him; this would lead to suspicion at once. So he
contrived various ways to get in his little debts. He had

seen the foreman one day counting out some singular coin
of some foreign nation; he pretended to take a great lik-
ing to that foreign money, and told the man, if he would
pay him what was due him in that money, he would give
him two or three dollars. From another person he took
an order on a store, and so, in various ways, he got in his
little debts as well as he could. At night we contrived to
plan the ways and means of escaping. Cyrus had never
been much accustomed to walking, and he dreaded very
much to undertake such a journey. He proposed to take
a couple of horses, as he thought he had richly earned
them, over and above all he had received. I objected to
this, because, if we were caught, either in Kentucky or
out of it, they would bring against us the charge of steal-
ing, and this would be far worse than the charge of run-
ning away.

To all these propositions I firmly replied, “We must
go on foot.” In the course of a week, Cyrus had gather-
ed something like twenty dollars, and we were ready for
our journey. A family lived in the same house with
Cyrus, in a room below. How to get out in the early part
of the morning, without being discovered, was a
question. Finally, we agreed that Cyrus should go down
and get into conversation with them, while I slipped out
with his bundle of clothes, and repaired to a certain
street, where he was to meet me.

As I passed silently out at the door, Cyrus was cracking
his best jokes, and raising a general laugh, which com-
pletely covered my retreat. Cyrus soon took quiet and
unexpected leave of his friends in that family, and leave
also of his wife above—for a short time only. At a little
past eight of the clock, we were beyond the bounds of the
city. His wife did all she could to assist him in his effort
to gain his inalienable rights. She did not dare, however,
to let the slaveholders know that she knew any thing of his
attempt to run away. He had told the slaves that he was
going to see his sister, about twelve miles off. It was Sat-
urday night when we left Lexington. On entering the
town, when I went in, I was so intent upon covering up my
face, that I took but little notice of the roads. We were
very soon exceedingly perplexed to know what road to take.
The moon favored us, for it was a clear, beautiful
night. On we came, but at the cross of the roads what to
do we did not know. At length I decided upon the road.

guide posts, and spelled out the names as well as I could. We were on the road to freedom’s boundary, and with a strong step we measured off the path; but again the cross roads perplexed us. This time we took hold of the sign post and lifted it out of the ground, and turned it upon one of its horns, and spelled out the way again. As we started from this goal, I told Cyrus we had not put up the sign post. He pulled forward, and said he guessed we would do that when we came back. Whether the sign board is up or down, we have never been there to see.

Soon after leaving the city, we met a great many of the patrols, but they did not arrest us, and we had no disposition to trouble them.

While we were pressing on by moon light, and sometimes in great doubt about the road, Cyrus was a good deal discouraged. He thought if we got upon the wrong road, it would be almost certain death for us, or something worse. In the morning we found that, on account of our embarrassment in regard to the roads, we had only made a progress of some twenty or twenty-five miles. But we were greatly elated to find they were so many miles in the right direction. Then we put the best foot forward, and urged our way as fast as possible. In the afternoon it rained very hard, the roads were muddy and slippery. We had slept none the night before, and had been of course very much excited. In this state of mind and body, just before dark we stopped in a little patch of bushes, to discuss the expediency of going to a house, which we saw at a distance, to spend the night.

As we sat there, Cyrus became very much excited, and pointing across the road, exclaimed, “Don’t you see that animal there?” I looked, but saw nothing; still he affirmed that he saw a dreadful-looking animal looking at us, and ready to make a spring. He began to feel for his pistols, but I told him not to fire there; but he persisted in pointing to the animal, although I am persuaded he saw nothing, only by the force of his imagination. I had some doubts about telling this story, lest people would not believe me; but a friend has suggested to me that such things are not uncommon, when the imagination is strongly excited. The reader may see confirmation of this fact, by turning to a note at the end of this pamphlet.

In travelling through the rain and mud this afternoon, we suffered beyond all power of description. Sometimes we found ourselves just ready to stand fast asleep in the middle of the road. Our feet were blistered all over. When Cyrus would get almost discouraged, I urged him on, saying we were walking for freedom now. Yes, he would say, “Freedom is good, Lewis, but this is a hard, h-a-r-d way to get it.” This he would say half asleep. We were so weak before night, that we several times fell upon our knees in the road. We had crackers with us, but we had no appetite to eat — fears were behind us, hope before—and we were driven and drawn as hard as ever men were. Our limbs and joints were so stiff, that if we took a step to the right hand or left, it seemed as though it would shake us to pieces. It was a dark, weary day to us both.

At length I succeeded in getting the consent of Cyrus to go to a house for the night. We found a plain farmer’s family. The good man was all taken up in talking about the camp-meeting held that day about three miles from his house. He only asked us where we were from, and he told us our home was in Ohio. He said the young men had behaved unaccountably bad at the camp-meeting, and they had but little comfort of it. They mocked the preachers, and disturbed the meeting badly.

We escaped suspicion more readily, as I have no doubt, from the supposition, on the part of many, that we were going to the camp-meeting. Next morning we called at the meeting, as it was on our way, bought up a little extra gingerbread against the time of need, and marched forward for the Ohio. When any one inquired why we left the meeting so soon, we had an answer ready: the young men behave so bad, we can get no good of the meeting.

By this time we limped badly, and we were sore all over. A young lady whom we met, noticing that we walked lame, cried out, mocking us, “O my feet, my feet, how sore.” At about eleven o’clock we reached the river, two miles below Ripley. The boatman was on the other side. We called for him. He asked us a few questions. This was a last point with us. We tried our best to appear unconcerned. I asked questions about the boats, as though I had been there before; went to Cyrus and said, Sir, I have no change, will you lend me enough to pay my toll? I will pay you before we part.
we were fairly landed upon the northern bank, and had gone a few steps, Cyrus stopped suddenly on seeing the water gush out at the side of the hill. Said he, "Lewis, give me that tin cup." What in the world do you want of a tin cup now? we have not time to stop. The cup he would have. Then he went up to the spring, dipped and drank, and dipped and drank; then he would look round and drink again. "What in the world," said I, "are you fooling there for?" "0," said he, "this is the first time I ever had a chance to drink water that ran out of the free dirt." Then we went a little further, and he sat down on a log. I urged him forward. "0," said he, "I must sit on this free timber a little while."

A short distance further on, we saw a man who seemed to watch us very closely. I asked him which was the best way—over the hill before us or around it. I did this to appear to know something about the location. He went out without offering any obstacles to our journey. In going up the hill, Cyrus would stop and lay down and roll over. "What in the world are you about, Cyrus; don't you see Kentucky is over there?" said it was a game horse that could roll clear over; then he would put face to the ground, and roll over and over. "First time," he said, "he ever rolled on free grass."

After he recovered a little from his sportive mood, we went up to the house of a good friend of the slave at Ripley. We were weary and worn enough; though ever since we left the River, it seemed as though Cyrus was young and spry as a colt; but when we got where we could rest, we found ourselves tired. The good lady showed us into a good bed-room. Cyrus was skittish. He would not go in and lay down. "I am afraid," said he, "of old mistress. She is too good—they want to catch us both." So to pacify him, I had to go out into the orchard and rest there. When the young men came home, he soon got acquainted, and felt sure they were his friends. From this place we were sent on by the friends, from place to place, till we reached Oberlin, Ohio, in about five weeks after I left there to go for Cyrus. I had encountered a good deal of peril; had suffered much from anxiety of feeling; but felt richly repaid in seeing another brother free.

We stopped at Oberlin a few days, and then Cyrus started for Canada. He did not feel exactly safe. When he reached the Lake, he met a man from Lexington who knew him perfectly; indeed, the very man of whom his wife hired her house. This man asked him if he was free. He told him yes, he was free, and he was hunting for brother Milton, to get him to go back and settle with the old man for his freedom. Putnam told him that was all right. He asked Cyrus if he should still want that house his wife lived in? "O yes," said Cyrus, "we will notify you when we don’t want it any more. You tell them I shall be down there in a few days. I have heard of Milton, and expect to have him soon to carry back with me." Putnam went home, and when he found what a fool Cyrus had made of him, he was vexed enough. "A rascal," he said, "I could have caught him as well as not."

Cyrus hastened over to Canada. He did not like that country so well as the States, and in a few weeks returned. He had already sent a letter to his wife, giving her an account of his successful escape, and urging her to join him as soon as possible. He had the pleasure of meeting his wife and her three children by a former husband, and they have found a quiet resting place, where, if the rumor of oppression reaches them, they do not feel its scourge, nor its chains. And there is no doubt entertained by any of his friends but he can take care of himself.

He begins already to appreciate his rights, and to maintain them as a freeman. The following paragraph concerning him was published in the Liberty Press about one year since.
"In the year 1838, I hired my time of Deacon Logan, for the purpose of going in a steamboat up and down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. I was at New Orleans three or four times, before I could find any thing of sister Delia. At last, through the assistance of an old acquaintance, I found where she lived. I went to the house, but I was so changed, by the growth of seven or eight years, that she did not know me." She shortly accepted and recognized him. In 1839 Delia visited Ky with Milton, spent "two or three months. Deacon Logan treated her with great kindness and politeness;..." "While in Kentucky, she advanced the money, in part, to pay for the freedom of Dennis, and, as soon as she returned to New Orleans, she sent up the balance." She also made arrangements with Logan to buy Cyrus and Milton for $1600. In 1840 Milton started for N O to get the money. /p 82/ In Louisville, he received a letter saying Delia had died, leaving her estate to Milton. Milton found most of it was in real estate and got only $60 and a suit of clothes.

In summer of 1840 Milton started for N O to get money from his sister to purchase Cyrus and himself. At Louisville he learned his sister had died. The letter said, also, that Delia had "...left her property, by will, to me, for the purpose of buying myself, and all the family, form bondage. I was now told that, if I went down and took the property, my master could claim and take the whole of it. I went directly back to Lexington, and asked Mr. Logan to make me free, and I would pay him a thousand dollars, the first money that I received from the estate of my sister. This he said he would not do; but he gave me a free paper, to pass up and down the river as I pleased, and to transact any business as though I was free. With this paper, I started for New Orleans, but could get no more than sixty dollars and a suit of clothes. The person with whom it was left, said it was in real estate, and he had no authority to sell it. I then began to think that the day of my freedom was a great way off. I concluded, with a great many other persons in desperate circumstances, to go to Texas. I took boat for Galveston. Here it looked worse than slavery, if any thing can be worse. I soon returned, and came up to Louisville. Here I met three slaves of Doctor Graham, of Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Their names were Henry, Reuben, and George; all smart, fine fellows, good musicians, and yielding the doctor a handsome income. In the same company were three others, all of the same craft. +

"Now," said I, 'boys, is the time to strike for liberty. I go for Ohio to-morrow. What say you?" They pondered the
MILTON CLARKE DECIDES TO ESCAPE KY 1840

Milton Clarke decides to escape Ky 1840

1 & Milton Clarke, Narrative Sufferings of 1 & M. Clarke, 1846

1 & Milton Clarke, Narrative Sufferings of 1 & M. Clarke, 1846

/p 83 cont'd/ question, and we all determined to start, as a company of
musicians, to attend a great ball in Cincinnati--and, sure enough, it
was the grandest ball we ever played for. We came to Cincinnati, and
the friends there advised us to go farther north. Doctor Graham's boys
struck for Canada, while I stopped at Oberlin, Ohio. It was well they
did, for the doctor was close upon them, offering a large reward.

MILTON HELPS FUGITIVES PASS THROUGH OBERLIN, SUMMER 1841

Milton Helps Fugitives Pass Through Oberlin, Summer 1841

1 & Milton Clarke, Narrative Sufferings of 1 & M. Clarke, 1846

p 84/

"During the summer of 1841, the emigration to Canada, through
Oberlin, was very large. I had the pleasure of giving the 'right hand
of fellowship' to a goodly number of my former acquaintances and fellow-
suffers. The masters accused me of stealing several of them. This is a
great lie. I never stole one in my life." Said you can steal a person
by helping him to freedom. /p 85/ Helped a
Mrs. Swift & her two children to Canada. Says that during "... 1842,
there were nine slaves reached Oberlin by one arrival, all from one
plantation." A Mr. Benningale, of Ky, was in hot pursuit. Benningale
lined the lake with hired watchmen. "Benningale, finding they were hid
in the village, threatened to burn the town. The colored people were on
guard all night. They met two persons, whom they suspected as spies of
the kidnappers. They told them, if they caught them out again,/p 86/
they should be hung right up, as spies against libert. The fugitives
were at length put into a wagon, carried to the lake, and shipped for
Canada."
While traveling down the Ohio R., at the mouth of the Cumberland R., Marryat described the following scene: "We stopped at the mouth of the Cumberland river, where we took on passengers. Among others were a slave-dealer and a runaway negro whom he had captured. He was secured by a heavy chain, and followed his master, who, as soon as he arrived on the upper deck, made him fast with a large padlock to one of the stanchions. Here he remained looking wistfully at the northern shore, where every one was free, but occasionally glancing his eye on the southern, which had condemned him to toil for others. I had never seen a slave-dealer, and scrutinized this one severely. His most remarkable feature was his eye; it was large but not projecting, clear as crystal, and eternally in motion. I could not help imagining, as he turned it right and left from one to the other of the passengers, that he was calculating what price he could obtain for them in the market. The negro had run away about seven months before and not having a pass, he had been secured in gaol until the return of his master, who had been on a journey with a string of slaves, to the State of Arkansas; he was about to be sold to pay expenses, when his master saw the advertisement and claimed him. As may be supposed, a strong feeling exists on the opposite shores of the river as to slavery and freedom." Says he had heard that fewer slaves are attempting to escape.
At Louisville, Kentucky, I saw a girl, about twelve years old, carrying a child; and, aware that in a slave State the circumstance of white people hiring themselves out to service is almost unknown, I inquired of her if she were a slave. To my astonishment, she replied in the affirmative. She was as fair as snow, and it was impossible to detect any admixture of blood from her appearance, which was that of a pretty English cottager's child. +

"I afterwards spoke to the master, who stated when he had purchased her and the sum which he had paid."

"There was one material drawback, however, on all this sylvan and rural beauty, which was the general absence of neatness and cleanliness in the farmhouses, cottages, and villages, near which we passed. In this respect, Kentucky contrasts disadvantageously with Ohio. In the latter State, neatness, order, and cleanliness are remarkable in all their villages, cottages, and farms; but in this, the most improved part of Kentucky, slovenliness and dirtiness were predominant. To us, this difference was easily accounted for, when we saw, that instead of the white peasantry, met on the roads and in the fields of Ohio--here the great bulk of the laborers were negro slaves, whose air, dress, and general appearance, sufficiently manifested their indifference to everything but their own ease, and their desire to escape from labour."
"A few instances were mentioned to us on the road, of colored persons, originally slaves, saving money enough out of their earnings, by over-hour work, raising vegetables, and rearing poultry for sale, to purchase their own freedom, and subsequently becoming rich. One black man was pointed out to us, as being in a large way of business, as a dealer in produce in excellent credit, and thought to be worth 26,000 dollars at least. The prejudice against colour appeared to us to be less in this State than in any which we had before travelled through."

"The prejudice against colour appeared to us to be less in this State than in any which we had before travelled through. In our journey from Maysville to Lexington, there were two perfectly black women with us as passengers in the stage; one was the servant of one of the ladies, and came in with her, but the other had been left behind on the previous day for want of room, and was a perfect stranger to all around her. Both, however, were well dressed, but perfectly silent all the way, and no one appeared to feel their presence at all more inconvenient than if they were white. Here in the fields, too, between Frankfort and Louisville, we saw many instances of black and white labourers--slave and free--working together in the same field, and employed on the same spot. As large gangs are not employed in the cultivation here, as they are in the cotton, rice, and sugar lands of the South, the discipline is much more relaxed, and the condition of the negroes, as to food, clothing, and light labour, struck me as being better in Kentucky than in any other State that I had yet visited."
p 239/ Just before dinner in the Lawes' Hotel, Middletown, Ky., Fearon heard "the piteous cries of a human voice, accompanied with the loud cracking of a whip." He ran and peered into the barn. Two men were whipping a 14 year old black who had been stripped naked. The lad "... fell down upon his knees several times, begging and praying that they would not kill him, and that he would do any thing they liked: this produced no cessation in their exercise." Mr. Lawes went out and stopped the whipping; said the lad had not cut wood on his orders. Fearon said Lawes was quite angry. Fearon says / p 241/ "There is in this instance of the treatment of a negro, nothing that in this State is at all singular; and much as I condemned New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, when in those sections, I must now give them the character of enlightened humanity, compared with this State,..."

/p 241/ Lawes said that he saw nothing wrong with whipping slaves, and only intervened because the boy had been left by his owner, a slave dealer, under Lawes' care.

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price of male slave in lex in 1812

john palmer, journal of travels in the us, 1818

p 105/ A british visitor to Lexington recorded: "Negroes are numerous; and some that are free, keep small stores. The price of a young Negro man is from 500 to 700 dollars." Written in July 1817.
p 92/ In describing Lexington, Brown says that near the center of the town is a public square, large houses, hotels, etc. "In this square stands the market house, which is of brick, and well furnished on Wednesdays and Saturdays; but occasionally the scene of a barbarous practice; for it is here that incorrigible or delinquent negroes are flogged unmercifully. I saw this punishment inflicted on two of these wretches. Their screams soon collected a numerous crowd--I could not help saying to myself, 'These cries are the knell of Kentucky liberty.'"

p 99/ Brown described Augusta, Bracken Co., as he approached. This is information for those who might want to move to Ky. "It was court week, and the day very hot and sultry, when I arrived here /Augusta/ from Cincinnati, and proceeded by land to Washington. Slavery never appeared more odious to me /begin p 100/ than on that day. The neighboring fields were filled with negroes, bear headed, toiling beneath the rays of a scorching sun, and covered with sweat and dust, while the well dressed whites, sat in groupes beneath refreshing shades, engaged in reading newspapers, and beguiling the hours in the vivacity of coloquial intercourse."
Isabella Trotter, first impressions of new world on two travellers, 1859

Isabella Trotter says that she had been reading Autobiography of a Female Slave which told horrible tales of slavery in and around Louisville, especially the "... diabolical character of the slave-dealers, and of those who hold subordinate situations under them. We were hardly prepared, therefore, on reaching this pen to be received, in the absence of the master, by a good-looking coloured housekeeper, with a face as full of kindness and benevolence as one could wish to see, but the pen had yesterday been cleared out, with the exception of one woman with her six little children, the youngest only a year old, and two young brothers, neither of whom the dealer had sold, as he had been unable to find a purchaser who would take them without separating them, and he was determined not to sell them till he could. In the case both of the women and of the two boys, their sale to the dealer had been caused by the bankruptcy of the owner. The woman had a husband, but having a different master, he retained his place, and his master promised that when his wife got a new home he would send him to join her."

"No doubt this separation of families is a crying evil, and perhaps the greatest practical one, as respects hardship, to which the system is necessarily subject; but certainly, from what we have seen and heard today, it does not seem to be harshly done, and pains are taken to avoid it: the woman said she had been always kindly treated, and there was not the slightest difficulty made by the dark duenna to our conversing with the slaves as freely as we liked, and she left us with

Isabella was trav'ling with her husband 4 writing letters to her daughter in B.
isabella trotter, first impressions new world on two travellers, 1859

p 243/ I. Trotter & husband apparently travelling from Lou to Lex:

"On our journey here there were a great many slaves in the car with us, coming to pass their Sunday at Lexington. They seemed exceedingly merry, and one, whom papa sat next, said he had accumulated $950, and that when he got $1900, he would be able to purchase his freedom. He said his master was a rich man, having $300,000, and that he was very well treated; but that some masters did behave very badly to their slaves, and often beat them whether they deserved it or not. From the specimen we had of those in the cars, they seemed well-conditioned men, and all paid the same fare that we did, and were treated with quite as much attention. They seem to get some sort of extra wages from their masters besides their food and raiment, out of which they can lay by if they are provident, so as to be able to purchase their freedom in time; but they do not seem always to care about this, as one man here has $4000, which would much more than suffice to buy his freedom; but he prefers remaining a slave. We shall probably see a good deal more of the condition of the slaves within the next few days, so I shall say no more upon the subject at present, excepting that all this does not alter the view which we cannot help taking of the vileness of the institution, though it certainly does not appear so very cruel in practice as it is often represented to be by the anti-slavery party."

p 244/ I. Trotter & husband visited the famous artesian well, 2086 feet deep in Louisville. /p 255/ A fountain over the well. "It comes out in all sorts of forms, sometimes imitating flowers, and sometimes a shower of snow, on which the negro who showed it to us expatiated with great delight."
BR TRAVELLERS VISIT SLAVE PEN IN LEXINGTON: COMMENT ON SLAVERY NOV 1858 5879

isabella trotter, first impression new world on two travellers, 1859

p 252/ In Lexington:

"We went next to see a very large pen, in which there were about forty negroes for sale; they had within the last few days, sold about 100, who had travelled by railway chained together. Those we saw, were divided into groups, and we went through a variety of rooms in which they were domiciled, and were allowed to converse freely with them all. This is one of the largest slave markets in the United States, and is the great place from which the South is supplied. There are, in this place, five of these pens where slaves are kept on sale, and, judging from this one, they are very clean and comfortable. But these pens give one a much more volting idea of the institution than seeing the slaves in regular service. There was one family of a man and his wife and four little children, the price of 'the lot' being $3500, or 700L. sterling, but neither the man nor the woman seemed to care much whether they were sold together or not. There was one poor girl of eighteen, with a little child of nine weeks old, who was sold, and she was to set off to-night with her baby, for a place in the State. The slave-dealer himself was a civil, well-spoken man, at least to us, and spoke quite freely of his calling, but we thought he spoke harshly to the poor negroes, especially to the man with the wife and four children. It appears he had bought the man separately from the woman and children, in order to bring them together, but the man had attempted to run away, and told us in excuse he did not like leaving his clothes behind him; whereupon papa asked him if he cared more for his clothes than his wife, and gave him

/p 253 cont'd/ a lecture on his domestic duties. The dealer said they sometimes are much distressed when separated from their wives, or husband and children, but that it was an exception when this was so. One can hardly credit this, but so far as it is true it is one of the worst features of slavery that it can thus deaden all natural feelings of affection. We have spoken a good deal to the slaves here, and they seem anxious to obtain their freedom. The brother of one of the waiters at our hotel had twice been swindled by his master of the money he had saved to purchase his freedom. I spoke to the housemaid at our hotel, also a slave, who shuddered with horror when she described the miseries occasioned by the separation of relations. She had been sold several times, and was separated from her husband by being sold away from him. She said the poor negroes are generally taken out of their beds in the middle of the night, when sold to the slave-dealers, as there is a sense of shame about transacting this trade in the day-time. From what the slaves told us, they are, no doubt, frequently treated with great severity by the masters, though not always, as they sometimes fall into the hands of kind people; but though they may have been many years in one family, they never know from hour to hour what may be their fate, as the usual cause for parting with slaves is, the master falling into difficulties, when he sells them to raise money, or to pay his debts. The waiter told us, he would rather starve as a freeman than remain a slave, and said this with much feeling and energy."
"The change from a State where slavery exists, which it does in Kentucky, though in somewhat a mitigated form, to a State with a free population, is obvious here. In Indiana you see neat white women and their children, with here and there a free negro; and every thing is cleaner and tidier than in Tennessee and Kentucky."
Upon arriving in Lexington, Cuming and associate went to the market the next morning. They were impressed with the fine market. "Vegetables were in great abundance and very cheap, and were sold mostly by negro men and women; indeed that race were the most predominant both as to sellers and buyers."

F. Cuming & friend left Lexington on Frankfort Rd. and went about 12 miles to Leesburgh. At Leesburgh they found an Inn run by a man named Daly, a mulatto; an excellent inn. Daly entertained his guests with stories. "His vanity however had met with a sad check, soon after our alighting at his house, from the abuse of a female negro slave from a neighboring plantation, who he drove away with a cowskin, and she in return lavished on him the most opprobrious epithets, among which he seemed to be most hurt by her calling him 'an Indian looking and a black son of a b----.'"
p 176/ Cuming reached Paris, Ky, in early August, 1807,
"The hostler at Buchanan's inn, where I stopped to breakfast, is
a free negro man named Frank Bird. /begin p 177/ He was formerly owned
by the great and good Washington, whom he accompanied and served in all
his campaigns. He had learned farriery, cooking and hairdressing in
England in his youth, so that he must have been a useful servant. He
was liberated and got some land near Mount Vernon, by the general's
will, and now at the age of fifty-seven, he is hostler here, and
enjoys such health and strength, that a few days ago he carried eight
bushels of salt, exceeding four hundred pounds weight. The old man
repaid my complaisance in listening to him, by recounting as much of his
own memoirs as my time would permit me to hear."

p 27/ Mason was traveling from Phila to Ohio /born in Maryland/ and
passed through Ky, Wed, Oct. 28 entry, 1819: Between Maysville and
Paris. "Saw many negroes. They were ragged, foolish, and in appearance,
miserable."
p 45/ In 1810 the Shakers at South Union built a schoolhouse. "Among
the school children were two mulattoes referred to as the 'yellow boys.'"
Boone led a party toward Boonesborough. About 5 miles from presentday Richmond, at Estill's Fort, while camped, they were attacked by Indians. Captain Twetty's "... Negro slave was killed outright,..." During the fighting one of Boone's party had run into the woods. "One of Boone's party, who had run from camp at the first firing of the Indians, returned a few days later, and was seen by a Negro woman, the slave of Colonel Callaway, peeping from behind the trees. She gave the alarm. 'Colonel Boone instantly caught his rifle, ordered his men to form, take trees, and give battle, and not to run till they saw him fall. They formed agreeably to his directions ... when the man behind the tree announced his name and came in.'"

"The Maryland and many of the Virginia settlers brought slaves to Kentucky, and in 1790, out of a population of 73,000, 12,000 were slaves. Yet slavery in Kentucky was far different from what it was in South Carolina or even Virginia. Negroes and white men, master and slave, worked together in the fields, marched together against the Indians, and after death slept side by side in the family cemetery. It would be no exaggeration to say that slavery as it existed in Kentucky was the mildest form of servitude mankind has witnessed."
In 1841, William Henry Harrison ('Old Tippecanoe') visited Lexington to confer with his fellow Whig, Henry Clay. The hard cider and log cabin campaign had greatly arouse the Kentuckians, and citizens of 'Gallant Harry's' home town were anxious to give the distinguished visitor a rousing welcome. Dr. Graham's musicians were placed in care of a free man of color named Williams, and after the reception at Lexington, they packed up their waiters' coats, music and instruments and departed for Louisville, where they boarded the steamer Zebulon M. Pike and headed for Canada.+

"Dr. Graham followed his runaway slaves to their Canadian destination, and near Malden he was mobbed by a band of fugitive slaves. He probably would have lost his life in the struggle had it not been for the gallant rescue by General Ironsides, half-brother of the famous Indian chief Tecumseh. The genial doctor from Harrodsburg returned home 'without his sleeves, lucky, so he said, that he had escaped from the fiery fiends of perdition.' The master of the Mercer County resort brought suit against Messrs. Strader and Gorman, owners of the steamboat line and, after taking the case to the United States Supreme Court, recovered three thousand dollars for the loss of his young runaways, whom, as he stated, 'would cost $500 to supply their places as musicians, at Harrodsburg Springs, for a single season.'"
And in 1888 medical education for Negroes began when, using the charter of State University founded in 1879 by the Colored Baptist General Association of Kentucky, a group of the city's black physicians including Dr. H. Fitzbutler and Dr. Rufus Conrad incorporated the Louisville National Medical College. Anticipating approval of the school's legal status, Dr. Fitzbutler and his associates introduced a three-year course in 1886 and graduated William T. Peyton of Louisville, the first black man to receive an M.D. degree in Kentucky, in 1889."

"The relative peace that had prevailed between institutions in the 1880s was broken when a city ordinance was adopted providing for equal footing of all schools (except the Louisville National Medical College) at City Hospital for purposes of clinical instruction."
Esteem friend

After my respects to you, Sir I thank you very kindly for your remarks respecting my narrative. you supposed I was an imposter and was kind a neigh to tell me for my own good. I had better go home and go to work and that I must stop or you would expose me and I have often wished that I could find a friend of high standing who would tell me ver kindly and plain what he thought of my story after hearing my Lectures. but you are the only gentleman that have spoken so frankly on the subject.—it is tru I have not been as careful in explaining dates and some other things as I should have been. which has led you and others to doubt my honesty, but I am now trying to collect some facts to prove the reality of my narrative and by so doing I hope to be able to prove to the public that I am honest in pleading the cause of a poor broken hearted wife and child. who ware severd from my embrace by a professor of Religion and they are now clanking thir Chains in Slavery. Yea when I think of that wife and child who was dearer than life having to take the parting hand never to meet againe in this life with bursting crys of sorrow flooding from hert to hert and sounding in my year and

at the same time a profess Christen could put the lash on. these things help to make me a strong Abolitionist am I not justifiable in exposing such Christianity. have I not a rite to plead my own cause and the cause of the enslaved being responsible. Sir nothing but for want of ability shall ever prevent me from a faithful discharge of my duty to my enslaved countryman I close by saying I am a friend to my Country and to all who are oppressed and all tho I may be denounced and called an emposter because I am of the disdised Race yet I hop I shall be able to prove to the world that I have told the truth and I will herd for my people truly yours

Henry Bibb and

Liberty forever

1 Addressed: Lower Saganaw, Michigan. Henry Bibb, a purported ex-slave, came to Detroit in 1842 and for several years lectured in Michigan under the auspices of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society. Birney evidently mistrusted the veracity of his narrative, which was published later as 'Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave' (New York, 1849). Bibb later edited 'The Voice of the Fugitive' at Windsor, Canada.
Benedict was terribly angry at me. He swore he would have me captured. He wrote immediately to Deacon Logan, that no slaves could be captured there while Milton Clarke was at large.

The slaveholders of Lexington had a meeting, and determined to send a Mr. Postlewaite, a crack slavebreaker, and a Mr. McGowan, after me. They came and lingered about Oberlin, watching their opportunity. They engaged two wretches named Chapman, of Illinois, to assist in the capture. Brother Lewis and I went up to Madison, Lake county, to spend a few days. We had a meeting on Sabbath evening, at which we addressed the people. There was a traitor there, named Warner, from Lexington, who told Postlewaite where we were. Monday morning, my brother and myself rode up to Dr. Merriam's, accompanied by two or three of Mr. Winchester's family, with whom we had spent the Sabbath. I sat a few minutes in the carriage; and a little girl out of health, the niece of Dr. Merriam, and his own daughter, came out and wanted to ride. I took them in, and had not driven a mile when a close carriage overtook and passed me, wheeled right across the road, and four men leaped out of it and seized my horse. I had no conjecture who they were. I asked them what they wanted—"if money, I have only fifty cents in the world; you are welcome to that." "We want not money, but you!" The truth then flashed upon my mind in a moment—"They are kidnappers."

I jumped from the carriage for the purpose of running for life. My foot slipped, and I fell. In a moment, four men were upon me. They thrust my head down upon the ground, bound me hand and foot, put me into the carriage, and started for Judge Page's; a judge prepared beforehand for their purposes.

Soon after we started, we met a man in the road. I spoke to him, and asked him to take care of the girls in the buggy, and to tell Lewis the kidnappers from Kentucky had got me. Postlewaite and McGowan took off my hat, and gave me a beating upon the head. One of the Chapmans spoke and said, "Now we have got you, my good fellow; you are the chap that has enticed away so many slaves; we will take care of you; we will have Lewis soon." They then took me to Mr. Judge Page. The sheriff of the county was there. He asked me what I had done, that they had tied me up so close. "Have you murdered any body?" I said, "No." "Have you been stealing?" "No, sir." "What have you done?" "Nothing, sir." "What have they tied you for, then?" Postlewaite told him it was none of his business. The sheriff said it was his business, and would not take it. I had paid him about that much for my time, and I thought I might as well have what I earned, as to pay it to him." "Well, sir, if you had come off alone, the deacon would not have cared so much about it; but you led others off; and now we are going to carry you back, and whip you, on the public square in Lexington."

The judge had appointed three o'clock in the afternoon for my trial, as my friends said they wished to procure evidence that I came away with the consent of Deacon Logan. In the mean time, Postlewaite & Co. were full of joy at their success, and despatched a letter to Lexington, announcing the capture of Milton Clarke, and assuring their friends there, that they should have Lewis before sundown. "We shall be in Lexington with them about Thursday or Friday." This was great news to the deacon and his friends; but, alas for them, the result
1 POINT, 

was not exactly to answer to the expectation. They assembled in great numbers on both days, as I have been told, and watched, with eager interest, the arrival of the stage; but no Clarke, and no Postlewaite, were in it. Many a triumph has been enjoyed only in anticipation.

Dinner came on, at length, and I was moved back into the tavern. Postlewaite had a rope around me, which he kept in his hand all the time. They called for dinner for six—the driver and myself among the number. When they sat down, I was placed at a short distance from the table. The landlady asked if I was not to sit down. Postlewaite said, no nigger should sit at table with him. She belabored him in good womanly style; told him he was a thief, and a scoundrel, and that, if she was a man, he should never carry me away. The people were gathered, all this time, around the windows, and in the road, discussing the matter, and getting up the steam, to meet the Kentucky bowie knives and pistols. Postlewaite sent out, and got a man to come in and watch me, while he ate his dinner. The people at the windows were preparing to take me out. He watched the movement, and had me brought up nearer to the table.

At three o'clock, my trial came on. My friends claimed, that I should have a trial as a white man. Robert Harper pleaded for the oppressors, assisted by another, whose name is unknown to me. For me, lawyer Chase, and another, appeared. To these gentlemen, and all others, who were friendly to me on this occasion, I feel an obligation which I can never express. It was to me, indeed, a dark hour, and they were friends in time of need. General Paine arrived about the commencement of the trial, and presented a firm front to the tyrants. My lawyer asked by what law they claimed me. They said, under the black law of Ohio. The reply was, that I was not a black man. Postlewaite said he arrested me, as the property of Archibald Logan, under the article of the constitution, that persons "owing service," and fleeing from one state to another, shall be given up to the person to whom such service is due. He then read the power of attorney, from Deacon Logan to him, authorizing him to seize one Milton Clarke—describing me as a person five feet two and a half inches tall, probably trying to pass myself off as white. "His hair is straight, but curls a little at the lower end." After reading this, he read his other papers, showing that I was the slave of Logan. He produced a bill of sale, from Joseph to Deacon Logan. He then asked me if I had not lived, for several years, with Deacon Logan. General Paine

said, if I spoke at all, I might tell the whole story—that I had a free pass to go where I chose, (and this was the fact.) The suggestion of General Paine frightened Postlewaite; he told me to shut up my jaws, or he would carry me away. The people cried out, "Touch him if you dare; we will string you up, short metre." He then said to me, "Do not you; we will pay you for all this, when we get home." The anxiety on my part, by this time, was beyond anything I ever felt in my life. I sometimes hoped the people would rescue me, and then feared they would not. Many of them showed sympathy in their countenances, and I could see that the savageism of Postlewaite greatly increased it. My lawyer then asked, for what I owed service to Deacon Logan; told Harper & Co., if Mr. Clarke owed the deacon, present his bill, and, if it is a reasonable one, his friends will pay it. He then asked me if I owed Deacon Logan, of Kentucky. I told him no—the deacon owed me about eight hundred dollars; I owed him nothing. Postlewaite said, then, he arrested me as the goods and chattels of Logan. Mr. Chase said, "Mr. Clarke had permission to come into the free states." "Yes," said Postlewaite, "but not to stay so long." Finally, Mr. Chase asked, "Where did Joseph Logan get his right to Clarke?" On this point, he had no specific evidence. He then resorted to the general testimony of several letters, which he took from his pocket. One was from General Coombs, another from McCaulay, one from John Crittenden, one from Morehead, Governor Lecher, John Speed Smith, and, last of all, from Henry Clay. These gentlemen all represented Mr. Postlewaite as a most pious and excellent man, whose word was to be taken in every thing; stating, also, that they knew Milton Clarke, and that he was the property of Deacon A. Logan. This array of names closed the testimony. Bob Harper then made his infamous plea; said, finally, the judge could possibly do no otherwise than give me up, on the testimony of so many great names. Judge Page had received his fee, as I verily believe, before he gave judgment; and he very soon came to the conclusion, that Deacon Logan had proved his claim. I was delivered over to the tender mercies of Postlewaite & Co. Just as we were going out at the door, the sheriff met us, and arrested Postlewaite, McGowan, and the Chapmans, for assault and battery on the person of Milton Clarke. They were told, their trial would come on the next day, at ten o'clock, before Justice Cunningham. Postlewaite swore terribly at this; said it was an abolition concern. Some one asked the sheriff what
should be done with me. He said he did not want me—it was the others that he had arrested. I was then tied to Postlewaite. Some one said, "Cut him loose." Postlewaite replied, "The first that attempts to touch him, I will blow him through." I asked the people if I should be carried back, as I had committed no crime. They said, "No, no; never." General Paine said he would call out the militia, before I should be carried back.

Postlewaite ordered out his carriage, to accompany the sheriff. He drove me into it, came in with his partners, McGowan and the Chapmans, and Judge Page. We then started for Unionville, distant about two miles from Centreville. A very great crowd followed us, on every side. My friends had not been idle; they had been over to Jeffersonville, in Ashtabula county, and obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus for me. Unionville was upon the border of two counties. The road through it divided them. The people had fixed their carriages so that ours must pass upon the Ashtabula side. Soon as the wheels passed the border of this county, the carriage was stopped, and the sheriff of Ashtabula demanded the body of Milton Clarke. The people shouted, came up and unhitched the horses, and turned them face to the carriage. Postlewaite cried out, "Drive on." Driver replied, "The horses are faced about." P. began to be very angry. The people asked the driver what he was there for, assisting in such business as this. The poor fellow begged they would not harm his horses; he did not know what they wanted him for, or he never would have come. He begged for his horses, and himself. Postlewaite said, if they meddled with the horses, he would shoot a hundred of them. The people told him, if he put his head out of that carriage, he would never shoot again. At this stage of the business, Robert Harper, Esq., came up, to read the riot act. The people were acting under a charter broader and older than any statutes passed on earth. Harper was glad to escape himself, or justice would have speedily been meted out to him. The friends came up to the carriage, and told me not to be alarmed; they would have me, at any rate. Among others in the crowd, was a huge Buckeye blacksmith, six feet tall. At first, he took sides with the thieves; said he wanted no niggers there. My friends told him to come up to the carriage, and pick out the nigger, if there was any there. He came, and looked into the carriage.

The sheriff then gave Postlewaite and Company, five minutes' time to release me, or take the consequences; said the carriage would be demolished in two minutes, when he spoke the word to the people. The pistols and bowie knives were quietly put away, and the tone of the stationary passengers, inside the carriage, very seditiously changed. Judge Page said, "Better let Clarke get out; they will kill us, if you don't!" The cowardly Chapmans began to plead for mercy: "You can't say that we touched you, Clarke." "Yes, you did," I told them; "you all jumped on me at once." The people became more and more clamorous outside the carriage—those inside more and more uneasy. They at length were more eager to get rid of me than they ever had been to catch me. "Get out; get out, Clarke," rung round on every side of me.

Soon as my feet touched the ground, the rope was cut, and once more I felt free. I was hurried into a wagon, and, under the care of the sheriff, driven off toward Austinburg, while the other sheriff took the kidnappers in another direction into Lake county. They soon stopped to give me something to eat; but I had no appetite for food, either then or for a week afterwards.

Postlewaite hired a man to follow and watch me.
Antebellum Diseases among Blacks

J. H. Ellis, Medicine in Kentucky, 1977

p 25/ Dr. Benjamin W. Dudley "... thought blacks were 'most subject to those diseases which are the consequence of exposure to the weather, of an insufficiency in clothing, and of scanty and improper aliment,' but he also believed they were prone to a distinct type of 'consumption' not found in whites. Writing in 1832 a Transylvania Medical student from Fayette County argued that 'Negro Consumption' was neither so specific nor so distinct as physicians supposed. But blacks did in fact suffer heavily and disproportionately from respiratory diseases. Such ailments were 'decidedly the most common' among them, noted a Louisville Medical Institute student during one of Daniel Drake's lectures in 1846, coming on 'in the form of Pneumonia or Pleurisy.' However, the Transylvania student also believed that much fatal illness among slaves resulted from 'a too great dread of Doctors Bills.' On the part of the owners and that neglect sent 'to their long homes' many 'who might have been saved by timely attention.'"
james flint, letters from america, 1822

p 116/ Dec. 15, 1818 entry:

"The treatment of slaves is understood to be much milder in Kentucky than in the south-easterly part of the Union, where provisions are dearer, and blacks sell at a lower price. At Lexington slaves are well fed, and have a healthy appearance, and the greater part of them are well clothed. Some of the abettors of the system assert, that negroes are happier here than the free poor of other countries; but there are several circumstances which may be opposed to this position. The happy Kentuckian slave lives under the danger of being cow-hided, (a term signifying a whipping, with a stripe of half tanned leather, which is twisted into the form of a tapered switch of a very rigid texture,) for the slightest real or imaginary offence. His evidence is not received in court when he is opposed to a white man. Thus he has not the protection of the law, and less hope of bettering his condition. The practice disregards the strongest ties of kindred and of nature. The husband is torn from the wife, and the child from the parent, to be sold into an unhealthy region, where a more galling yoke is imposed. He must not eat nor even converse in the room where white men are. Every degrading mark is set upon him. While white men ransack the Christian volume, that they may find fit names to their children, heathenish appellations, such as Pompey, Nero, &c. usually given to dogs, are bestowed on the coloured infant. The ordinary names of dogs and horses, the days of the week, and the months of the year, seem now exhausted in the negro nomenclature."

FLINT WROTE VIEW OF BLACK IN GENERAL WHILE IN LEX 1818

james flint, letters from america, 1822

p 115/

"Negroes, even in America, are said to be more prolific than the white variety of the species. They do not delay marriage because they are not in possession of lands, slaves, horses, and the other essentials of their masters: nor does the support of their progeny give them much concern; the coloured children being held as the property of the owner of the mother. By him they are reared with more or less tenderness, or sold to another, as he thinks fit."
APPREHENSION, HOLDING, SELLING OF RUNAWAYS (1800)

John Bradford, the general instructor; duties JP's sheriff, etc., 1800

P 328/ An apprehended runaway to be taken before a JP; runaway to be returned to vicinity from which he has fled; to his owner or other authority; such as the county jail; to advertise for his owner to come get slave; advertise for 3 months; if not claimed within 1 year of last advertisement to be sold; costs paid.

COUNTY COURTS INVOLVING BLACKS IN ANTEBELLUM KY


P 29/ "The proceedings of county courts in matters of bastardy were subject to judicial review by the Court of Appeals, but review was not as frequent as in other types of cases, such as those dealing with ferries. The high tribunal ruled that the county courts had wide discretion in assessing judgments for maintenance, upheld the right of the county courts to punish white fathers of mulatto children (provided that the mother was a free Negro), and ruled that there should be no appeal from judgment of acquittal."

"County courts presided over the emancipation of slaves. Slaveholders could free slaves by one of two methods: a document executed before the court or a provision in a will. Courts recorded the means of emancipation, issued decrees of freedom to the former slaves, and, if necessary, required the former owner or his executor to post bond to insure that the former slaves did not become charges against the country. Sometimes a testator sought to circumvent this contingency by providing in his will that the slaves had to post bond in order to secure freedom."
RACING RECORD OF ISAAC MURPHY

ky hist soc, guide to ky hist hwy markers, 1969

p 210/ Isaac Burns Murphy (on reverse side of marker 1064, Fayette Co.

"First jockey to win three Kentucky Derbies, 1884, 1890, 1891. He won five Latonia Derbies and four of the first five American Derbies. His Kentucky Derby record not equaled until 1930 (Sande), not broken until 1948 (Arcaro). His lifetime record, 628 wins in 1,412 races (44 percent) had not been approached through 1967. Rider of such famed horses as Salvator and Firenzi. Elected to Hall of Fame at both Saratoga and Pimlico. Born, 1861, Lexington, of free negro /sic/ parents. Died 1896. Reinterred 1967, Man o' War Memorial Park, 1½ miles west."

Marker at Jct. Russell Cave Pike & Huffman Mill Rd., Fayette Co.

LOCATION OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN BY TRADITION

ky hist soc, guide to ky hist hwy markers, 1969

p 212/ Uncle Tom's Cabin; 4 mi W. of Paint Lick, ky 52, Garrard Co.

"Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, visited the Kennedy home--see other side--while gathering some of the material for her book. Legendary cabin of Uncle Tom was behind the mansion, which was torn down about 1926."
p 10/ (A booster type publication.) The black school holds 400, bldg is new, costing $30,000. Under the control of the white school officials, "the same course and methods of instruction" for both white and black.

1885 ACCT OF BLACK BOWLING GREEN INST OF COL PRESBY CH (ESTAB. 1884 c)

p 12/ (booster type publication) "The Bowling Green Institute, under the auspices of the Colored Presbyterian Church, and of which Rev. H. A. Gibson is President of the board of Education, is a flourishing and prosperous condition, it having been established a little over a year, and has over seventy-five students, with fine prospects of doubling the number at the coming session."
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.

The State's loss in slave property has been placed at not less than $200,000 annually, in the decades immediately preceding the War between the States.
The first Negro church in Kentucky was the Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, organized in Louisville in 1816. It was not until after emancipation, however, that the Negro church developed, for the Negro slave generally attended his master's church, worshiping in a gallery set aside for the purpose. Sometimes separate Negro services were held in schoolhouses and vacant church buildings, and gave rise to preachers who achieved more than local fame.

Before the fall of Fort Donelson several of my grandfather's Negroes, including Dick and John, had been hired to the Confederate authorities to work on the steamboats around Fort. When the fort surrendered John and Dick were on one of the nearby steamboats. They managed to escape in the boat.
m b morton, kentuckians are different, 1938

p 27/ "A few of the Negroes, a very few, /Morton remembered in his memoirs/ stayed with their old masters as hired servants, but almost immediately after the surrender at Appomattox most of the Negroes left their masters and went to town to enjoy their freedom. Every Negro house in town was filled to overflowing. Old stables were utilized as dwellings. My great-grandfather's old tanyard was possessed by the liberated slaves. They placed loose planks over the tan vats and probably a dozen or twenty families moved into the tanyard. They danced there at night and stayed there in the daytime. How these liberated slaves managed to live I cannot imagine. Few of them worked. Some of them had odd jobs now and then. Most of them did nothing but sing and dance and enjoy life. Hen roosts and potato patches and roasting ear fields were pillaged without remorse." /p 28/ Says this lasted about a year; then the blacks went back to work. /p 29/ One reason people left the countryside was "... the country was infested with robbers and marauders,..."

Page 97 cont'd/

Desirants wear the Little Hearts. When they take the Little Veil they become Postulants. To take the habit made them novices. From this it is likely that the three blacks he wrote of in taking the Little Veil became postulants, or at least not more than novices. The Sisters now living do not remember having heard what became of these three young Negro girls.

Catholic Church, Educational Work Among Blacks 1870s

Anna C. Minogue, *Pages from a Hundred Years of Dominican Hist*, 1921

Page 149/

In Washington County, spring of 1877, Mother Maxim Angela Lynch, founded a school for blacks. She went around soliciting funds for a building. *XTM* /p 150/ "The colored people entered enthusiastically into the project and gave their time, when unable to contribute money. A site was bought from Mr. McElroy in the Briartown township. The school was built at the rear of the property, the front being reserved for a future church for the race. As the lumber had to be hauled from Lebanon, the building was not ready for the opening of school in September. Mrs. Mary Spalding (colored) offered two rooms of her house and classes were begun; Sister Ann and Sister Louis Murphy being the first teachers. There was a rush for entrance, parents and even grand parents seeking admission with the children. One old colored woman of seventy, pleaded earnestly to be permitted to attend in order that she might learn to read her prayerbook. The sisters could not refuse her appeal, but after a few weeks she was stricken with mortal illness and died a beautiful Christian death." /p 15/ In 1880, at the request of Messrs. Robert Clements, L. A. Hamilton and Billy Smith, the sisters began teaching in a Washington Co, Clements District, public school. "The school was built and equipped and in October, 1880, Sisters Ann and Francis Slinger opened classes."
In Sept 1778 a group of Indians approached Boonesborough. With the raiding party was Pompey, a black man. "One negro was among, a man named Pompey, captured, doubtless, from some settlement, but none the less a slave, and mainly useful to the Indians because he could speak English." In the periodic firing at each other during the siege, "A notable shot, attributed of course to Daniel Boone, and fired probably from the 'battery,' killed Pompey, the only negro man, as afore- said, known to have been with the savages. He was sheltered by a tree, from which he was trying to pick off imprudent settlers, when he exposed himself for an instant, and that instant was a fatal one to him." When the Indians gave up the siege of Boonesborough, they removed their dead & every trace that they had been there, except to leave the body of the Negro Pompey.

Indians began attacking whomever they could find spring 1780. "Early in March Colonel Callaway began preparations to establish his ferry, and on the 8th of the month while he, Pemberton Rawlings (or Rollins), and three negro men were building a ferryboat on Canoe Ridge, about a mile above Boonesborough, a volley of rifle shots was heard, and shortly after one of the negroes rushed, panting and terrified, into the settlement with the news that the boat-builders had been attacked by Indians. A party of riflemen, headed by Captain Holder, and including young Bland Ballard, then just commencing his career as a scout and spy, galloped to the rescue, but were too late. Colonel Callaway had been instantly killed, scalped, and robbed of most of his clothing. Rawlings had been shot down, tomahawked in the back of the neck, and scalped, but, though mortally wounded, was still alive, and the two negroes were prisoners, destined for savage slavery. They were heard of no more."
"On the tenth of March, [1775] all being ready, this memorable party of thirty mounted men, armed, but mainly for hunting, as no trouble was expected from Indians, and followed by negro servants, loaded pack-horses, and hunting dogs, started out under the command of Captain Daniel Boone ... to cut / a/ ... road through the wilderness to the Kentucky River." /p 11/ On Mar 25 Indians fired on the party and Captain Twetty and a "negro manservant" killed, and Felix Walker wounded.
plunder. Sam seized the child and escaped into the woods. He ran until daylight and then, concealing Augusta among the leafy branches of a fallen tree, he gathered berries and roots to keep them from starving, hiding himself at every sound. The following night he lost his way, and only reached the fort with Augusta the evening before, having spent three nights wandering in the woods. Augusta was now at the fort.

"Sam," said Cabell, "I brought your father and mother and Maria from Virginia. They are with the wagons."

"Yes, seh. Thankee, seh. I knowed you'd do it, seh, kase you said you would, seh. I'se mighty sorry, seh"—Sam broke down and hurried away, lest by loss of self-control he should offend his master.
A sad reverse overtook us two days after, on our way to Kentucky river. On the 25th of March, 1775, we were fired on by the Indians, in our camp asleep, about an hour before day. Capt. Twetty was shot in both knees, and died the third day after. A black man, his body servant, killed dead; myself badly wounded; our company dispersed. So fatal and tragical an event cast a deep gloom of melancholy over all our prospects, and high calculations of long life and happy days in our newly-discovered country were prostrated; hope vanished from the most of us, and left us suspended in the tumult of uncertainty and conjecture. Col. Boon, and a few others, appeared to possess firmness and fortitude. In our calamitous situation, a circumstance occurred one morning after our misfortunes, that proved the courage and stability of our few remaining men (for some had gone back). One of our men, who had run off at the fire of the Indians on our camp, was discovered peeping from behind a tree, by a black woman belonging to Colonel Callaway, while gathering some wood. She ran in and gave the alarm of Indians. Colonel Boon instantly caught his rifle, ordered the men to form, take trees, and give battle, and not to run till they saw him fall. They formed agreeably to his directions, and I believe they would have fought with equal bravery to any Spartan band ever brought to the field of action, when the man behind the tree announced his name and came in. My situation was critical and dangerous, being then a youth, three hundred miles from white inhabitants. My friend and guardian, Captain Twetty, taken dead from my side, my wounds pronounced by some to be mortal, produced very serious reflections. Yet withal I retained firmness to support me under the pressure of distress, and did not suffer me to languish in depression of mind.
RUMOR OF SLAVE REVOLT IN BARDSTOWN AREA

thos speed, records & memorials of speed family, 1892

One of the evils of slavery was the dread of "negro uprisings." This dread not only produced trouble to the masters and their families, but caused the slaves to be more severely treated. Whether there was any ground for a report of an expected uprising or not, the effect was a widespread alarm, and a very rigid treatment of the negroes. I have heard my father give the following account of an "uprising:"

He and his brother, John, were young men at the old Bardstown home, and staying with them was their cousin, Guy Smith, of Madison county. One day a neighbor rode up to the gate, and had a talk with my grandfather, Major Thomas Speed. His errand was to give in format that there had come to Bardstown that the negroes were going to "rise." That they were to assemble in a certain quarter, on a given night, after having killed all in their masters' houses, and then they were to move in a body to town and kill everybody there.

My grandfather had no faith in such reports, but he thought it best to be on guard. He mounted his horse and rode into town, a mile distant, and soon returned with the news confirmed. Preparations for defense were being made, but the excitement was all suppressed, for it was all-important not to let the negroes know they were suspected. Word was sent to every farm-house to take steps for protection. A rallying point was fixed for the assembling of a force as soon as the insurrection broke out.

My grandfather was skeptical, but had his household prepare for the worst. Ammunition was obtained and the guns put in order. When the dreaded night came, as soon as it was dark, all the axes were taken into the house from the woodpile. The scythes and pitchforks were taken in also. Water was provided to put out fire. The doors were barred and the watchers were stationed. It was soon observed that the dogs did not bark as usual. This was interpreted to mean that the negroes had taken them into their cabins. A horse was heard to neigh, which was unusual. The report of a gun was heard some distance away. These things, and the fact that otherwise the night was especially silent, all betokened something going on. The night wore on; eleven o'clock came. My grandfather concluded he would go out and reconnoiter. He quietly passed out the side door and made his way in the shadows of the buildings, until he could see the door of Jim's cabin. Jim was the one who would take a hand in the business, if any did. A suspicious light shone under his cabin door, and while my grandfather was contemplating that fact, the door opened and Jim stepped out, and went straight to the grindstone and ground a knife. As soon as he returned, grandfather went back quickly, fully impressed that there was danger ahead. His report made the watchers all the more vigilant. Twelve o'clock came; grandfather would recon...
noiter again. He was determined to see what was going on in that cabin. Fully armed he made his way to the back of the cabin where he could look in through a window. The light glimmered as he approached, but he heard no sound; evidently, they were planning with great secrecy and caution. He was near enough to look in, but if he did so, he might be seen. He paused a moment, then boldly raised himself and looked into the cabin. There upon the floor, down before the fire, sat the dreaded negro, Jim, busily engaged in making a shuck-mat! The poor suspected negro, oblivious of all the terror that was abroad, was working away by the fire-light until after midnight, upon a shuck-mat which he could sell to somebody for a quarter of a dollar.

Grandfather went back full of indignation, and ordered the young men to go to bed. Next morning he rode into town and denounced all such alarms as the work of mean masters, who mistreated their slaves and were afraid of them. Never again did he allow himself to be disturbed by a report of an expected “uprising.”

Masters and slaves belonged to this church. The blacks "... began to desire separate meetings, and in July 1853, permission was given the colored members to hold their meetings in the church, aided by a committee of four white brethren appointed for one year. One of these was to serve as moderator, one as clerk, and all were instructed to see that the colored brethren conducted their meetings in an orderly way. The committee continued to serve for several years, though later only a white moderator and clerk were deemed necessary."
BLACKS BUILD THEIR OWN CHURCH IN ELIZABETHTOWN MID 1840s

Ella Cofer, Hist of Severn's Valley Bap Ch, 1931

p 15/ In the period just after 1843 "... permission was given to the colored people to build a church. It had been the custom since the constitution of the church for the colored people to worship with the white. The galleries in both the new brick and in the log church had been set apart for them. At some periods in the history of Severn's Valley the colored members have outnumbered the white. Long before the Civil War but after they had begun to have separate services, a colored man was ordained to the ministry by the church."

BLACK REFUSES TO LEAVE WHITE CHURCH AFTER C W

D. P. Browning, One Hundred Years of Church History, 1922

p 19/ After the Civil War the blacks separated from the Lewisburg-Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, Logan County. Their first church was located at Read's Station (now Edwards); then they moved to Lewisburg where they formed the First Baptist Church Colored. "One old darkey, 'Uncle Tom Browning', formerly a slave, refused to move his membership, stating he 'didn't like nigger doings'. There was no charge against him, therefore no reason he should not remain a member, and as such he remained, a consistent member of Mt. Pleasant church to his death in 1907. His funeral was preached from the church by his white pastor, Brother A. C. Dorris, in the presence of a large gathering of both white and black, and he, the last of his order, was laid to rest beside his parents in the colored section of the church yard."
ermina jett darnell, forks of elkhorn church, 1946

p 39/ "In 1839 it was reported that the colored people had had such a
/disorderly meeting that the housekeeper was forbidden to
give them the key to the building thereafter without a special order.
A little later it was decided to 'appoint four colored brethren to watch
over the conduct of their other brethren.'"

"The records of 1850 indicate that during this period the colored
people had their meetings at separate times from those of the white
people, though under strict surveillance, and the pastor of the Forks
Church was commissioned to preach to them in the afternoon of the
fourth Sunday of each month."

Later, the blacks were allowed to choose 3 men as a committee, from their
members; one to be chairman to call and lead services. /p 66/ The
committee would be in charge of the black congregation to see that
everything is under control. Apr 17, 1853
"AN ACT to prevent the writing, printing, or circulating of incendiary documents in this State."

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

That if any free person 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 inculcating resistance to the rights of property of masters in their slaves, or if he shall, with intent to aid the purposes of any such book or writing, knowingly circulate the same, he shall be confined in the penitentiary not less than one, nor more than five years."

Approved March 3, 1860.

Chapter 369.

AN ACT to amend the penal laws.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That it shall not be lawful for any white person, or free negro, to write or deliver to any slave or slaves a written pass to go from one place to another, or a written authority for any purpose whatever, in the name of the owner or hirer or other person, or in the name of any fictitious person, other than the owner or hirer of such slave or slaves; and each and every person, so offending, shall be deemed and held guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to an indictment; and, upon conviction, to confinement in the Jail and Penitentiary House of this Commonwealth, for a period not less than one or more than five years, at the discretion of the jury; and shall, moreover, be liable to the owner for all damages growing out of such forged pass or authority: Provided, that this act shall, in no event, be construed as applying to any person who may, from their connexion to, or intimacy with, such owner or hirer, give such pass or written authority to such slave or slaves.

Approved March 5, 1860.
Acts of the General Assembly of Commonwealth of Kentucky, session beginning Dec 4, 1865, printed 1866

p 31, chpt 494, approved Feb 10, 1866/ A homestead valued at $1,000 exempt from execution or attachment. Section 6 says: "That this act shall only apply to white persons, who are actual bona fide housekeepers with a family, and shall not apply to sales under execution, attachment, or judgment at the suit of creditors, where the debt or liability existed prior to the purchase of the land or the erection of the improvements thereon." approved 2-10-1866

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COLORED SCHOOL STATISTICS 1891

Legis Doc No 34, Rept Supt Pub Inst, for 4 scholastic yrs ended June 30, 1891, in Documents, 1891-1892 Volume.

p 95, Table VIII/
No of 3 months schs--147 -- 530
No of 4 months schs--120 - 714
no of 5 months sch or over--778 - 5,516
Schools taught in 1,045 of 1,060 districts.

p 99, Table VIII/
No of Teachers in attendance--721 - 6,219
Teachers' institutes--40 - 109
total no of teachers--1,120 - 7,306
no of female teachers--599 - 2,426
no of male teachers--521 - 3,886
average no in attendance--26,400 - 168,723
lowest no in attendance--12,247 - 96,874
highest no in attendance--38,994 - 205,891
no of children enrolled--47,988 - 339,550

p 103, Table VIII/
893--total no of certificates issued
50% third class certificates issued--
264---female; 185---male
95.5; 1,162; 389
32% second class certificates issued
142---female; 144---male
90; 1,186; 409
first class certificates issued
17.96
63---female; 95---male
1557; 741; 270
COLORED SCHOOL STATISTICS 1891

Legis Doc no 34, rept supt pub inst, for 4 scholastic yrs ended June 30, 1891, in Documents Volume 1891-1892.

p 107, Table VIII/
no of teachers having had no experience teaching:
195-female; 75-male
No of certificates revoked:
8-female; 8 male
No of applicants for certificates rejected:
182-female; 99 male

p 110, Table VII/
Teachers Graduates of normal schools:--51
Teachers' Assns--41
No. of members--371

Amt apportioned by the State---- 207,463.50
Educational meet. held by Co Supt 60

p 115, Table VIII/
Depts of Sch Dists--$1,879.26
Amt of interest apportioned by State------------- 4,430.94
Amt apportioned by the State---- 207,463.50

Legis Doc no 34, rept supt pub inst, for 4 scholastic yrs ended June 30, 1891, in Documents Volume 1891-1892.

p 119, Table No VIII/
Amt raised by tax, subscription, etc--$14,632.83
amt disbursed for sites for sch-houses----
for building sch-houses------
for repairing sch-houses------
for furnishing sch-houses------
for supplementing teacher salaries--
for fuel, brooms, buckets-------

p 123, Table No VIII/
total no schools--825
value of sch--
no stone sch--
value stone sch $20,700
No brick sch-- 8
value brick sch-- $87,706.35
no frame sch -- 512
value frame sch-- $19,325.00
no log sch-- 324

amt not disbursed--
COLORED SCHOOL STATISTICS 1891

Legis Doc No 34, rept supt pmh inst, for 4 scholastic yrs ended June 30, 1891, in Documents Volume 1891-1892 p 128, Table VIII/ Private Schs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Co</th>
<th>schs</th>
<th>stud</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barren</td>
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<td>Boyle</td>
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<td>Bullitt</td>
<td>1h</td>
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<td>Caldwell</td>
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<td>Christian</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; high</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daveiss</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elliott (No Schs)</td>
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<td>Fayette (No schs reported)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hardin</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>&quot; high</td>
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| Hickman | 3 | 3

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<th>Co</th>
<th>schs</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jackson (no schs)</td>
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<td>Kenton (no schs reported)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>1 (college)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oldham</td>
<td>1 high</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>1 college</td>
<td>10</td>
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</table>

Value of sch furniture--$19,401.75

amt pd for rent-- 866.20 -- 1,052.40

no of houses rented for sch purposes—52 — 33

no of churches used for schs----- 160 — 57

no of schs that should be condemned----- 272 — 1,635

no of schs in good condition----- 476 — 4,238

value of schs in good cont (?) $4,548.00

number of schs built 1890-91 36 — 262

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CORPSES OF EXECUTED BLACKS TO BE USED FOR MEDICAL DISSECTION 1834


p 107, Jan. 15, 1834/

"On the motion of Mr. Dillon--20. A bill to authorise and require the Judges of the different Circuit Courts of this state to adjudge and award the corpses of negroes, executed by sentence of said judges, to the Faculties of the different chartered Colleges in this state, for dissection and experiment."

/p 177/ An executed slave or slaves to be sent by the judge pronouncing sentence to a Ky medical college for dissection, etc. /p 178/ "...the bodies of free colored persons executed under sentence of any Circuit judge of this state shall be subject to the same orders and disposal which are prescribed by the provisions of the foregoing sections of this act,..." bill rejected.
KY SENATE OBJECTS TO FREED BUREAU IN KY JAN 1866


p 134/ (Jan 11, 1866)
Since Ky was loyal and devoted to the Union in the Civil War / p 135/ the Senate protests the "...arbitrary military rule of the Freedman's /sic/ Bureau..." which was established in Ky. Resolution 1 "solemnly" protested the FB; Resolution 2 requested Pres Johnson be given a copy of the Senate's protest.

OPPOSITION OF KY LEGIS TO USE OF BLACK TROOPS FEB 1864

Journal of the House of Representatives commonwealth of Ky. Vol 1863-1864 (1864?)

p 397/ (Feb 1, 1864)
A resolution of the Gen Assem said that "... Kentucky stands unalterably opposed to the enlistment of negroes in the Federal armies, believing that it will degrade the service, increase the difficulties of final adjustment, and prolong the war. And I... will oppose such enlistments within her limits by all constitutional means at her command." /p 398/ A copy to be sent to Washington.
/p 466/ (Feb 6, 1864) A committee of the Gen Assem appointed to go to Washington to protest the recruiting of blacks "... now progressing within the limits of the State of Kentucky,..." 

/p 579/ Another resolution of protest, asks Pres Lincoln to stop the recruiting. Voted down, as a substitute, motion.
Dawson vs. Lee, Kentucky Reports, vol 83, January Term, 1884, p 49.
Decision of Court of Appeals of Ky, from Bullitt Circuit Court.

p 49/
"1. Constitutional Law--Discrimination Against Negroes--Taxation.--All legislation which discriminates against any particular race or class of persons is in violation of the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, State taxation for purposes of education should be provided for by general laws, applicable to all classes and races alike, all the children of the State being entitled to an equal share of the proceeds of the 'Common School Fund,' and of all State taxation for purposes of education.+

"An act, entitled 'An act to establish a uniform system of common schools for the colored children of this Commonwealth,' approved February 23, 1874, is unconstitutional, because, by implication, it excludes the negro children of the State from any share of the proceeds of the 'Common School Fund' set apart by the Constitution, as well as from the annual tax levied on the property of white persons for school purposes." /p 56/ Judge Lewis, in delivering the opinion, said that the US Sup. Ct., in interpreting the 14th Amend., prohibits, as does the Const. of Ky., /p 57/ discrimination in the use of Common Sch Funds.


p 561/ The decision:
"1. By the Rev. Statutes, art. 1, chap. 93, page 628, free negroes cannot hold in fee, or for any length of time as hirer, any slave, 'other than the husband, wife, parent, or descendant of such free negro.' +

"2. The wife of a free negro is liable to sale under execution against the husband for his debts. +

"A constable may sell slaves under execution, emanating from justices of the peace." /p 562/ The purpose of # 1, allowing a free black to buy relatives is humanitarian, "common to the whole human race." Says that/p563/ Ky law recognizes "marriage between free negroes with all the rights and incidents of marriage between white persons." Cites: Free Frank and Lucy vs. Dunham, 5 Littell, 330; Stover vs. Boswell, 3 Dana, 233. /p 565/ There were two judgments against Stephen Kyler, a free man of color. /p 566/ They went to a JP who took Cynthia, Kyler's wife. Stephen & Cynthia got an injunction prohibiting sale of Cynthia. Joseph Kyler, who had owned Stephen, purchased Cynthia, and intended to free her (already manumitted Stephen). A lawyer advised that the best thing to do was present Cynthia as a slave to Stephen, since if he manumitted her, she would have to leave ky. /p 568/ Cynthia had not been emancipated by the laws of KY. /p 569/ Cynthia is still a slave, owned by Stephen. She can be sold for debt.
Oldham & Kerr vs Bentley, Kentucky Reports, 6 B. Monroe, 428, Spring Term, 1846, in appeal to Court of Appeals from Madison Circuit Ct.

... Judge Marshall delivered the opinion of ct, April 28, 1846. Bentley said he had to sell a slave and "... was willing to sell her to a citizen of Madison county, to be kept in his or her family, for his or her own use, but was unwilling to sell her to be taken by slave dealers to the south; and that the defendants being well apprised of this,..." bought the slave with the intend to selling her south. To keep the slave in Ky, Bently sold for a lower price. The purchaser shortly sold the slave south, causing "... great distress and anxiety of mind in him and his family." Lower court awarded $100 damages. Returned for new trial.

BLACK CHURCHES IN OWENSBORO 1882 CITY DIRECTORY

Emerson & Williams', Owensboro Directory 1882-83

1. The approaching insolvency of the seller of a diseased slave, for which full payment has not been made, is sufficient to sustain the jurisdiction of a court of chancery on a bill praying an injunction and rescission of the contract.

2. Where the seller of a slave represents her to be in good health, but the slave herself truly informs the purchaser that she is sick, can be of no use to him, and must die in a short time; these declarations of the slave shall not operate as notice to the purchaser, so as to discharge the seller from his responsibility for misrepresentation.

Brownston bought a slave Nov 19 who died Dec 5, 1819. He learned that the slave had been sick for years, though Cropper had represented the slave as in good health. $150 of the $200 price had been paid to Cropper who was in poor financial condition. Cropper must restore the $150.

From Emerson & Williams', Owensboro Directory 1882-83

- Grand United O. F. No. 1982, meets 1st & 3rd Mondays each month.
- Guiding Star No. 14 T. A. M., meets 1st Monday each month.
- Knights of Wise Men No. 596, Meets 2d Tuesday each month.
- Church Aid Society, meets every Thursday night at 4th St. Baptist Church, a meeting of women.
- Temperance Society, Meets every Monday night, meeting of women.
The Louisville Directory, for 1832, 1970 (1832)

p 142/ "Baptist Church. +
  "Devoted to colored persons, is situated on Market street, between 7th and 8th."

"African Church. +
  "For colored persons, is situated on Centre, near Green street."

Bennett & Co.'s Henderson City Directory, 1891-92, 1891

p 11/ First Street Colored Public School Bldg, sw corner, 7th & Alves Sts, John K. Mason, Principal. Teachers=
  Eighth Street Colored Public School Building, n e corner Eighth & Elm Streets, Abram L. Cabell, Principal.
BLACK SECRET SOCIETIES IN HENDERSON 1891

Bennett & Co.'s Henderson City Directory, 1891-92, 1891
p 11/ St. John's Lodge No. 4 Colored Masons, begun Sept 1866.

p 12/ Grand Army of the Republic, R. G. Shaw Post, No. 112 (Colored) Chartered Oct. 1888, meets every second Monday evening at Hall, 130 Second St.

Odd Fellows--Hector Lodge, No 2, K of P (Colored) Organized July 1866, meets 1st & 3rd Thursdays at Clore's Hall, 104 N. Main, between 1st & 2d sts.

United Brothers of Friendship (Colored) Star Lodge, No 73, began Oct 1871, meets 1st Monday at Hall, n e corner Main & First sts.
UBF Pride of Kentucky Lodge, No 105, begun Oct 1880, meets 1st Wednesday at Hall, n e corner Main & 1st sts.

Knights of Wise Men (Colored)
Bias Lodge No 8, begun Nov 1879, meets 1st Thursday, n e corner Main & 1st at Hall
Pledies Chamber, No 1, (Ladies) Instituted Dec 1880, meets every Friday at Hall, n e corner Main & First sts.

Sons and Daughters of Zion (Colored) Lincoln Lodge No 1, Instituted June 1867, meets last Thursday & first Wednesday at Hall, 103 & 105 Second Street.

BLACK CHURCHES IN HENDERSON DIRECTORY 1891

Bennett & Co.'s Henderson City Directory, 1891-92, 1891
p 13/ Black Baptist churches
Methodist Churches /p 14/
African M.E. Church (Zion), east side Elm, between 4th & 5th sts, Rev. H. W. Mitchell, pastor.

Black people listed such as:

/p 102/ Mitchell Rev. R. H. C. col. res 801 Clay
Charles Emerson's Frankfort Directory, 1884-85, 1884

p 231/ "Colored Societies"
United Brothers of Friendship, meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at their Hall,
Main between Lewis & St. Clair.
Maridian Lodge, U. D. (Masonic)

/p 232/
Good Samaritan
Garfield Lodge No 1, meets at Hall No 1, St. Clair, every Thursday.
Aaron Lodge, No 19, 1st & 4th Wednesdays at Hall, Main betw St. Clair & Lewis
Hopkinsville Union Bond, No 37, 1st & 3rd Thursday nights, at Hall,
Main betw St. Clair & Lewis--women.
Union Benevolent Society No 37, meets each Wednesday, at Hall, 211 1/2 St. Clair.
Union Benevolent Society No 13, Mondays Hall, 211 1/2 St. Clair.

Grand United Order of Odd Fellows
Capital City Lodge, No 1, 597, meets 1st & 3d Wednesday nights, at Hall No 1,
211 1/2 St. Clair.
Knights of Friendship No 3, meets 1st & 4th Tuesday at their Hall, Main
between St. Clair and Lewis.
Most Excellent Past Master Council, U.B.F., meets 2d & 4th Wednesdays,
at their Hall /p 233/ Main betw St. Clair & Lewis.
Royal House of Queen Esther, No 2, meets 4th Friday, at Hall, Main betw
St. Clair and Lewis.

BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN LEX FRANKFORT DIRECTORY 1884

Charles Emerson's Frankfort Directory, 1884-85, 1884

p 233/ "Public Schools--Colored"
East end Clinton, W. H. Mayo, Cincinnati, principal.
"Colored Normal, 209 Clinton. Mattie Anderson, Principal."

/p 57/ Blacks are denoted with an asterisk * in the directory.
BLACK CHURCHES LISTED IN FRANKFORT DIRECTORY 1884

Charles Emerson's Frankfort Directory, 1884-85, 1884

p 235/ "Colored Churches"
First Baptist, East end Clinton, Rev. Geo. W. Patterson, pastor.
St. John's A.M.E. Church, Buffalo Alley bet Cligon & Mero, Rev. George Bryant, pastor.
First Independent, Mero betw Washington & St. Clair, Rev James H. Mason, pastor.

BLACK CHURCHES IN 1872 LOUISVILLE CITY DIRECTORY

Caron's Annual Directory of City of Louisville for 1872, 1872

p 40/ Under "Baptist" no distinction as "Colored" though each church has "African" in title:
First African, Fifth St, betw Walnut & Chesnut, Rev Henry Adams.
Green Street African Church, Green St, between Floyd & Preston, Rev. Richard Sneethen, pastor.
York Street African Church, York St corner of Fifth, Rev. W. W. Taylor.

Methodist: "Colored" used for distinction
Center Street Church (Colored), Center St, near Green.
Jackson Street Church (Colored), Jackson St, near Green, Rev. Scott Ward, pastor.
Asbury Chapel (Colored) North, Ninth St, near Walnut, Rev. J. C. Waters, pastor.
Quinn's Chapel (Colored) North, Ninth St, near Walnut, Rev. G. H. Graham, pastor.
Fifteenth Street Zion Church (Colored) North, Fifteenth St, near Grayson, Rev. J. Holliday, pastor.

Presby.
Green Street Church (Colored), Green st, near Ninth, Rev. J. R. Riley, pastor.
BLACK SCHOOL LISTED IN 1872 LOUISVILLE DIRECTORY

Caron's annual directory of city of Louisville for 1872, 1872

p 47/ "Colored Lodges." Then in brackets: These Lodges claim to work under a Dispensation from the Grand Lodge of England. Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 1, meets Third Street, southeast corner of Market St., 1st Monday.
St. Thomas Lodge, No 2, meets 2nd Monday.
Meriwether Lodge, No 3, meets 3rd Monday.
Grand Lodge of Kentucky, only officers listed.

BLACK LODGES IN 1872 LOUISVILLE DIRECTORY

Caron's annual directory of city of Louisville for 1872, 1872

p 39/ Lists only "Colored Public School.--Situated on Broadway, northeast corner Fourteenth. Joseph W. Ferguson, principal."
1872 RESTAURANT RUN BY BLACK IN LOU

Coron's annual directory of city of Lou for 1872.

p 325/
"Louisville Club Rooms, George W. Brown (col'd), supt; 144 Jefferson, bet 4th and 5th"

LOCATION OF BLACK ORPHAN HOME IN LOU 1883

Coron's directory of the city of Louisville for 1883.

caron's directory of the city of lou for 1883, 1883

p 32/ Western Colored Public School, Magazine, btw 15th & 16, W.T. Peyton (col'd) principal, salary, $1,350. All principals black.
Eastern Colored Public School, Jackson, n w cor Breckinridge, W. H. Perry principal, salary $1,350.
Central Colored School, Kentucky, cor 6th, J. M. Maxwell, principal, $1,350.
Fulton Colored School, Pocahontas, cor Elm, C. M. Miller, prin, $450.

MEETING OF DEPOSITORS IN FREEDMEN'S BANK IN LOU 1874

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Dec 17, 1874, p 4

"FREEDMAN'S BANK. +

"An Exciting Meeting Last Night +

"A call for the depositors in the Freedman's Bank to meet in the Jackson street church, for the purpose of preparing a memorial, filled that house last night. +

"Vincent Helm called the meeting to order, and Alfred Froman was called to the chair. A committee was appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, and, on their retirement, a series of resolutions were offered, reflecting upon the Advisory Board, charging them with willfully concealing from the depositors the actual condition of the affairs of the bank, and censuring the Board in severe terms. +

"These resolutions were discussed amid considerable excitement, by Mr. Harper, of Law College notoriety, Dr. Fitzbutler, and Mr. Isaac Curtis, the great leaders of the colored people in all elections. Alfred Froman, as President, and Vincent Helm, as Vice President of the meeting, decided points of order, and run things generally. It was well known that these parties would attend this meeting for the purpose developed in the resolutions, and the Advisory Board and their friends had to take a back seat. It is a trifle strange that Dr. Fitzbutler, and the great law preceptor, Harper, and the industrious electioneering agent, Curtis and Froman, and the dignified standard-bearer, Vincent Helm, all combined didn't have a dollar in the bank. The industrious Curtis had a dollar to his credit on the books, but an attorney garnished it. Helm owed the bank five dollars;
the celebrated law college Harper had fifty cents on the books. Dr. Fitz-
butler, notwithstanding his great professional ability, never appeared on
the books at all, and the talented Froman was in the same fix.

"Now these worthies are hardly the proper persons to represent depositor
or to denounce the Advisory Board, which was composed of the best and most
reliable colored men in our midst.

"The little clique of malcontents, these "representative" men of the
colored race, these heavy losers in the Freedman's Bank, have been assuming
the leadership of the colored people for the past two or three years.

"They have had a free rein, and their standing among the right-thinking
colored people is not a matter of doubt. They have been conspicuous in
all elections, and it is not supposed that their valuable services were ren-
dered gratuitously. They have pestilently attempted to interrupt the system
of governing the public colored schools, and are never at rest. There has
been a disposition to let them alone severely, but it is full time they shou:
be shown up. Perhaps they will see themselves now as others see them.

"The reporter who attended the meeting says it was a disorderly, excited
crowd, and the resolutions of censure were adopted with loud applause. The
depositors will have an opportunity to speak their sentiments tonight,
whatever they may be, but the honesty and fair dealing of the local Board
of Advisers can not be impugned by any vote of censure. The object of the
meeting tonight is set forth in the following call:

"A meeting of the depositors of the Freedman's Bank, favorable to
signing a petition to be sent to Congress, will be held tonight at the
Fifth-street Baptist Church."

As early as May 11, 1865, the mayor of the City of Louis-
ville and a committee of the general council of that city,
complained to me of the presence and condition of the large
number of colored people in the city, and expressed appre-
rehensions of pestilence from their crowded state, and
asked me to cooperate with them in ridding the city of
the evil. I assured the mayor and the committee of my
cooperation in any judicious scheme to promote the wel-
fare and happiness of the people of the city. Before rep-
lying to the general facts and views here expressed, I
said: "Allow me to correct the error contained in your
statement 'That no arrangement was or has been made
by the military authorities for the protection or the sup-
port of the colored persons coming into the city.'

"On the contrary, the wives and children of colored
soldiers coming here, and those residing in the city have
been fed by the government, and all who could be in-
duced to do so have been transported to Camp Nelson,
and there provided for at the national expense, and the
military authorities are still willing to provide in the
same way for all of that class.

"But there are difficulties in the problem you present,
which cannot be solved by the enforcement of the laws
LOU AUTHORITIES PROTEST TO PALMER GATHERING OF BLACKS IN LOU 1865

jm Palmer, personal recollections of jm Palmer, 1901

against vagrancy, or by restricting the right of the owners of the slaves, to allow them the small measure of freedom implied in permitting them to hire their own time, and go at large as free persons. These people and their ancestors for generation are, and have been, natives of the State of Kentucky, and have all as strong local attachments as other natives of the state.

"Recent events, which need not be particularized, have disturbed, if not changed, their relations towards those who were their former masters.

"What is now required is, that their relations to the state shall be defined with reference to existing, and not past, facts. When that is done, confidence between the races will be restored; each will become again useful to the other, and order and prosperity will take the place of the confusion and vagrancy, which is now seen on every hand, to the alarm of all. As preliminary to this, and as preventive to vagrancy, these people must be allowed to migrate at their pleasure, and seek employment where it may be found. Now, under the operation of laws, obsolete for all useful purposes, and alive only

LOU AUTHORITIES PROTEST TO PALMER GATHERING OF BLACKS IN LOU 1865

jm Palmer, personal recollections of jm Palmer, 1901

for evil, colored men and women in Kentucky who might and would find employment elsewhere, are forbidden to cross the Ohio river, except upon almost impossible conditions.

"Capitalists, who own and operate the boats navigating the river, which has already led some minds to inquire whether the ownership of large property is not a disqualification, rather than a proper qualification for the manly experience of the rights of citizenship, they, terrified by these grim shadows of the past, throw unjust and oppressive difficulties in the way of the transit of even free persons, while those whose right to freedom is questioned by any one, upon grounds however slight, are denied the right of escaping from idleness and enforced vagrancy, to whom industry is possible and employment within reach.

"This difficulty, however, can be partially obviated by military authority. Deeply impressed with the dangers of the public health, which you so truly and forcibly depict, and anxious that the laboring poor of the city shall be saved the terrible consequence of the disastrous pestilence, of which you assure me that great fears are entertained, I have caused to be issued the General Order 32, from the headquarters of this department, a copy of
your approval. . . . Vagrancy as a crime is voluntary idleness and profligacy. The only offense urged by you against them is poverty, . . . and when the difficulties which clog and embarrass the efforts of the whole race to earn homes and bread are removed, discrimination will be impossible, and the really guilty can be punished. Now, such is the uncertainty of the status of many, that even men seeking labor, dare not employ or harbor them. The wives and children of colored soldiers are told by some that the joint resolution of congress, giving them freedom, is unconstitutional and void, and that when, in the language of an eminent politician, ‘federal bayonets are withdrawn, the courts of the state will so declare, and all claimants of freedom under it will be adjudged slaves.’

"Alarmed at this prospect, these helpless people abandoned their late masters, and flocked to this city for protection, and they shall have it so long as I command this department. . . . Other classes of colored persons are also free, and their right to freedom is doubted, questioned, and denied. They fly, and none dare employ them, and because they cannot be employed, and live in enforced idleness, they are by many called ‘vagrants.’ . . . American people, whether of European or African descent, have their rights under the constitution and the laws, and the military authorities of the United States will, in this department, claiming no power or authority to do otherwise, so far as possible, protect all, and will gladly cooperate with the authorities of the City of Louisville in every effort to promote the interests and preserve the health of all the inhabitants of the city.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"JOHN M. PALMER, Maj.-Gen. Comd'g the Dept."

"General Order No. 32" provided for the issue of "passes" to colored persons upon the tender of the usual rates of transportation.
The negroes in Kentucky believed that I had unlimited power, and one of those impalpable rumors reached the negro population that if they would come to Louisville on the Fourth of July, I would declare them to be free. The first I heard of such a rumor was from Mr. O'Bannon, of Eminence, Kentucky, which was about sixty miles from Louisville. He called at my headquarters a few days before the Fourth, and after the courtesies of the occasion—for I had known him—he said to me: "What in the h—l do you mean by telling the negroes to come to Louisville on the Fourth of July and you will set them free?" I replied: "I never said such a thing in my life;" and he then told me that "the whole negro population in his part of the state were in motion for Louisville, where they expected to be declared free by me." Between that time and the Fourth I was told that negroes from all the surrounding counties were moving on to Louisville with the expectation that I would give them freedom.

The advance of the negroes began to arrive on July 3d, and a committee of them waited on me at my headquarters to know "at what hour and at what place I would declare their freedom." I told the committee that "I had no authority to set them free," and tried to persuade them to go home quietly and wait, and they would be free after awhile anyhow. There was a circus at the time in Louisville, performing under the direction of a man named Noyes, with whom I had formed quite an acquaintance from frequent attendance upon his performances, and through Colonel Mark Mundy, Noyes had offered me his gilded chariot and the piebald horses to take myself and company to the fair grounds to hear Parsons, who had been an actor, and was now a Methodist preacher, read the "Declaration of Independence." The next morning, I took the gilded chariot and the piebald horses, with Parsons, Colonel Mundy and General Brisbane, for company, and reached the fair grounds about ten o'clock on the Fourth of July. Parsons, who was an excellent reader, and had a grand voice, read "the Declaration" in a manner which I have never heard equaled.

Messengers from Louisville told me that the city was
full of negroes who were waiting for me to set them free; and that which finally determined me to go back to the city was a message from Captain E. B. Harlan, my adjutant-general, that Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Osborne, Judge Ballard, and others who were my friends, had called upon him and said that I “must return in order to dispose of the negroes, of whom the city was full.” I took the chariot and horses and returned to the city; and after stopping at headquarters long enough to consult Harlan, I noticed that there were fewer negroes in town than usual, and was told that nearly all of them had assembled in a grove south of the city, where I would find, as my informant said, “Twenty thousand negroes waiting for freedom!” I proceeded south on Preston street, with the chariot and horses, and General James S. Brisbane who had accompanied me from the fair grounds, and after we had passed Tenth street, I saw outlying negroes run back to the crowd after discovering us and report that we were coming. After we reached the edge of the crowd, I heard one old negro man shout aloud and say, “Dar he comes in the golden chariot and de hosses of salvation!” which was caught up and repeated to the echo, and then a sense of the ridiculous nearly overcome me. When I reached the mass of colored people I was lifted over their heads and placed upon a platform erected for the occasion and surrounded by negroes whom “no man can number.” When the tumult had partially subsided, I said, “My countrymen, you are substantially free!” They never heard the word “substantially.” There went up a shout which could have been heard for a mile. Some were singing and shouting as if they were in a religious meeting, and terms were applied to me that were only proper when used in reference to the Supreme Being; while I thought of the president and secretary of war and doubted if they would sustain me; but while I stood I determined to “drive the last nail in the coffin” of the “institution” even if it cost me the command of the department. How long I stood on the platform I do not know, but when the noise had in a measure subsided, I said, “My countrymen, you are free, and while I command in this department the military forces of the United States will defend your right to freedom.” Nothing like the scene I then witnessed will ever occur again in the United States, for human slavery has ceased to exist.
Slavery practically ended in Kentucky on July 4, 1865. I reported my conduct on that occasion to the president and the secretary of war, and as a consequence on the 25th of July the following order was issued:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, July 25, 1865.

GENERAL ORDER No. 129.

"To secure equal justice and the same personal liberty to the freedmen as to other citizens and inhabitants, all orders issued by post, district or other commanders, adopting any system of passes for them, or subjecting them to any restraints or punishments not imposed on other classes, are declared void.

"Neither white nor black will be restrained from seeking employment elsewhere when they cannot obtain it at a just compensation at their homes and when not bound by voluntary agreement, nor will they be hindered from traveling from place to place on proper and legitimate business.

By command of the secretary of war.
E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General."

MOTHER SEPARATED FROM SON IN 1846, REUNITED IN 1874

The Louisville Commercial, May 1, 1874, p 3

"A negro woman named Mary Stowers, a slave of Harrison Stowers, of Owensboro, was sold in 1846, twenty-eight years ago, to a citizen of Shelby county. Mary and her little girl, two years old, were taken to their new home, and her son Willis, then four years old, remained with her former master, John Stowers, by whom she had been sold to his brother. Two years afterward Mary was again sold to a negro trader and taken to the cotton plantations of Alabama, the terror of every Kentucky negro at the time. Her boy Willis grew up, became free by the events of war, and went to Evansville. For many years he had heard nothing of his mother. A few days ago Willis was told that an old woman claiming to be his mother, was in the city in search of him. He went to the house of his uncle, Ed. Davis, and there met an old woman, who clasped him in her arms and wept over him as her son. To test the genuineness of her claim, Willis asked, 'How do you know I am your son?' And the old woman gave her reasons, detailing facts that were known to him as having occurred. He then showed her his right hand, and asked, 'Can you tell how I lost that little finger?' +

"'Yes,' replied she, 'your young master cut it off while chopping a trough.' +

"This was conclusive proof to the son that he had found his long-lost mother, and the two departed in joy to his little cottage, to talk over the happy close of their separation."
Annual celebration of G.U.O. of O.F. observed with a parade and festival at the Exposition building. Marched from hdq., corner of 11th & Green, through principal streets. A number of lodges represented. Then a fine supper, till a late hour.

Good attendance at fair of Jefferson Co. (colored) Assn yesterday; "...the display in the amphitheater was very creditable." Officers should be proud. Fair continued today; a ball this evening at Floral Hall.
"An old blind black woman sits on the pavement on Fourth street, and, turning her sightless orbs upward, drones out a melancholy hymn, as if to impress the passersby with the heavenly peace of mind she is enjoying. As we drop our humble contribution in her lap we often feel like suggesting to the old woman that singing is not her forte, and that her particular style of singing is anything but attractive, and not at all likely to arouse charitable feelings in the breasts of passers-by."

The Sch Bd appointed the following to the "Colored Advisory Board:
First ward--R.M. Payne
Third ward--Rev. E. D. Smith
Fourth ward--W. H. Stuart
Fifth ward--George Taylor & Wm. Spradling
Sixth ward--N. B. Rogers
Eighth ward--N. Bonaparte
Ninth ward--George Brown
Tenth ward--A. G. Bibb
Eleventh ward--Horace Morris & Marshall Woodson
Twelfth ward--Milton Clark
HOUSE OF REFUGE FOR COLORED BOYS; COLORED ORPHANS HOME 1885
LOUISVILLE

p 43/ "House of Refuge for Boys (Colored)--On same ground / a tract
of land south of the city for whites/ and under same management as the
other./white/ Cost about $30,000." The white house costs about $60,000.

p 44/ "Colored Orphans' Home--2236 Eighteenth. Jane E. McKamey,
matron."

Source: probably Caron's Directory 7th
City of Lou, 1885, 1885

COL. ORPHANS' HOME; INDUSTRIAL HOME, LOU, 1888

Caron's Directory of the City of Louisville, for 1888, 1888.

p 42/ "Industrial School of Reform for Boys (Colored)--On same
ground and under same management as the other. Cost about $30,000." Same
ground as white Ind. Home, tract of land south of city.

p 43/ "Colored Orphans' Home--2236 Eighteenth. Artshia G. Gilbert,
matron."

Caron's directory for Lou, for 1891, 1891

p 51/ Colored Orphans' Home, 2236 Eighteenth, Sarah Wells, matron.
p 50/ Industrial School of Reform for Boys (Colored), same info.
WICKLiffe's estimate of # slaves sold south in (1840) annually

T. D. Clark, 'Slavery backg'round of foster's my old ky home,' fchq, 10, Jan 1936

p 6/ "Robert Wickliffe, the largest slave- holder in Fayette County, estimated in 1840 that over 60,000 slaves were being taken to the lower South annually." From Ky. cites Asa Martin, slavery, pp 44, 45.

Mrs. Stowe did not originate story of Uncle Tom's Cabin

T. D. Clark, 'Slavery backg'round of my old ky home,' fchq, 10, Jan 1936

p 8/ "The story of Uncle Tom's Cabin did not originate with Mrs. Stowe; it antedates her publication by more than two decades."
LOUISVILLE POLICEMAN FINED $50 FOR STRIKING BLACK FEMALE 1875

"W.E. Buchanan, the policeman who assaulted Gabriella Taylor /Black/ at the corner of Fourth and Chesnut streets Monday afternoon, striking her across the eye with a cane and knocking her insensible, was arraigned before the City Court yesterday morning on the charge of assault and battery. The occurrence was published in The Commercial at the time, and the facts then stated were fully corroborated by the testimony elicited on the trial yesterday morning.+

"Mrs. Taylor was standing on the corner, talking with another woman, when Officer Buchanan approached and ordered them to stand 'out of the gang-way,' and, as appeared from the testimony, struck Mrs. Taylor without the least provocation. The officer was permitted to make a statement, but could not show any reason whatever for the wrong he had done. A jury was waived, and, taking all the facts into consideration, Judge Price ordered that a fine of $50 to be entered against Buchanan. It was a just judgment and teaches a valuable lesson that some of the members of the police force should improve by. The billy is too freely used." There was an appeal, however, for a new trial by the officer.

HOW LOU FREED BANK DEPOSITORS TO GET DIVIDEND 1875

"In answer to numerous inquiries as to the best mode for securing the payment of the first twenty per cent. dividend, all that is necessary is, that the pass-book be sent to 'the Commissioners of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, Washington, D. C.' The book may be sent by mail, a letter should accompany it, giving name and address plainly, so that the Commissioners may return the same direct to the depositor.+

"The plan adopted by the Commissioners has this explanation: Upon receipt of the pass-book, they will enter the amount of the dividend, and return the book and a check for the amount direct to the depositor.+

"All depositors who have receipts for pass-books, given before the branch office in Louisville was closed, are requested to go to my home, 528 Magazine, between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets, and, on presenting the receipt, they will receive the book." Very respectfully, Horace Morris, Late Cashier."
REV GADDIE DENIES BEING OFFERED BRIBE TO GET VOTES FOR BAXTER 1875

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Nov 11, 1875, p 4, letter from D. A. Gaddie to editor, dated Louisville, Nov 11, 1875

"Dear Sir--Will you please permit me a place in your to /sic/ paper to correct a statement made by some enemy of mine in regard to a promise /sic/ made to me by Mr. Baxter of a horse and buggy as I have no source though /sic/ which I can protect myself /sic/ against such impositions only to appeal /sic/ to your /sic/ generosity /sic/ and Christian kindness to allow me space in your paper for this card. First /sic/ I have had no such promise /sic/ from Mr. Baxter if he was or was not elected. and /sic/ if it was necessary I can show every step taken for the horse and buggy. and /sic/ Mr /sic/ Baxter is not in this matter at all. Second I deny having said that I intended to make a horses /sic/ and buggy out of the election. and /sic/ thirdly if it was so I would not deny it since it would not rob the poor, and needy, and in the 4th place, I can prove by high toned Jacobs men, that I am a first class /sic/ gentleman.+
D. A. Gaddie. Yours Fraternally /sic/. Please don't deny me."

HARPER LAW SCH CONTROVERSY IN LOU 1874

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Nov 20, 1874, p 4

"HARPER'S LAW SCHOOL.+

"Evidence of Fraudulent Certificates. (Evening Ledger.) +

"We yesterday gave Mr. Harper space for a communication in defense of his law school circular and certain certificates which he adduced to substantiate his statements. The following statement from Messrs. Smith and Bell, with the accompanying certificate, seem to prove that Harper is not very reliable. We publish it in justice to the young men, Smith and Bell:

"MR. EDITOR--Allow us, if you please, to reply to the abusive article of N.R. Harper in the Ledger, in which he attempts to defend his law school, but only succeed in writing a slanderous article against our characters. Now we will show your readers the mercenary action of this man, and the deceptive manner in which he obtained his libelous evidence against us.+

"In the first place he went to Mrs. Miller, a poor old ignorant lady who can neither read nor write, and carried the certificate which he published in the Ledger. He then read part of the certificate to her and her daughter, who is deaf, and persuaded the daughter to sign the mother's name. Thus he obtained the signature with their really knowing what the certificate contained. The deaf daughter says she thought it was a receipt for rent, and she signed her mother's name, as she is in the habit of doing.+

"Now, Mrs. Miller denied last night, in Harper's presence, and before other witnesses, the charges he represented her to have made, and caused Harper to sign her name to the following to which she put her cross-mark:+

"I, Mrs. Miller, certify that Messrs. Smith and Bell conducted themselves
like gentlemen while in my house, and that I never saw them drunk, and that I did not call them worthless fellows, but said they were not worth the money to pay the rent for the room, and I do not hold Messrs. Bell and Smith responsible for the rent of my room. 

As to dragging the colored Advisory Board into our exposition of his sham law school, we did nothing of the kind, but simply said that two gentlemen, members of the Board, had been very kind in assisting us.

We deem this sufficient to say of a man who is devoid of all principle, has a total disregard for his word, and who claims the leadership of the colored people, having the audacity to say: "Why, fellows, you don't know what prominence I have reached here." We should say he had reached the very climax of popularity, and we grant him the acme of its enjoyment.

"A.A. Smith, J.W. Bell."

The Harper Law School Fraud, (Communicated)

Mr. Harper makes a feeble attempt in the Ledger to impeach the character of Smith and Bell, the two law students whom he brought here from Washington by false representations, without even pretending to refute the charges made against him. The Ledger of yesterday evening shows how that attempt recoiled. Who would believe a man, where character was at stake, who had practiced such a fraud upon the community as the one in question, and many others which lay at his door?"

"The Harper Law School is an institution that has doubtless been heard of more throughout the country than here in Louisville, where it is established, and where its projector claims it has the sanction of the most prominent members of the bar. Its circulars have been distributed broadcast over the country, and on their promises young men have been induced to come here, only to find that they had been deceived."

"Some weeks since Arthur A. Smith and J. W. Bell, students at Howard University, Washington City, came to Louisville to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the "Harper Law School." They had seen advertisements in the papers and had written to Harper. On the promises made in the circulars and the corroborative evidence of Harper's letter they were induced to leave Howard University and come here. When they arrived here they found that they had been deceived, and that the representations of the circular and letter were groundless. They found none of the great advantages that had been promised."

"We are not in the habit of giving free advertisements, but will depart from our rule on this occasion, and, that our readers may have an idea of how the school has been advertised, will give N. R. Harper, Esq., the benefit of the publication of his circular:"

Circular of the Harper Law School, Louisville Kentucky. Term Commences Tuesday, September 1, 1874.

"This school will open with a full corps of lecturers and teachers on the above date, to which will be admitted young men without distinction on
account of race or color. An ordinary English education and good reputation being the only qualifications required.†

†Young colored men are especially invited to embrace this opportunity for qualifying themselves for business and for the profession of the law.†

†The Harper law school is designed to meet the demand of young men who are unable to devote their whole time to study, and affords an opportunity for students to work and earn a living while pursuing their studies.†

†Students of the law when qualified and graduating from this school are admitted to practice law in the superior and inferior courts of this State and in the District Courts of the United States. Also to practice in the various courts of Indiana, and in several of the Western and Southern States without an examination.†

†The great expense attending the purchase of necessary books for the study of this science is avoided in this school by the acquisition of a library of several hundred volumes, which will be increased as the requirements of the school demands. This library is free to all students while attending school, and the great advantage afforded thereby will commend itself to those who are unable to provide books for themselves.†

†In connection with this school a practical or moot court is established, with all the appliances of a regularly constituted court of justice, wherein the student becomes familiar with all branches of the practice of law, and is prepared for business when leaving school. This is an advantage which the student in the lawyer's office can not obtain.†

†There are four classes in this school, viz.: Freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior classes. Candidates, if qualified, are admitted to either of the classes upon entering the school. Applicants for admission to the first or freshman class are submitted to an oral examination in Moral Philosophy, Practical Arithmetic, Orthography, and Writing. If the qualification of the applicant shall reach seventy-five per cent. in these branches he will be admitted to the first class.†

†The school term, beginning on the first Tuesday in September, and ends on the last Friday in May. No vacation except on legal holidays.†

†Tuition fees, $3.50 per month, in advance. Good board guaranteed at $2.50 per week. Room rent at the school building free of charge. Students required to furnish the same for lodgings.†

†Louisville has a population of 100,000 inhabitants, 20,000 of whom are persons of color. Therefore school teachers, mechanics, barbers, hotel waiters, or any one inclined to work his way through this school can find ready employment for the purpose. The management will assist all willing students in finding suitable employment where such person has duly entered the school.†

†The first examination for admission to classes will be held August 20, 1874, and then each month thereafter. The names of the applicants should be registered at once.†

†This school is dependent upon no contingencies. Its founders are colored men, members of the Kentucky bar. It has the encouragement of the entire bench and bar of Louisville. It has a large number of students enrolled for the opening, and applications are constantly coming in from different parts of the country. Whether all present themselves at the examination on the 26th of August, or only a few, the school will continue the same †
Young men must come recommended for honestly, probity, and good demeanor, unless known to respectable citizens of this city as being proper persons for admission to this school.+

Colored lawyers—J.E. Black, Esq., Kentucky; O.M. Warring, Esq., Kentucky; John Dickens, Esq., Kentucky; T.F. Cassels, Esq., Tennessee; J.D.S. Ferrier, Esq., Mississippi; Charles B. Morris, Esq., Texas; George A. Griffith, Esq., Louisiana; N.R. Harper, Esq., Kentucky. *These gentlemen have been admitted to the bar in this State through the influence of this school before it received definite shape.+

White lawyers—General J.M. Harlan; Kentucky; E.Y. Parsons, Esq., Kentucky; Colonel Selby Harney, Kentucky; General G.W. Chilton, Kentucky; Robert F. Baird, Kentucky; Frank Parsons, Esq., Kentucky; Judge W.B. Hoke, Kentucky; Colonel R.A. Jones, Kentucky. +

N. B.—All communications should be addressed to N.R. Harper, Esq., Corner Sixth and Court Place, Louisville, Ky. +

It was on the representation of the above circular that the two young men alluded to left Howard University. Knowing several of the gentlemen whose names are attached to the circular to be prominent members of the bar, they concluded that an institution so highly indorsed must be a meritorious one, and being assured by Harper that they could easily obtain employment here while attending the school, and would be amply provided for, they left a good school and come to Louisville, little thinking of the great disappointment in store for them.+

They found that "Harper Law School" was located in a single room over a saloon, corner of Sixth and Court Place. The library did not contain over a dozen books, and the gentlemen whose names were attached to the circular did NOT KNOW THAT SUCH AN INSTITUTION EXISTED. +

A reporter of THE COMMERCIAL had an interview last evening. They stated that they saw the advertisement in one of the Eastern papers guaranteeing a full course of law and practical training for the bar; tuition $3 50 per month; board $2 per week. They wrote to Harper for further information concerning the law school, and he sent a very voluminous circular which assured great benefits and advantages, and also wrote a personal letter confirming every word in the circular; and, further, that he would provide for them until suitable employment could be found. +

The circular states that the school has a full corps of lecturers and instructors, consisting of such gentlemen as General J.M. Harlan, E.Y. Parsons, and others. This the students state is not so, and that Harper is the only lecturer and instructor in the school, and, according to their account, is not a very good one. +

The circular also states that the institution affords an opportunity for students to work and earn a living while pursuing their studies, and the management will assist them in getting employment. The students assert that there is no opportunity for employment offered, and that, as far as their knowledge goes, the school is unknown and those at its head are without influence to assist students in obtaining work. +

It is also held out in the circular, as an inducement for young men to attend the school, that students graduating from it are admitted to practice in this and other States without any other examination. The institution, however, is not incorporated, can not give a diploma, and the hopes of the students in this direction are bitter disappointment. +
The Daily Louisville Commercial, Nov 17, 1874, p 4

The library "of several hundred volumes," spoken of in the circular, is a myth, or, at least, the students have not been able to find more than a dozen old books, which are of no value to them. "

The "moot court," alluded to as a great advantage, is said by the students to be the greatest fraud of the whole business, and is a regular farce, and carried on like a political mass-meeting. "

The students are promised room rent in the school building free of charge. The "school building" consists of one small room and a coat-closet, or, at least, that is all of the building that is used as the school. Still the students have room rent free, providing that they can sleep on the floor. "

The students who were spoken to by a reporter of THE COMMERCIAL pronounced the thing a gigantic fraud. They say that there are three or four students who live in the city, but that some of them can not read correctly. They come here convinced by Harper's circular and letters that they would receive a thorough course in the study of the law, while at the same time earning enough money to support themselves, and at the end of the session would receive a diploma which would entitle them to practice in the courts of the State, but such expectations they found to be based upon fraudulent representations. "

Others from different parts of the country have been duped in the same way. "

As for the gentlemen whose names appear on the circular, several of them stated that they had never heard of the institution. A little investigation into the matter might develop some interesting facts. "

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Sept 11, 1874, p 4

"There was a good attendance at the Colored Fair yesterday, and the many attractive features of the day were highly enjoyed by all present. "

The competition for purse in the "finest turn-out, gentleman accompanied by a lady, in single or double team," was one of the most interesting and exciting rings of the day. The entries were George Parker, Benj. Ruddy, George Montgomery, Wm. Anderson, Henry Terrel, G.W. Johnson, Wesley Hunt, H. Meyers. The premium was awarded to Wm. Anderson, of Louisville, and certificate to George Montgomery, of Lexington. After a long consultation the judges rendered a decision that seemed to give general satisfaction. "

The base ball match between the Globes and Mutuals, both of Louisville, attracted considerable attention, and resulted in favor of the Globes by a score of 25 to 15. One of the members of the Globes met with an accident that may prove of a serious nature. He was struck in the left eye and badly hurt. "

The gentlemen's riding-ring was witnessed with considerable interest. There were ten or twelve contestants, and the premium was awarded to George Parker, of Louisville. The other premiums were as follows: "

"Jennet, any age, David Gregory, of Shelby." "

"Mule horse, four years old and over, -- McDrain of Jefferson." "

"Stud colt, one year old, David Courtney, of Jefferson." "

"Pair buggy horses, any age, fifteen and a half hands, George Rhodes, of Jefferson." "

"Sucking colt, Richard Lee, of Jefferson." "
ACCT OF LOUISVILLE COLORED FAIR SEPT 1874

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Sept 11, 1874, p 4

"PROGRAMME FOR TO-DAY

"The trots have been postponed until to-day.
Also the rings for
Fancy saddle horse or mare.
Harness gelding, four years and over.
Harness gelding, three years and under four.
Buggy mare, any age.
Buggy horse, any age.
Gentleman rider.
Bockaway horse or mare.
Trot--free-to-all, mile heats.
Best turn-out, lady and gentleman.
Trains leave every half hour to-day, and the admission price only twenty-five cents."

LETTER SUPPORTING LOUISVILLE'S COLORED BOARD OF VISITORS FOR SCHOOL 1874

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Sept 8, 1874, p 4

"The Colored Board of Visitors

"Editor Louisville Commercial:

"The communication in Sunday's Courier-Journal attacking the colored Board of Visitors is so unjust, unmanly, and unfair that I ask space to reply to it.

"The impression is trying to be made that the board is a "monopoly" controlling the interests of the colored people of this city for selfish purposes. How far this is from the truth a few facts will show. It is useless to answer all of the misrepresentations made in the communication, but the most glaring deserve notice.

"First--The Board of Visitors is appointed by the Committee on Colored Schools, not "self-constituted;" therefore it can be no "monopoly." Four of the present members of said board were working for the establishment of public schools here before the author of the communication in question had thought of the law as a profession; before he had come here to divide and mislead the people; before he had acquired his amazing (?) political influence, which is for sale to the highest bidder.

"Second--It is not true that "nine" (9) out of the twelve live in the Western part of the city," but even if it were, what would be the odds, so they are competent and honest? The city, so far as the colored schools are concerned, is divided into districts--Eastern, Central, and Western--and the board was appointed to look to their interests.

"Thomas, Steward, Taylor, Rogers, and Bonaparte live east of Sixth street; Brown, Meriwether, Bibb, Minnis, Gibson, Woodson, and Horace Morris live west of it."
LETTER SUPPORTING LOUISVILLE'S COLORED BOARD OF VISITORS FOR SCHOOL 1874

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Sept 8, 1874, p 4

"Third--It is utterly false that "nine members of the board are members or patrons of Fifth-street Baptist Church;" but even if it were true, aren't the members and patrons of that church as good as those of any other church? +

"Fourth--It is base and false, and emanated from a corrupt heart, "that the teachers are selected in like proportion, and with like influence and patronage" (?) . +

"Three separate advertisements have been inserted in the papers "for teachers for the colored schools," and they will be opened to-day with less than the full complement. We need them to-day, whether Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, Unitarian, or what not. Their religious opinion has nothing to do with their qualification to teach. +

"It is mean and unworthy of honest men to charge that "the power of the board is used to appoint personal friends and relatives in the schools." But two of the members of the board have relatives in the schools, and they were taken for their fitness and competency to fill the position assigned them. As for personal friends, they are all personal friends who work for the elevation of the colored people, and all enemies who would drag them down. +

"Fifth--We don't understand the "humiliating monopoly," therefore pass it by. +

"Sixth--We can bring men of unimpeachable veracity who will testify on oath, if need be, that the main charge urged against the board is that they are opposed to "mixed schools;" but that charge is so idle, so silly, that it is no wonder that it is denied in the paper. +

LETTER SUPPORTING LOUISVILLE'S COLORED BOARD OF VISITORS FOR SCHOOL 1874

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Sept 8, 1874, p 4

"It is useless to follow this matter further than to say that the only members of the board who belong to Fifth-street Baptist Church are Messrs. George W. Brown, William H. Steward, Madison Minnis, and Napoleon Bonaparte. The other members either belong to other church organizations. John Morris at present is not a member of the board. Woodson, Meriwether, Bibb, Horace Morris, Gibson, Taylor, Thomas, and Rogers are somewhat scattered as to that matter. +

"If any church organization has been influenced by the misrepresentations of the movers of that petition, it is a pity for that church. If any minister of the gospel has signed said petition, it proves him to be unworthy of the position he holds. If any honest man or woman has signed it, I know they will regret it, if the prayer is granted and the designing politicians get control of the colored public schools. +

"What a spectacle, to see a member of the Board of Visitors, with a keg of beer on his shoulders, staggering around among your children getting them intoxicated, and then leading them up to the polls to be sold for his gain! Or another snorting and cursing on the stump, his pockets stuffed with the money he has been paid for your degradation. +

"Fellow-citizens, this is a true type of the class of men who are dissatisfied with the board and would have it abolished. Are you willing to put your children in their keeping? God forbid! +

"The people in the East End are satisfied; all this complaint comes from politicians of the West End. One lives on Chestnut street, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets; the writer of the communication in Sunday's issue lives on Green street, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets. They would destroy your interests, not foster them. Beware of them..."
THE COLORED PEOPLE AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

We publish this morning a communication from an intelligent colored man at Lexington, whom we know to be influential among his own people and respected by his white fellow-citizens, in reference to the sentiments of the colored people about the civil rights bill. Our correspondent will find, on examination that we have not represented that the colored people were opposed to the bill because it had the school feature in it, but that they were not in favor of, and were in fact, as a general rule, opposed to mixed schools. In that position he sustains us himself, for he does not seem to desire mixed schools in fact, but only that the law shall not make a distinction, which he thinks a stigma on his people, by forbidding mixed schools. He is contending for an abstract principle, and not for mixed schools. The fact mentioned by him, that Representative Elliott, of South Carolina, made a speech in favor of the civil rights bill, does not show that the people he represents wants mixed schools. The colored people in South Carolina are in a majority, and can pass such laws as they choose, but there are no mixed schools in that State. The National Convention of colored delegates, which urged the passage of the civil rights bill, school feature and all, however much its members may have been what is called in the political clap-trap of the day "representative men," was in a very slight degree representative of men, or at least of any other men than those who composed it. As we understand it, not one in a thousand of the colored people of Kentucky had anything to do with sending delegates to that body, and very few more than that proportion knew anything about it. What we gave as the opinion of the colored people on the subject of mixed schools was gathered from themselves. We are satisfied that no

respective number of the colored people of Louisville want mixed schools, or care to risk the excellent schools they have for the sake of any abstraction. As regards the opinion of the colored people elsewhere, we get that from their own expressions. For instance, on the 8th of August there was a Republican county convention in Lee county, Alabama. Lee county was formerly one of the largest slaveholding counties in the State, and its colored population is greater than its white population. We take it that the number of white Republicans in that county is not great enough to control the expressions of a convention against the wishes of the colored majority. Among the resolutions unanimously adopted by that convention were the following:

\[ \text{"WHEREAS, The Republican party of Alabama in 1872, among other things, opposed the Greeley movement because of its dangerous dogma in the advocacy of mixed schools, churches, &c; and} \]

\[ \text{"WHEREAS, Now, as then, we the Republicans of Lee county are unalterably opposed to any kind of legislation, State or Federal, favoring mixed schools, mixed churches, or any mixture of races on the question of social equality, as being prejudicial to the best interest of all the people, but that we here unalterably assert that we are in favor of the civil and political equality of all men before the law, guaranteeing equal and exact justice to all irrespective of race, color, or nativity.} \]

\[ \text{"Resolved, That the charge of the race issue Democracy, that the Republicans of Lee county favor the establishment by law of mixed schools and social equality, is hereby declared and denounced as a base fabrication."} \]

"We think we find sufficient grounds for saying that the colored people, as a mass, were opposed to mixed schools. If we were mistaken—which we
The Daily Louisville Commercial, Aug 22, 1874

do not believe--we are sorry, because the practical effect of the discussion of the question at this time will do harm to the best interests of the colored people and good to nobody. The practical effect of the discussion so far has been all through the country to increase the strength of that party, which is not only opposed to the civil rights bill, but which opposed every proclamation, bill, constitutional amendment, or legislative enactment of any sort whatsoever which conferred or protected any right which the colored people now have. If the discussion goes on, as is likely, there will be a great deal of violence throughout the South, in which the colored people will be the sufferers, and the Government of all the Southern States will pass into the hands of the Democrats. Certainly the colored people will gain nothing at all by that. If the civil rights bill is to pass it will be passed next winter by the representatives now in office, and it will gain no strength from any discussion before the people now, and it is not practically an issue in the Congressional elections. It passed the Senate last winter, and got its large vote in the House more through a sentimental desire to show respect for Mr. Sumner than from any other feeling. That feeling will not have much influence next winter, and if the elections in November show, as the indications are that they will, that the great majority of the white people North and South are against the bill, and that the masses of the colored people do not care enough for it to vote solidly for it, or for the candidates of the party which will pass it, if anybody does, the sentimental aspect of the bill will be lost sight of.

The colored men who are insisting on this measure should take note of one thing and that is that there is a strongly growing feeling in the North, where the effective Republican strength lies, that the country has done enough for the colored people for the present, and that the way they have used what has been given them makes it doubtful whether, indeed, too much has not been done for them already. The condition of things in South Carolina and Florida and Louisiana does not encourage Congress to go before the country with fresh and unusual demands in the interest of those who have misgoverned those States so horribly.

As for ourselves, we are opposed to the civil rights bill as a whole, because we believe it legislated upon matters not within the jurisdiction of Congress--because we believe the bill is unconstitutional. If it were not for the school feature in it, however, we would feel little concern about it, and quietly leave it to be tested by the courts. The provision which makes mixed schools a probability, if not a legal necessity, will, however, result in such immediate and direct injury to all classes, white and black, that we are constrained to object earnestly to the passage of the bill. The first effect of its passage would be the entire destruction of our common school system in all those Southern States in which the colored people are not in a majority. The evil of this would be incalculable, and no removal of the merely imaginary stigma on the colored people which a refusal to have mixed schools imposes would be any compensation for it. The benefits of our common school system have come to be highly appreciated by the masses of the whites in our State, and any deprivation of them would excite their warmest animosity against whoever caused it, and that animosity would be visited on the colored people. The difference between the school provisions of the bill and the other provisions is essentially that the school provision is direct legislation for social equality while the other provisions are not. The hostility to the provisions enforcing the rights of negroes to equal privileges in public conveyances, in houses of
The Daily Louisville Commercial, Aug 22, 1874

Public entertainment, places of public amusement, etc., is based on the idea that it is "nigger impudence" to claim such privileges, which is a mistaken idea, and one that time will destroy; and the further idea that there is a great repugnance does not in fact exist. The illustration our correspondent uses in reference to the schools and its effect on the children, shows that he recognizes the difference. His reference to the experience at Berea does not strengthen his argument, but tells against it. The association there is voluntary, and nobody interferes with it now, or proposes to interfere with it. The experience of Berea shows that it is better to trust to time than to legislation for the removal of the prejudices and for the introduction of new customs. If any feeling is mere prejudice, time will certainly remove it; legislation will only aggravate it, and if it is based on more than mere prejudice, can not possibly remove it. We are earnestly in favor of the education of the colored youth. We believe that the best interests of the State demand it, and that it is the duty of the State to see to it as carefully as it sees to the education of white children. We believe that the discrimination made against colored people in traveling is a gross injustice which should be remedied, but we do not believe that Congress has anything more to do with it, as matters stand, than with the prices charged for day-board at the Galt House. We believe, too, that the colored people can procure changes in the customs—for it is in all things, except schools, matters of customs, and not of laws, which operate unjustly on them—in a way which will give them less trouble, cost them less, and do infinitely less harm to the country than the attempt to procure and enforce a law repugnant to the feeling of the community. There is no distinction made by the laws of Kentucky between white citizens and black in anything that relates to public vehicles, common carriages, houses of public entertainment, or places of amusement. If anybody, white or black, is aggrieved, the courts are open, and though the colored people will go into our courts under a disadvantage, railroad and other corporations and other persons will soon find that it is cheaper to make some arrangement satisfactory to colored people who demand the accommodations which they are entitled to than it is to endure constant lawsuits, even if they gain them every time. As for schools, the influence of their votes and of a sense of justice will give them better schools just in the same way that they have given the existing school system. In speaking of the change in the customs which the colored people feel to be unjust as a matter on which questions of profit and loss will have great effect, we speak advisedly. We do not believe that the white people as a mass, or even in any considerable numbers, "hate" the colored people as our correspondent suggests. His feelings are still colored by the excitement of the recent political contest in Fayette, in which the colored people were doubtless treated harshly and unjustly in many instances. The exclusion of the colored people from the better railroad cars and from many public places is not matter of "hate," but a question of business. The managers and proprietors consider that their interests would suffer if they did otherwise. And colored people are in no situation to criticise them harshly on that account, because colored men do the same thing. There are no colored barbers, for instance, who seek the custom of white people, who will admit a colored man to be shaved in their shops. In the same way, colored restaurateurs of eating-house keepers who seek white patronage will not admit colored customers; and in neither case is it because they "hate" their people. It is the duty of the people to see to it as carefully as it sees to the education of white children.
is simply because they can't afford it. They would lose their trade if they did. The same motive operates with nearly the same force with white proprietors of places of amusement, hotels, steamboats, and railroads. And we feel very sure that the way for the colored people to remedy these customs, so far as they operate unjustly against them, is not by the passage of penal laws like the civil rights bill, which in its present shape would bring "hate" into the matter, but by making it unprofitable to be unjust to them; and our laws as they stand give them that opportunity. We are not surprised that the colored people favor the passage of the civil rights bill; it is natural that the mass of them should; but we consider that they are making a great mistake in identifying their cause with it. Our correspondent does us only justice in recognizing our friendly feeling toward his race. Our open expression of that feeling has cost us not a little money. It is because of that friendly feeling and because we know that our correspondent is sincere in what he says and a worthy citizen that we have considered his letter so fully and frankly. His frankness and sincerity entitled him to equal frankness and sincerity from us."

A Warning to the School Board and to the Colored People

"A petition in the following terms is now being circulated among the colored people. We give it word for word:

"To the Honorable the Board of Trustees in and for the city of Louisville, Ky.:"

"The memorial of the undersigned spectfully showeth that we would be satisfied to have the public schools of this city controlled by the Trustees elected by the people without mediators to advise for the colored citizens as if we were minors. That it is humiliating to us to have persons appointed as a specialty for our welfare. Therefore we most respectfully request the school board to dismiss the present advisory board of visitors and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray."

"Doubtless some very respectable and well-meaning colored men have been misled into signing or more actively favoring this petition; but it is just as certain that among the originators and most active promoters of it are some of the most notorious election bummers among the colored population. In order that the School Board may understand that it is not so much the good of the colored schools or the dignity of the colored people that the promoters of this move are after as it is something very different, it is well for them to know that one of the considerations urged to obtain signatures is the statement that the present colored Advisory Board stands between the colored children and admission to the white schools—that the School Board is willing to admit the colored children to the white schools, but that the colored Advisory Board, in order to keep up their own power..."
and importance, prevent it and insist on separate schools. Of course the School Board and everybody else, including the men who make this statement, know that it is a silly falsehood.

"We give the fact that such statements are used to get signers to the petition in order that, if it is presented, as we hope for the credit of the colored people it never may be, the members of the board may know how much weight to attach to the signatures it may have."

"We know that the present Advisory Board for the colored schools has done most efficient service in extending facilities for the education of colored children in this city, and that they have acted with rare tact and discretion in the discharge of their duties, and we are well convinced that the School Board values aright their co-operation and the assistance they render. We are no partisans of the individual members of the Advisory Board, though we recognize them as among the most respected and intelligent of our colored citizens, and we have nothing to say for or against the removal of particular members of the board, but there is nothing more clear, and we have no doubt that it is still clearer to the members of the School Board than it is to us, that the abolition of the Advisory Board, in the wholesale way asked by this petition, and for the reasons assigned, would be the height of folly and most injurious to the interests of the colored people."

EDITORIAL CRITICISM OF WM HARPER, LOU BLACK LAWYER 1874

How the Famous Leader of the Colored People, Mr. Harper, Conducted a Case for a Colored Client.

"We have had occasion to refer to the conduct of a little clique of colored men in Louisville of late, among them one Harper, a lawyer (by grace of a remarkable certificate), who has affected to be a leader of his race--an advisor of his people. He was so superior to the common herd that he couldn't brook opposition; consequently he became the opponent of the better class of colored men in the city, and had in his train a few ambitious fellows of like desires. How he has deceived the few who have trusted him we have been fully informed. The recent exposure of his law college swindle, wherein he used the names of distinguished lawyers of this city without authority, and, when exposed, had himself very clumsily whitewashed by his church, has been published in the papers of the city. But his "peculiarities of practice" have been so marked that we select one case for the benefit of his little crowd of admirers.

"Some months ago he was the attorney of Albert Thomas, a colored man who owned a lot of ground on Fourteenth street, north of Broadway. Thomas died last December, and his property was left to his two daughters, one of whom had married a man named Ledbetter, and the other a man named Withers. The one who married Withers died last year.

"After the death of Thomas, Ledbetter and his wife and Withers went to Harper to consult with him in regard to dividing the property, which consisted of a lot thirty feet fron of Fourteenth street. Harper advised them to have the lot divided, Ledbetter to take fifteen feet and Withers
to take fifteen feet. Of course, fifteen feet of ground would not be of
much benefit to them, as they would hardly be able to dispose of it, but
Harper, with an eye to business, saw a job in the transaction, and
advised them to divide it. Here was legal advice of a high order. "
"They accepted the advice of the great law firm, and the affair was
concluded. For this trifling service, which any reputable lawyer would
have made a charge of $5 or $10, Harper and Black charge the enormous
fee of $150. The ignorant clients didn't know any better, and on the
demand of Harper signed (we suppose with an X) two papers purporting
to be notes, but which were actually mortgages on the property for the
amount." 
"Last September the lot was sold to Mr. Pat. Bannon, Ledbetter and
Withers affirming that the title was clear, not knowing that Harper had
drawn and recorded two mortgages on the lot. "
"After selling the lot, Ledbetter went to Harper to take up the notes,
and a compromise was effected by paying Harper $50 and Black $50. "
"When Mr. Bannon discovered the mortgages on the lot he went to Led-
better, and the two visited Harper, who acknowledged that his claim had
been settled, and went and withdrew the mortgages. This little piece
of business by a "leader of the colored race," and a "distinguished
colored lawyer," did not end here. "
"Ledbetter fled to avoid arrest for selling the property when he knew
of the existence of minor heirs, and his wife was thrown in jail, where
she remained until a short time ago, when she was discharged, we believe,
on the ground of ignorance. The wretched woman was nursing an infant
c._child all the time she was imprisoned. She has left the city, we believe,
probably to follow her husband. "
"This sort of legal practice should be brought to an end. Few white
lawyers, however debased, would be permitted to practice at the bar
here after such a scheme as Harper's Law College fraud was exposed. This
ambitious leader has improved his time in Louisville. He has furnished
material for a deal of reading that will prove more interesting to his
people than to himself."
"Phoenix Hill Brewery ... was sometimes the scene of public hangings, for which the city turned out en masse. On January 25, 1861, David Caution, a slave, was hung /sic/ for the attempted rape of a white woman. The Democrat called the execution 'a circus, a barbarous and morally unhealthy exhibition.' One fence broke from the weight of the persons perched upon it, and liquor flowed freely. Several people were 'conspicuously ill-mannered and boisterous.' Caution was finally dispatched after the rope broke on the first attempt, and afterward the body was taken to the Kentucky Medical School where Professors Bayless and Wright made 'various experiments upon it by electrical batteries ... in the presence of a crowded lecture room.'"
To determine how many Kentucky slaves were sold South during the fifties is a complicated task. The expected natural increase, the number of imports 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 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. Frederick Bancroft attacked the problem with a mathematical formula and came out with an answer of 33,871 exports from Kentucky for the period 1850-60 or an annual average of approximately 3,400. Unquestionably the decade following the repeal of Kentucky's non-importation law in 1849 saw an acceleration of the activities of the slave traders. Winston Coleman estimates that "from twenty-five hundred to four thousand slaves were annually being transported from Kentucky to the Southern markets."
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. 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.

LOUISVILLE DEPOSITORS SENT MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS ON FREEDMEN'S BANK

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Dec 18, 1874, p 4

"FREEDMAN'S BANK +

"Adoption of the Memorial to Congress +

"The convention of the colored depositors of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company organized in the Fifth-street Colored Baptist Church last night by selecting Jesse Merriwether, Chairman, and W.H. Steward, Secretary. The first business transacted was the adoption of the following memorial to Congress, presented by Horace Morris, cashier of the late bank: +

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

"To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: +

"Your memorialists, citizens of the State of Kentucky, and depositors and creditors of the institution known as the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, a branch office of which was established in the city of Louisville, State of Kentucky, and in which branch they and a large number of other colored persons deposited their earnings to meet immediate demands and for safe keeping, on the promise of said Freedman's Savings and Trust Company to your memorialists that all moneys would be paid on demand to them during business hours. +

"The institution known as the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company was chartered by act of Congress March, 1865. The branch office in the city of Louisville was organized September, 1865, and immediately went into
successful operation. It has been from the start a profitable branch to the company, never entailing any loss, as the profits arising from the money of your memorialists more than paid the running expenses of the branch office and the dividends paid to them from time to time.†

As the Congress chartered the institution, and prescribed how and in what securities the money of your memorialists, depositors with it, should be invested; and as Congress from time to time amended the charter without the knowledge or consent of your memorialists, depositors with it, reserving the right at all times to inspect the books and affairs by such persons as they should designate or appoint; and your memorialists having faith in the Government—believing that they would not establish and foster an institution that would wrong them—deposited from time over one million ($1,000,000) of dollars in the branch office in the city of Louisville, Ky., and have now on deposit and due them in said branch office one hundred and thirty thousand ($130,000) dollars, more or less.†

On the twentieth (20th) day of June, 1874, the last amendment to the charter passed by the Congress became a law, and on the thirtieth (30th) day of June, 1874, the institution suspended, since which time your memorialists have been unable to get their money, or any part of it, deposited in the branch office in the city of Louisville, Ky. Under the last amendment passed in June, 1874, the trustees have elected commissioners to close up the principal office and the branches, which is being done, and your memorialists and other depositors are left in the embarrassed predicament of having every dollar many of them have in the world locked-up, with no time set when a dividend will be paid by the commissioners, or how much they will receive on their claims.†

Therefore, your memorialists urge the Congress to grant them relief, by assuming and paying the amounts due them, taking the assets of the institution, and holding every officer or agent of the same, who is liable, to strict responsibility for their acts.†

In addition to the relief we have asked in this memorial, we beg that a full investigation of the affairs and management of the institution may be ordered, to the end that any and all persons connected with the management thereof, who are liable, civilly or criminally, for any mismanagement of its business, may be proceeded against. And as in duty bound, your memorialists will ever pray.†

To facilitate matters, the Secretary was ordered to sign the names of the depositors present, some two hundred and fifty persons.†

The appended resolution of "SYMPATHY FOR NASHVILLE DEPOSITORS" was adopted:†

Resolved, That we sincerely sympathize with the depositors in the Nashville, Tenn., branch of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, and will earnestly co-operate with them in any measure looking to the assumption by Congress of the claims due them, and urge them, if they have not already done so, to forward their petition to their representative in Congress, that it may have early attention.†

A resolution to have two more meetings, at the call of the Chairman, in order to obtain the signatures of the rest of the depositors, was adopted. A motion that copies of the foregoing petition be left at places designated below, that depositors may sign it, was passed.†
"The Sentiments of the Colored People on the Civil Rights Bill as Expected by One of Their Number."

"Through your courtesy I have on several occasions communicated to the readers of your paper what I then believed to be the sentiments of the colored people, and their duty under certain circumstances. As to whether I was correct or not I will leave that for you and your readers to judge. Both in Congress and out of Congress it has been urged as an objection to the passage of the Civil Rights Bill that the colored people themselves did not desire it passed in the form it passed the Senate; that they would object to the school feature which seemed to be the most objectionable feature."

"Why this is so I can not tell, unless it is feared that both the white child and the colored child may forget the distinction made by nature stamping the colored child with the indelible mark of inferiority. Whoever asserts that the colored people do not desire this bill to pass in its present shape is guilty, in my opinion, of a misrepresentation. You made this assertion in your columns modestly, claiming to fairly represent the views of the colored people. Your paper is regarded, and in fact is, the leading organ and reflector of the sentiments of the political party to which the colored people have for the last four years given their almost undivided support. Albeit you can not know what we want better than we do ourselves, you may know better what we ought to have, but we do not believe that even. In attempting to represent our views without having expressions from us in some form or other, you are liable to fall..."
into error as you have already done, though I believe honestly and with
the very best feeling toward us. *

"We have no large newspaper circulation. Our views upon questions
of that kind are generally expressed to each other. Few white people in
Kentucky care to know that colored people think about, unless we happen
to think just as they do, and are too modest and polite in private to
want to force our opinions upon unwilling hearers; therefore the means
of obtaining a knowledge of our desires and our opinions are somewhat
limited. How often have I heard it stated that the slave was happy and
contented, and did not desire to be free. There never was anything
further from the truth. How many of them entered into voluntary slavery,
or, in other words, refused to enjoy the benefit of the laws making them
free? Senator Brownlow said the colored people of Tennessee did not want
it. They accused him of misrepresenting them. Brownlow demurred that
they were incompetent to know what they did want. *

"We believe this measure necessary to make us equal before the law, and
we want it to pass the House in the same shape if passed the Senate and
become a law. Whether we are able to enjoy the privileges it confers
or not, we want the laws to recognize our right to equal protection. We
ask for nothing but equality, no right that is not now enjoyed by the
humblest white citizen in the land. *

"We desire this white people to know that we want. Will they hear us? *

"We have had our National and State conventions pending the discus-
sion in Congress. Through these and our representative men throughout
the country we have urged, in our feeble way, our friends to ratify to

the support of the civil rights bill, and yet it is said we don't want
it. Do the colored representatives in Congress say we do not want it? If
anyone thinks so let him read Elliott's speech. In localities like
Lexington and Louisville, even if this bill should become a law, arrange-
ments can then be made that will afford ample accommodations for all
the prejudices of the white people toward us and mixed schools avoided.
But when our children go to a different school from that at which white
children are taught, we desire them to know that they have rights which
others are bound by the laws of the country to respect. It is some
consolation for a peaceable and quiet citizen to know that when he is
attacked by ruffians the laws of the country do not sanction the act.
Just so long as the laws sanction discriminations between classes of
citizens one will try to impose upon the other, because of a feeling of
hate. Do you want to teach the white child to hate the colored child as
you hate us? To perpetuate this feeling through to all future generations?
What will you gain by it? While it makes us unhappy does it add any-
thing to your happiness? What necessity is there for the laws of the
country to remind the colored child that he is black when he can see
that for himself? Why he is so in all probability he never will know,
any more than you now know. We desire to see this question settled, and
forever, before the law, and then let us work out our own destiny among
the people, as we are now doing in the mountains of Kentucky. White
Kentuckians and black Kentuckians do not quarrel at Berea. They are
wiping out their deep-rooted prejudice, working at the root of an evil that
has cost this nation millions of blood and treasure. The old tree has
tumbled down. Tear up the roots, so it may not sprout again, and all will be happier. We are here among you: we are a part and parcel of the body politic. You may continue to try to promote your own happiness and ignore our claims but in the future, as in the past, you will find it a total failure. Whether we continue to complain or not, the result will be the same. You have tried your utmost to make this question a contest between the white man and the black man but you can't do it. It is a contest between right and wrong, justice and injustice, and you can't make it anything else."

Respectfully,

H.S.

45. Lives in Lexington

DEDICATION OF BLACK SCHOOL IN LOU SEPT 1874

The Daily Louisville Commercial, sept 4, 1874, p 4

"EDUCATIONAL +

The New Colored School-House. Corner of Jackson and Breckinridge.+

Dedicatory Exercises Yesterday Afternoon--The Addresses of Major Speed and Mr. Horace Morris. +

"The handsome school-building recently erected at the corner of Jackson and Breckinridge streets, for the colored children of the Eastern district, was formally dedicated yesterday afternoon. +

"THE BUILDING is a substantial brick edifice, three stories in height, has a frontage of fifty-three and a half feet, and a depth of fifty-nine feet. It stands upon a finely graded lot, seventy by one hundred and fifty feet, which is elevated a foot and a half above the grade of the intersecting streets. The building contains three recitation rooms each on the first and second floors, exclusive of the principal's office and teacher's room, while the third story contains a chapel or exhibition room composed of two rooms, of the size of those below, united in one, and a recitation room besides. +

"The recitation rooms are each twenty-five by thirty feet, while the chapel in the third story is equal to two of these in dimensions. Each of these rooms is floored with the best Michigan pine, and the walls are wainscoted with yellow pine from Alabama, which, being varnished, gives to each room a stylish appearance. Blackboards, made of cement, with the coloring matter worked in, three feet in width and three from the floor,
take up two sides of each recitation room, and are furnished with grooved shelving for holding chalk. Each room has a teachers' dais, five feet by six, ten inches high, and a continuous platform, two and a half to three feet in width and six inches in height, extending around the walls of the room for the accommodation of 382 lineal feet of settees, and for the facilitation of blackboard exercises. The building will afford sufficient space for 252 double desks and seats. To each room is attached five tall sliding windows, which, together with large transom sashes and an independent ventilating shaft, will insure to the pupils abundance of pure, fresh air.

Each recitation room is provided with two large cases of boxed shelving, with twenty-five compartments each, for holding the hats, bonnets, wrappings, dinner-baskets, &c., of the pupils. Besides the school furniture alluded to, there will be nine teachers' tables, a desk for the principal's office, and forty-two chairs for the accommodation of friends or parents of the pupils. There are two front entrances on Jackson street (the building fronting on that street), one to the principal's office, and the other to the teachers' room, while there are double side doors for the ingress and egress of the pupils.

The stairways on both sides of the building are each composed of two short, wide flights, well boarded in, so that in case of close, hard crowding, nothing can give way, and a speedy exit is insured. Gas-pipes have been laid through the building, and the attachments proper can be adjusted at short notice. The building is to be heated with stoves. The view from the third story is fine. The cost of the building was $7,000.

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THE DEDICATORY CEREMONIES

were opened with music by the choir of Fifth and York streets, under the direction of Madison Minnis. A prayer was then offered by Rev. E. P. Humphrey. The choir then sung several songs, after which Dr. E. O. Brown, President of the Board of Trustees, in a neat speech, in which he referred to the building as the second that had been erected for colored children during his administration as chief officer of the Board of Trustees, presented the keys to Mr. Horace Morris, President of the Board of Visitors, and stated that as he was not prepared to speak at length, his friend, Professor W. H. Bartholomew, would express his sentiments.

The gentleman named spoke for about ten minutes, expressing his admiration of the efforts of the colored people to attain an education, and wished them success in the future.

ADDRESS OF HORACE MORRIS.

"Mr. Horace Morris, on receiving the keys, responded as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT--In accepting the keys of this building, erected for the education of the colored youth, permit me for and on behalf of the colored people to return you their sincere thanks; thanks to all concerned, the Board of Trustees, through whose generosity it was erected, your Building Committee, who had the immediate supervision of it, your Committee on Salaries and Supplies, your able Superintendent, whose master-hand guides and directs; in fact, to all "the powers that be," who have done so much for the education of the colored youth of this city.

As Kentuckians we feel proud, aye, a little bit vain, over the beautiful buildings you have erected for us; for nowhere else in this great
DEDICATION OF BLACK SCHOOL IN LOU SEPT. 1874

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country, Washington City, probably, excepted, are such magnificent buildings to be found; and nowhere else, excepting no locality, are they so complete in all their appointments, in all the requirements, the necessary furniture, &c., as here.†

†When we look back a few years and contrast the educational facilities of our people then with those of to-day, those of us who are old enough to remember them are filled with feelings akin to awe, for surely it is His work, He who molds the destinies of nations as He does those of individuals. It is His work before whom the countless ages have rolled and will still roll on until the latest syllable of recorded time.†

†View this fine building, so well proportioned, so well ventilated, so airy and complete in all its appointments, and compare it with the dingy school-rooms of but ten years ago, crowded with sweating urchins who could not study for reason of the poisoned air they breathed and exhaled, and then ask yourselves if we are not "progressing." Why, friends, we are rushing forward fast, keeping pace with this fast age, and though some may complain that we do not move fast enough, that things are not just as we want them that we are not accorded all the rights we claim as or right ours, remember, friends, that eleven years ago to-day we were slaves, owning a master, our wives and children the property of others, not permitted to go or come at will; but to-day we own our own wives and children, we go and come at pleasure, with none to molest or make us afraid; our children have beautiful buildings erected for their education; and, looking back on the past, I ask you, fathers and mothers, have we cause to be grateful, or not?†

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†It is sometimes said the negro is not capable of a high civilization.†

†I know that our ancestors were barbarians, living in rude huts, supplied with food from the great store-house of nature, and with raiment from the wild animals, when necessary, or, like our foreparents, clothed in the unadorned garb of nature. We have the advantage of our white fellow-citizens in this, for we know who our progenitors were; but history tells us that the origin of the Britons, from whom the whites of this country are mainly descended, is veiled in obscurity. Like our ancestors, they lived in huts, went nude in summer, and were clothed with the skins of wild animals in winter. Look at the progress they have made in civilization! their impress is stamped upon the face of all this world; their power and influence are felt wherever man has an abiding place; their very name is a power of strength. And as they have marched up from the lowest type of barbarism to the highest type of Christian civilization why not we! We have robust constitutions, the first prerequisite for longevity; we have fecundity—a sure evidence that we are not going to die out or be wiped out, either; we have many virtues, and alas, all of the virtues of our white fellow-citizens, and I ask why may we not rise to the high plane occupied by them? I believe that we can do it; I believe that we will do it. One of the principal roads that leads up to that plane runs through this school-house, and though they are over a thousand years the start of us we are stripping for the race; we mean to struggle to reach the goal. Of course it will not be in our day nor that of our children, but we will
get there by and by. We make history for those who come after us, as they who preceded us made it for our guidance. That we are progressing; that we are marching onward in the path of civilization; that our position in every respect is more advanced to day than say five years ago, any observer can plainly see. Notwithstanding all the stumbling blocks that have been thrown in our pathway, nevertheless we are marching on, perhaps not so fast as some in their impatience desire, yet they must remember that it takes time to travel any great journey. If you would travel around the world, it will take a longer time than to go from here to Cincinnati, for instance, and if you would reach the plane occupied by our white fellow-citizen; you must travel far and long. Courage, perseverance, and determination will place us there after awhile. We must be possessed of what old Uncle Zeb described perseverance to be. One of the dining-room servants heard them use the word "perseverance" in the "great house," and, not being able to comprehend it, went to Uncle Zeb., who was a sort of an oracle about the place, and asked him the meaning of it. "Pres-e-ver-ance--pres-e-ver-ance--pres-e-ver-ance--lem me see--pres-e-ver-ance--oh, yes, I got it--pres-e-ver-ance--means to take hold, to hold on, and never let go." Now that's just what we have got to do. We have got to take hold, to hold on, and never let go the determination to equal our white fellow-citizens. We must patiently mold these young minds--we must teach our sons and daughters to aim at all that is high and noble in life; to emulate all that is worthy of emulation in them, and to strive night and day to that end. "The white man has not always occupied his present exalted position--once he was lower by long odds in the scale than we are to-day; but he had pluck, determination, and perseverance, and see where he stands now--the whole world bows at his beck and nod and acknowledges him king among men; aye, he is more than king--at least in this country--for he makes and unmakes rulers. "I, for one, do not feel discouraged at the pace we are marching in, slow as it may seem to some; for when I look back over the road we have traveled, when I remember that less than three hundred years ago our ancestors were brought to this country in chains, when I look around me and see men and women who gave the best years of their lives to their masters, men and women whose heads grew white toiling for others without recompense, and see that same people here to-day, not slaves, but free citizens, not toiling for others, but for themselves, not afraid to be caught trying to read the word of God, and this fine building erected at the cost of the city for the education of the children of those who were born in bondage, I say I do not feel discouraged, my friends, for if so much can be accomplished in so few years, what may not be accomplished in the many years yet sleeping in the womb of time? "To be the full equal of the white man there are two particular things we need--education and wealth. We must have the education to plan a great building like the City Hall for instance, and the wealth to erect it after it has been planned; we must have the education that can design a great bridge like the one which crosses the falls here, and the wealth to execute the design and throw it over the rocks and rapids; we must have the education to stretch across the great plains Pacific railroads, and the wealth to build and equip them after we have drawn them out of the brain.
"Give our people as much education as they have, and as much wealth, and I care nothing about what the law may read. Give your son $500,000, and hats will go off to him, and heads will nod as readily as to Mr. any other $500,000. We are down to-day because we are ignorant and poor. Give us education and wealth and we will rise correspondingly high. +

"Look to it, you fathers and mothers, regard it as you do the obligation you owe to your Maker to see that your children are educated. If you can not give them a finished education give them the best your means can afford. The future of our people depends on it; unless the youth are educated there can be no hope for us. We are too old to do much more; our years are numbered, our sands have almost run out, yet a few years and we slumber in the dust. Plant good resolutions in the hearts and minds of your children and they will grow and flourish long after you have been gathered to your fathers. Teach them that upon their shoulders rests the burden of the future, and that they must have the strength and the resolution to carry it, else it will fall and all the hope and dreams of greatness will be dashed in pieces. +

"It is as necessary that you give your children an education as it is that you give them meat and bread. The one is sustenance for the brain, the other for the body. Of what service is a great, strong body if the brain be weak? if the mind is incapable of directing it intelligently? Even your scavenger can scrape the streets better if he be educated to his task than one who never had any drill in that kind of work. If you want a house built, you go to one skilled in building houses, one who has been educated in that line of business. He knows how to lay the foundation, and carry it up even to the roof tree. He can hit his nails on the head every time, without fear of mashing his fingers, as you and I, or any one un­skilled in the use of hammer and nails. A man can hoe corn better, if he has been educated to hoe corn, than one who has served no time at it. A woodchopper can handle his ax more skillfully than a book-keeper can. He can make the chips fly right and left with steady stroke, with apparent ease and little fatigue, whereas, if your book-keeper essayed the task, the beady sweat would pour from every pore, and he would soon be so fatigued that he would have to stop and rest. On the contrary, your book-keeper can cast up long columns of figures, and make puzzling entries on debit and credit sides with a celerity amazing to the wood-chopper. All a matter of education. One has been educated to chop wood, the other to keep books. Your professional wood sawyer can saw more wood, with less labor, than one who knows nothing about it. +

"Now, I assert that the scavenger who cleans your streets, the man who hoes corn, the wood-chopper, or the sawyer, can work better if he has an education--the education derived from books, I mean--than one who has none, for he has the quick perception that intelligence begets to guide and direct him, whereas the other only has such skill as experience gives. +

"So you can see that it is your duty to send your children to school. I want to impress this on the minds of all parents, because the future depends entirely on them. If they be educated and virtuous the greatness of our people is assured; if they are ignorant and depraved the book may as well be closed now, for it will be of no use to read further--our history is already recorded and is familiar to the world. +
Another reason why you must see to it is that the day is coming when an educational test will be applied at the ballot-box. Already a respectable minority in this country favor such test, and the sentiment is growing, is bound to grow, and it is plain that those who can not read the Constitution of the country will be debarred from voting.

We have made rapid progress since we have had the opportunity, and I challenge the world to show a people who have developed faster, who have made more rapid strides toward a higher civilization than have the colored people of this country. Everything points to a still higher development, and if our people will use the means at hand they can mount upward and upward still higher, and the future will be a glorious and grand one.

A great deal is being said just now about the Board of Visitors and a petition is being circulated to have the members removed. Now, so far as I am individually concerned, I can assure the gentlemen who started that petition that they are welcome to take my place. I have no ax to grind, but if I had there is no grindstone to do it upon. If they think there is any money in the position, they are at liberty to come and hunt for it, so far as I am concerned. The only reason I am in the board to-day—and I can say the same for the other members—is to use what little talent I possess to help further the cause of education among the colored people. I have worked, as have my coadjutors, to secure good schools and good teachers for our children. I have four little fellows of my own, and my earnest desire is to see them have a good education. We have worked earnestly to get the schools in satisfactory shape, and we can say truly that, with the hearty co-operation of the Board of Trustees, we are able to present to the colored people, as the result of our labors, fine buildings and most excellent schools—better, aye, a hundred fold better, than any they ever had before—and they are so shaped that unless some great calamity befall them, they will continue to grow, both in usefulness and the confidence of the people.

Look at the beautiful building we dedicated to the cause of education last year, on the corner of Sixth and Kentucky streets, and now look upon this one which we have assembled here to-day to dedicate with interesting ceremonies to the education of the colored youth, and then say, if you can, that the Board of Visitors have been a stumbling-block to the education of the colored youth?

The main charge, as I have understood, urged against the board, is that they are opposed to mixed schools! Now I know that that subject has never been discussed in the board; it has never been alluded to; in fact, there has been no occasion for it.

But as an individual, speaking for no one but myself, I will say that as an American citizen, born in the country, whose paternal ancestors fought in the revolution for the liberties we all enjoy, one of whom signed the Declaration of Independence, I claim every right accorded to any other American citizen, as of right mine. I hold that I have a perfect right to go where I please when I please, and how I please, so that I do not infringe upon the rights of any other denizen. I hold that all laws which discriminate against citizens are unjust, unwise, and subversive of the principles enunciated in the magna charta of American liberties, but laws do exist discriminating against me; laws, prejudices, and customs that degrade my
manhood, that deny to me decent treatment when I travel, that refuse me a meal of victuals at a decent hotel when hungry and in transit; prejudices that endanger my life in certain localities in my daily walks in this city, the city of my birth, and I am powerless to change them. Though I think these laws are unjust, unwise, impolite, yet I claim to be a loyal citizen and do not propose to redress these grievances myself, no matter how much I may differ in opinion as regards the law, or the customs, or the sentiment of the people; under the circumstances, I must submit to them.

"I hold that under our system of government the will of the people is the supreme law of the land, and that no matter what the law may be, if public opinion be against it, you can not enforce it. And right here let me say that, whether the civil rights bill becomes a law or not, whether it passes with the school bill feature or not, any community that wants mixed schools will have them, whether the law is in favor or not; and if they don't want them, I don't care how the law may read, they won't have them."

"Now, what we want are, the best schools we can get, to-day. I know that the present colored schools are better than we ever had in Kentucky, and, though they may not come up to all of your ideas of what they ought to be, they are better than any you ever had before, and I intend to send my children to them, and when the better come I'll send them to them."

"In conclusion, gentlemen of the Board of Trustees, let me assure you, whether the prayer of those who have petitioned for the removal of the Board of Visitors is granted or not, we are grateful for what you have done for the education of the colored youth. We know what you have done, and how it has been done.

DEDICATION OF BLACK SCHOOL IN LOU SEPT 1874

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ADDRESS OF PHILIP SPEED

"I am very much obliged to you, gentlemen of the Board of Visitors of the colored public schools, for your invitation to attend this dedication of a new school-house for a public school. Occupying no public position and in no way connected with the public schools of the city, I feel complimented by your invitation. Public position does not necessarily give an interest, neither does that of a private citizen take away a living and abiding interest in the welfare and good government of our public schools. The system is one very dear to the great majority of our people, and on every occasion when they have been called upon to express an opinion their voice has been unmistakable. I feel satisfied that the interest which has been so manifest in you, gentlemen visitors, the work which you have so cheerfully done, the responsibility that you have borne without fee or reward, your earnestness and zeal, and constant watchfulness is a representation of the feeling which animates the colored people, and you will but add to that universal feeling that our public schools must and will be kept up. We can not now afford to lose them, and we should watch with jealous care every effort to distract the harmony of the system, or divert it from its real end. The public schools are not charity schools. They do not go about begging alms, asking a pittance here and a mite there. They are based upon the fiat of the people. By their voice they were brought into being, out of their pockets they are supported, and to them those who govern are responsible. It behooves us all, therefore, while we preserve the system intact, to watch well their government. I have no doubt, gentlemen, you have, in the management of the colored schools, been called
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upon very often to do things for charity sake; which your deliberate judgment would not sanction. I have no doubt but that you have very often felt almost constrained to appoint teachers not so well qualified as others, simply because there may have been an aged mother, or a decrepit father, or a family of orphan children dependent upon the efforts and exertions of such teachers. Other things being equal, as to qualifications, character, &c., a man would be recreant to that spark of divinity which is in every good man not to yield to the promptings of charity. But where there is an inequality, where one has the requisite attainments and the other is devoid of them I have no doubt you feel the responsibility of your positions, and act with an eye single to the interests of the children who are virtually under your charge. I know this is the case with some of your board, for it has been my privilege to confer with some of you on this subject; and I trust all of you will look upon your position as a Board of Visitors not as an empty honor or a position by which you can help your personal friends or relatives to lucrative positions, but as positions where your aim should be to act at all times for the good of the children who attend the schools. These are times when corruption stalks abroad; when he who is the greatest trickster is most apt to fill positions of trust and profit, depending upon the popular voice; when he who has selfish motives is most likely to creep into such places as will enable him to carry out and execute his selfish purpose. I can but say to you, in the name of the interests you guard, for the sake of the schools you govern, and above all for the good of the children you have under your control, guard and protect; frown down with scorn and contempt every effort, let it come from what quarter it may—everything that looks like running your schools for the benefit of individuals. Keep your eye steadily fixed on the great end, and swerve neither to the right nor the left. +

"The general education of its citizens is a great blessing to any country, and upon this settled conviction is based the public schools of this country. How much or how little education is necessary, or contemplated by what is termed public education, is not a question for discussion here. Suffice it to say that it is generally agree, I believe, that a public education should comprise a good knowledge (the more perfect the better) of the rudiments; that is to say, that each child should be grounded in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. Well grounded in these, a boy or girl will go into the world better fitted to do his or her full duty, better able to cope with difficulties, better suited to fill positions in which circumstances may place them, and better qualified to seek ends both here and hereafter which may be prompted by the head and heart. It is a false notion which some entertain that education enables a person to live by their wits—that it relieves one from work. This is a false, very false, notion. To live without work is a misfortune to any one, and to educate a child with such notions is absolutely sinful. Some persons urge as an objection to the public schools that too many boys are having their minds educated at the expense of the muscle; that with the smattering of education they acquire at, the public schools they are too much disposed to seek light, gently, soft-hand and kid-glove employment rather than seek trades where all the muscles of the body are brought in play. If this was the effect necessarily of the general education of our people,
it would indeed be deplorable. I do not, can not, think it is; but rather that it gives opportunities for more proficiency in trades, and more carefulness, trustworthiness, fitness for every kind of manual labor. The opportunities afforded in this country for all sorts of advancement are so common that the most casual observer can but see that he who has a will will find a way. This way is found, not by watching and waiting, not by idling the time away, but by hard and sturdy knocks. See Abraham Lincoln poring over his lone book by the rush light in his father's cabin, and Andy Johnson plying his needle on his tailor's bench with his wife by his side, reading to him. These two men, elevated at one time to the highest offices in the gift of the people, are exemplifications of the genius and spirit of this country. Theirs was not a royal road to greatness and power. They labored hard and long. I might, if time permitted, mention instances where men have become famous and great in mechanics, who started with the merest rudiments of an education—men who toiled all day and stole from sleep such time as they could to perfect themselves. The fact is, this world was made for work; with head, with hand, with heart, and soul. There is no room here for drones who cumber the earth, and eat up the money which is garnered by those who work and toil.+

"But I have detained you too long, and again thank you for the compliment of inviting me to this dedication, and wish you all success and happiness.+

*A number of visitors, including General John M. Harlan, Rev. D. Stevenson, Colonel R. M. Kelly, Rev. D. A. Gaddy, Professor Geo. A. Chase, and Rev. E. W. Sehon, were requested by the chairmen to deliver speeches, and in complying congratulated the colored people of Louisville on their
good fortune in having so handsome a school-house, and earnestly recommended them to strive hard for a successful result in their efforts to attain for themselves and children an education. The exercises were concluded with music by the choir. Our colored citizens are to be congratulated upon the erection of so fine a building for their benefit, and their children can not better show their appreciation than by striving hard to avail themselves of the advantages it presents."
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"OUR COLORED CITIZENS.+

Who are the Prominent Men Among Them. +

"The Courier-Journal of last Sunday had a very long and elaborate article upon the condition of our colored citizens, conceived in a very friendly spirit toward them and carried out in a way that does credit to its liberality and sense of justice. It was accordingly very gratifying to the mass of the colored people as evidence of kindly feeling in a quarter from which they do not always expect it. Of course, however, in an article of such length and covering so much ground there were necessarily some omissions, mistakes, and imperfections, and especially was this noticeable in the paragraph relating to "prominent colored men." That paragraph was as follows: +

"Geo. Brown and Dan Clemmons, of the first of George & Dan, famous as excellent restaurateurs of the city, are both prominent men among our colored people. Horace Morris, the cashier of the Freedmen's Savings Bank, is one of the foremost men of the colored people. He is a man of good education, fine talent, and deservedly commands the respect and admiration of his colored brethren. W.H. Gibson, the assistant in the bank, is also highly respected among the colored people. Cain Bazell, James Tate, and Lawson & Burk, all furniture dealers, have an influence among their people. Jesse Meriwether is one of the leaders in educational matters. A.J. Bibb and John Jordan are influential men among their race. Napoleon Bonaparte, janitor of the Eighth-ward school, is a prominent colored man. Marshall Woodson, one of the wealthiest, is also one of the best known colored citizens of this city. Bascom Rogers and Austin Hubbard, the barbers, are highly respected among white as well as black. Madison Minnis is prominent among the colored people. John Morris is well known, Fred. Douglas having stopped at his residence while here. There are colored men in every branch of business in the city, who are building up their trades, are honest, and in-turn are trusted by all classes of people. Lawrence Minor, now a professor in Alcorn University was, while here, one of the most intelligent and influential colored men in the city." +

This is good as far as it goes, but it is one of the best signs of the improving condition of our colored population that there is a large number of them who have by the exercise of the same industry, economy, and sound sense which gives success among all people, raised themselves to a deserved prominence among those of their own race. We have taken the trouble to gather the names, not of all of these, but of such a number in addition to those named by the Courier-Journal as will give the public a better idea than they have had heretofore of the substantial advancement our colored population is making in all that constitutes valuable citizens. +

"We arrange them as far as we can under headings showing their occupations. It will be seen that they are not all marching forward in the same road, but that their pursuits are sufficiently diversified. +

"Editors--Worden Churchill, managing editor Christian Index and salesman in Methodist Bookstore; Dr. Fitzbutler, A. Froman, editors Weekly Planet; Rev. Marshall Taylor, editor Monthly Methodist. +

"Painters--Peter Lewis, W. Anderson, Geo. Sutton, Geo, Brown, Wm. Rhodes,
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Wm. Taylor, -- Montgomery, Ed. Buchanan, Gillis Taylor.†

"Merchants--Cain Bazell, James Tate, Moses Lawson, and Jack Burks, all dealers in furniture and carpets; Richard Hedges, shoe dealer.†

"Mechanics--John Young, Allen Scott, pumpmakers.†

"Carpenters and builders--These named take large contracts and empoy from four to twenty hands each: A.J. Bibb, Trabue & Son, John Jordan, Thomas Malone, John Evans, Willis Tolbott, T. Webster, James Synch, A.J. Pickens, C.H. Pickens, Berry Evans, B. Wilkerson, Jesse Merriwether, George Ward, Abel Hughes, W.H. Taylor.†

"Blacksmith--Moran.†

"Blacksmiths and wagon-makers--Wash Barrett, Stroter Bland, Jacob Wooden, Peter Brown, Simon Harris.†

"Tinners--Ben. Garritt, Samuel Jones.†

"Wagon makers--Martin Maran, Mat. Brannon.†

"Carriage maker--Dan. Curney.†

"Engineers--Adams, at Willard Hotel; Aaron Payne, at Murray's saw-mill; also one at Van Seggern's saw-mill, and others at foundries in West End--eight in all.†

"Undertakers--Fox Bros., Taylor, and Lawson.†

"Brick-layers--John Fisher, Frank Taylor and six others.†

"Ceiling whiteners--John Noyl, Geo. Blanchard, John Capper, and several others, and John Smith, bleacher.†

"Cigar-maker--Henry Pearce, at Jacob Smith's Fourth street.†

"In positions of Trust--Madison Minnis, janitor of City Hall and messenger to the Mayor; William Stewart, messenger to the cashier and purchasing agent Louisville & Nashville railroad; James Thomas, messenger for Water Company; N. Bonaparte, messenger for Board of Trustees Public Schools; George Taylor, clerk at Georg & Dan's; Theo. R. Mead, collector at do; George Evans, porter in Post Office; James Moody, janitor United States Court and Custodian Library; Sneed Thomas, janitor Public Library; John Taylor, steward and collector Bear-grass Club; Henry Edwards, steward and collector Phenix Club; Isaac Wilson, janitor Female High School; Addison Evans, janitor and agent Hamilton Block; Wm. Blackburn, head-waiter at Galt House; Dave Grayson, second head-waiter at Galt House; Al. Fleece, head-waiter at Louisville Hotel; Alf. Long, head-waiter at Willard Hotel; Arthur Broady, packing porter in R.A. Robinson's wholesale drug stor; Joshua Tevis, fifteen years baggage-master at Louisville & Nashville depot; Octavius Young, packing porter at Smidt & Co.'s druge store, Fifth and Market streets; James H. Smith messenger for cashier of the Pullman Sleeping Car Company; John Kean, messenger for Superintendent and Secretary of Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company; Carry Logan, twenty years porter in Bank of Kentucky; Ed. Parker, porter in Bank of Louisville; Andrew Ferguson, prter in First National Bank; Rom Henry, porter in John Smidt & Co.'s bank; Ben. Ferguson, porter at Bamberger, Bloom & Co.'s.†

"Draymen--There are 150 draymen who own their own teams, and eight or ten boss draymen who each own several teams. James Brown, better known as Jim Seay, among these, is an excellent business man, and owns four drays and a wagon, all well teamed, with good and well-kept stock. Other boss draymen are George Buckner, Jerry Quinn, Matthew Goodall, Flem. Smith, Jim Knight, and -- Bowman. George Buckner is a hard-working man,
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who owns four teams, drays and wagons. He does a large business, and has the reputation of a good and trusty business man. Jerry Quinn is a deacon in the Baptist Church. He drives one of his teams himself, and his stock shows good keeping. Jim Knight owns mostly dump carts, and does a large business excavating cellars, etc. 

"Politicians--Those coming under this head are unfortunately too numerous, and as they keep themselves prominent there is no use in our mentioning them. As there was a joke on Hon. Matt. Adams, of this State, who was the only man in Congress who put down his occupation as that of "gentleman," so we have been notified to classify Q.B. Jones as a gentleman. He is very deserving of the title, and every way a worthy man. It will be observed that we have left out the barbers from our list. That occupation embraces some of the most influential, intelligent, and prosperous of our colored citizens, but they are so well known that it is hardly necessary to name them. This list could be extended much further, and is not intended to embrace all who ought to have a place in it, but only to five as indication of how many there are who have won a title to respect and prominence by merit and industry. Certainly even our imperfect list makes a good showing for the colored people, and gives their friends and well-wishers good hopes for their future."

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Jan 22, 1875, p 4

Card from Mr. N.R. Harper Regarding the Late Charges Preferred Against Him:

"Editor Louisville Commercial: 

"Permit me to present to the public the facts in recent charges preferred against me through your paper at various times, and especially on the 20th of last month. I submit this statement because I owe to myself and all who know me a public explanation, and the facts which I now present could have been made public in an hour's warning but for circumstances over which I had no control at the time. After all that has been said and done, I discover around me many friends, white and black, who remain unchanged toward me, and to them I owe this explanation. I may be unable to convince an enemy of his wrongs to me, but I forgive him, and only desire the community to know that while I cordially grasp the hand of friendship with those who have unjustly accused me, I may hope in charity that their misrepresentations may not return to plague the inventors."

"In my Law School matter the church to which I belong made full investigation, and exonerated me of all improper design in my enterprise. The report of the committee was published in several of the daily papers. Notwithstanding the precaution and efforts of that committee to do justice in the matter, it was represented to your paper that the truth had been suppressed by the committee in order that they might report in my favor, a statement which is untrue. I shall not go beyond the report of the Church Committee to make an explanation, more than to say that all representations to your paper of an intention on my part to defraud, dupe, swindle, or obtain money under any false pretense whatever, in my Law School enterprise, are not only
false, but demonstrative in the extreme of a passion of the human heart which sometimes overcomes greater individuals than the humble persons who thus represented me, and it is just to say that the attack made upon me was not first conceived by the two young men who appeared as my accusers, as has been since revealed. It was hard for thinking minds to discover the evidence of fraudulent design in a circular inviting young colored men without means to come and work while attending so honorable an institution as a law school, the fact that it was under the guidance of a colored man to the contrary notwithstanding, especially when the projector was well known and respected in the community. ♦

"This fact soon became known to my accusers, and they abandoned the Law School matter, as not having sufficient strength to convict me of an offense; and your paper was informed that I had been guilty of all the disgraceful conduct which appeared in your issue of December 20, which I am prepared fully to disprove, and make the following explanation:

"Albert Thomas died, leaving Ledbetter and Withers sole heirs to a lot 30 by 200, on Fourteenth street. Ledbetter and Withers, with their wives, came to me to settle the estate, and divide the property in the easiest way possible. They had no money to pay. The estate was in debt and threatened with a lawsuit for grading. They wanted the whole matter settled, and asked my charge to defend all suits, pay all costs, divide the property, and protect it until sold. I told them $150. They went away, came back the next day, and thought my price reasonable, since some one else had charge them $250 for the same work on such contingencies. It will be remembered that the representation was made to your paper that the parties were poor, ignorant creatures, unable to read and write, and doubtles signed two mortgages with an X. All parties are able to read and write well except Withers. I have before me now some papers signed by Ledbetter and his wife, which is much better writing than this manuscript I now send you. One hundred and fifty dollars was secured to me by two mortgages of $75 each, one from Ledbetter and one from Withers. ♦

"For the benefit of the ignorant classes, who know but little of such matters, it was reported to your paper that I had drawn and recorded the two mortgages without knowledge of the parties, a transaction which could hardly happen in Kentucky, since the law requires such papers to be acknowledged as the act and deed of the parties before being recorded by the County Clerk, as was done by all the parties in this case. Several months after the estate was settled Ledbetter sold the property, and I was called on to release the mortgage. Ledbetter told a pitiful story, and I released the mortgage I held for $20. ♦

"I had given Withers' note to Mr. Black; he released it, as I understand, for fifty dollars, making seventy dollars in all. I knew nothing of the sale of the property until called on to release the mortgages, and it was in this later transaction that Ledbetter and his wife got in trouble. The sale of this property was fully investigated in the City Court, and the blame placed where properly belonged. My name was not mentioned that I know of. Mrs. Ledbetter has since brought suit for false imprisonment against the parties in the Common Pleas Court, with which I am not connected in any way. All these facts I am prepared to substantiate with the necessary proof, as well as disprove other imputations made to your paper against me."

N.R. Harper
The law establishing a new legal code for the freedmen in Kentucky was signed by the Governor of Kentucky on February 16, 1866. It conferred certain civic rights on the freedmen and basically put them on the same legal plane as the free Negroes occupied in Kentucky during the antebellum period. The provision in the old code which prohibited testimony in the state courts by free Negroes against whites was retained. The new law was not calculated to remove the race issue from politics and set Kentucky on the road to establishing the new order. This was made more obvious on April 9, 1866, when Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill over the veto of the President. Among other things, the Act guaranteed the blacks the same rights "to give evidence" as were "enjoyed by white citizens." In jurisdictions in which blacks were denied the right to testify against whites, federal agents were authorized to take the cases to federal courts. In the October, 1866 term of the federal court in Kentucky, several cases involving blacks which normally would have fallen under the jurisdiction of state courts, were being heard by federal court. By the end of 1866 it became obvious that unless the legislature of Kentucky changed the law on testimony, any Negro could transfer his case to federal court if it involved the denial of testimony in state courts. The state officials in Kentucky were also liable to federal prosecution for administering and enforcing Kentucky's laws which conflicted with the Civil Rights Bill.

A correspondent to the Louisville Evening Express wrote that he had come to a conclusion that any man who opposed the introduction of Negro testimony in state courts was either a fool or demagogue. With the defeat of Breckinridge in four of the most enlightened counties in the state, he hoped he "never heard any more cant" about the virtue and intelligence of the people. "The people is a demented dirty-faced idiot, that sells its vote and wears its socks a week," he declared in disillusionment.

To illustrate his point the correspondent related a story that was going around the Crab Orchard resort among the organization Democrats: During the canvass Colonel Bob was mixing with the people of Crab Orchard when a fellow from the knobs with one suspender and a hickory shirt ascertained that the Colonel was a candidate and froze to him. "Any kin to John Breckinridge?" he queried. "I am his cousin," answered Bob. "Well, I know John is the right stripe, and he can get my vote whenever he comes out," the hick replied. "Cousin John and I have always been on the same side of all great questions. Will you take a drink?" Bob invited. "Don't keer if I do." The voter poured out a level glass of Bustard's best, and steadying it to his mouth gulped it down. Soon as he could get his breath he said: "I like John Breckinridge, I like you and I like your whiskey, but I can't stand 'nigger equality' and I shall have to vote Talbott." He then lit out. "Fore God," said Daniel the Negro barkeeper, "'fide known dat, he neber got
ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOSTILITY TO BLACK TESTIMONY IN CENTRAL KY 1866-72 5981-A

V B Howard, 'Black testimony & Breckinridge family,' FCHQ, 49, 1975

P. 56

A taste of dat whiskey."

The point in the story was well taken. The people from the knob country worshiped Talbott and named their children after him, and he was supreme in the brush country. Talbott could not carry Boyle, his own county which was in a large part composed of educated and intelligent people who were mortified with having a state Senator who would stand up before the civilized world and vote against a Negro testimony bill. The Senatorial district had recently been changed so that Boyle County was stuck on the end of a district "where whiskey and Democratic sophistry" could easily carry the day.

The Breckinridges continued their efforts to secure a change in the law of evidence by working through the lawyers associations. In 1871 the Fayette County Bar Association petitioned the legislature to enact a measure admitting Negro testimony against white litigants in state courts. Under the pressure of Federal prosecution state judges in the Federal courts, the Kentucky legislature passed a law early in 1872 admitting Negro testimony in all cases in the state courts.

LIVING CONDITIONS OF LOU BLACKS; COL REAL ESTATE ASSN 1875 5982

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Feb 4, 1875, p 4

Colored Men's Real Estate Association. A good movement on the part of Laboring Colored Men -- Some interesting facts.

"...the condition of many of the poorer classes of colored people in this city, and especially those who work hard to accumulate means to buy homes, has claimed the attention of many of our prominent colored citizens for some time. Several methods have been adopted to alleviate in a measure the burden of rent, which takes about all the laboring colored men can earn from month to month to pay. Some are compelled to live in basements and ill-ventilated cellars, while others huddle together in small tenements. In many instances two and three large families crowd together in as many rooms in the same cottage. Lying in and around the city are hundreds of acres of ground, which could be easily obtained for the purpose of establishing permanent homes for colored men, and we are glad to learn that efforts are being made by them to provide homes for themselves and their families. In pursuance of this worthy object a company of one hundred colored men was organized in the west end of the city on the 1st of last March, under the name of the Louisville Real Estate and Mutual Relief Association, with a capital stock of $30,000, divided into shares of $300 each, which is paid in monthly installments of five dollars, or as much above one dollar as the individual is able to pay. The company is strictly required to invest all money paid on the capital stock in real property, to the exclusion of every other species of investment, and this is done every three or four months, when bargains are offered. The members receive a certificate for their monthly payments under seal of the association, and when a member desires to buy a lot of the company it is sold to him at a very low figure on the rental plan, the whole time allowed being five years. The principal officers of this association are as follows:
The Daily Louisville Commercial, Feb 4, 1875, p 4

W.H. Lawson, President; T.J. Anderson, Vice President; W.A. Wilhite, Secretary, and Treasurer; Jackson Burks, agent. 

"This organization commenced its labors in the midst of hard times, and when employment was hard to find for laboring men. Notwithstanding, it has purchased several building lots, a house for the purpose of holding meetings, and has some money to its credit in bank, to begin the work of another year. There are enough colored men in Louisville to establish twenty such organizations, and the great benefit to the colored people arising there from in a few years can be easily calculated by what has been done by this company in a few months. Nothing can be more beneficial to the colored people at this time than an interest in the soil upon which they live; it gains for them respect from others, and teaches them lessons of industry and frugality. The hard earnings of a great many of the less thoughtful colored people are squandered yearly in foolish parades and frolics, and in the gratification of silly notions, which, if applied in the purchase of property, would yield a far more substantial gratification than the pleasures of parade and frolic."

"In conversation with several members of this association, they expressed themselves highly pleased with the workings of the company, and were sanguine of its success. Much credit is reflected upon Mr. N.R. Harper, the colored lawyer, to whom this company is largely indebted for its complete organization and incorporation, as well as the successful management of all its legal affairs during the past year."

"Mr. Harper has strongly advocated this policy among his people for some time, and has urged upon them the practicability of investing their earnings in real property, through the means of incorporated companies. We take pleasure in noting the success of this new movement on the part of our colored citizens. And the members of this company, assisted by every influential colored man in Louisville, should see to it that a number of such organizations are established among their race in this city."

"This company, we are informed, contemplates a series of public meetings among the colored people, when its plans and operations will be fully discussed and explained to the masses, and efforts will be made to organize similar associations."
MEETING OF COLORED PEOPLE LAST NIGHT.†

They Ask for a Share of the Government Patronage. †

A rumor has been in existence several days to the effect that a portion of the colored people of Louisville were disaffected, and contemplated creating a division in the Republican party. The rumor was grossly untrue and without foundation. A meeting was held at Spalding's confectionery, on Tenth and Madison streets, several days ago, the object of which was to discuss the question of a greater representation of colored people in the Government offices. A committee was appointed to report resolutions, and after the meeting was organized last night, by Mr. Neal being called to the chair, Dr. Fitzbutler submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously:

WHEREAS, The colored people of the United States, through a tedious number of years, have been honest, earnest, and energetic supporters of the Republican party, regardless of life or personal prosperity; and

WHEREAS, That portion (or plank) of the Republican platform which aims to mete out exact justice to all, regardless of color, has never been utilized in the State of Kentucky.

Therefore, we deem it an indispensable duty that we owe to the colored race and to the Republican party in common to petition the leaders of the party and use all gentle and honorable means to secure the appointment of Government employees, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, in the State of Kentucky. †

That the respectful recognition of this principle and the prosperity of all classes, regardless of color, is the inseparable bond which alone can maintain the strength and dignity of the Republican party in this State.

H. FITZBUTLER,
A.J. PERKINS,
JOHN R. CLARK,
WM. JENNINGS,
H.J. SYKES,

Committee. †

A free discussion then took place, in which the most harmonious feeling was displayed, each speaker affirming that, while he thought it only just and proper that the colored Republicans should receive the same recognition in the distribution of the Federal patronage as the white Republicans, and they were willing to use every proper means to that end, their devotion to the Republican party was unimpaired. One speaker thought that the neglect of these expressed wishes of the colored people would create indifference which would materially affect the strength of the party. But all those present expressed their intention to make the approaching election rebound to the success of the Republican party.

Accompanying these resolutions was a memorial which, it was agreed, should be signed and presented to the leaders of the party, asking, in substance, what is stated above. †

This explanation of the meeting last night, and the preceding one, will dissipate the impression that there is any dissension or dissatisfaction in the ranks of the colored Republicans which could affect the interests of the party in this State. †
One of the urgent needs of this city is a House of Refuge or Reformatory School for colored children. The question has twice been brought to the attention of the Council by Mayor Jacob who has presented two admirable suggestions. A numerously signed petition, bearing the names of some of the best colored people in the city, was also sent to that body requesting that some action be taken. This adduced considerable talk, and brought out several resolutions, ending with the reference of the whole matter to the Committee on Court-house and City Buildings, where it has remained ever since in dead lock, while the necessities of such an institution have daily increased.

In his message, Mayor Jacob earnestly urged the Council to action in regard to the matter, declaring that every sense of right and justice demanded that some provision be made for the reformation of colored juvenile offenders. There was no apparent opposition to the project at the time it was discussed in the Council, but the members, or at least all of them who had anything to say, admitted the existing necessities for such an institution and promised their earnest cooperation in carrying the enterprise through. Since the matter has been in the hands of the committee, however, it has been carelessly neglected and a very great indifference shown as to whether it is ever consummated or not.

The subject is one that has been before the public for some time. It has elicited considerable talk, with general intimations thrown out that the impending canvass for the Mayoralty was exerting an undue influence in the premises, and that the members of the committee and of the Council opposed to Mayor Jacob are determined that his administration shall not have the credit of doing this act of justice to a very large class of our citizenship. How far these intimations can be truthfully applied to the case we shall not undertake to say, but it does look like some such influence was bringing its weight to bear in the action of the committee.

A COMMERCIAL reporter, in conversation with the Chairman and several members of the committee, learned that it had been called several times, both by the Chairman and the Mayor, and, though three members are a requisite quorum to transact business, they could not be got together, only two having attended any of the meetings. The Chairman of the Committee of the Lower Board was absent from the city at the time the calls were made; what prevented the other members from attending is with them to explain. The subject embraces matters touching the welfare of a large class of our people, and bears with it an importance that commends it to the early and earnest consideration of the members of the General Council, and no influence should be permitted to hinder their action. If the committee can not be got together, and it looks very much that way, let the Chairman so report back to the Council, and bring the matter before that body.

The first recommendation of Mayor Jacob was to convert the new Eruptive Hospital building, which is not in any way adapted for a hospital, into a House of Refuge for colored children; but, as this could not be done until after the Legislature meets, and as there were other objections to it, the Mayor, considering the subject one of importance, sent another message to the Council
in regard to it. In this message he suggested that the $19,500 surplus to the
credit of the jail fund be borrowed for the purpose of building a House of
Refuge for colored children. It is claimed by some that this can not be
done without an act of the Legislature, and that nothing can be accomplished
further than discussing the matter until after the Legislature meets.+

This same amount of money, however, was borrowed from the jail fund a few
years ago for the purpose of completing the Western out-fall sewer. No act
of the Legislature was required then, and we can not see the necessity of it
now. The Council could just as legally borrow the money to build a House of
Refuge for colored children as it did to complete a sewer. The object for
which the jail fund was created has been accomplished, and the amount recom-

dended to be borrowed is a surplus which can not be used, because the objects
to which it was applied no longer exist. It might be borrowed and paid back
as was done in the case of the out-fall sewer, or the Legislature requested to
pass an act converting it to the purpose of building a House of Refuge. The
suggestion could easily be carried out if the Council felt disposed to do so.+

We understand that the committee will be called again some day next week,
when it is hoped there will be a quorum present."

The Committee Manage to Get Together and Decide to Recommend to the
Council the Adoption of the Mayor's Suggestion +

"A quorum of the Joint Committee on Court-house and City Buildings,
to whom was referred the message of Mayor Jacob in regard to the erection
of a House of Refuge for colored children, managed to get together yester-
day afternoon. The call for yesterday's meeting was the fifth or sixth
that has been issued since the matter was referred, and, though the committee
is composed of only five members, every former effort to get a quorum
failed. Those present yesterday were Messrs. Moss, Wiest, and Jefferson,
the absentees were Messrs. Murrell and Clifford. +

"The message of the Mayor referred to the committee recommends that
the $19,500 surplus, held to the credit of the jail fund, be turned over to
the managers of the House of Refuge, to be used by them for the purpose of
erecting a House of Refuge for colored children. +

"Judge Burnett, who was present with the committee, said the Council
had no right to take the money from the jail fund for any other purpose.
Still they could do so, as was done in the case of the Western Out Fall
Sewer, and he did not apprehend that any trouble would arise from the use
of the fund. He did not see, however, how the institution was to be main-
tained, and he did not believe that under the charter of the institution,
colored children could be confined there, as the word "white" was used in
the charter. Such difficulties, though, could be easily remedied by the Leg-
islature. +

"After a thorough discussion of the matter, on motion of Mr. Jefferson,
Judge Burnett was requested to draw up a resolution to be presented to the
The Daily Louisville Commercial, Aug 19, 1875, p 4

Council, directing, that in accordance with the Mayor's suggestion, the $19,500 surplus to the credit of the jail fund be turned over to the managers of the House of Refuge for the purpose of erecting a House of Refuge for colored children, the said fund to be at the disposal of the Board of Managers when Legislative enactments are obtained for the maintenance of the institution."

The Daily Lou Commercial, Aug 20, 1875; p 4

"Colored House of Refuge. +

"In the Council last night Mr. Jefferson asked the privilege of introducing a resolution in regard to the Colored House of Refuge, which was granted, and the resolution was made the special order at the first meeting in September, at 9:30 o'clock. The following is the resolution: +

"Resolved by the General Council of the City of Louisville, That the sum of $19,000, being the amount now to the credit of the jail fund, be and the same is hereby set apart for the purpose of erecting a suitable building on the grounds known as the House of Refuge property, said building to be used as a House of Refuge for colored children. +

"Provided, however, that no part of the above sum shall be drawn by or paid to the managers of the House of Refuge or other person until such time as the Legislature of Kentucky shall authorize the same, and also authorize the annual levy and collection of a sufficient tax to keep and maintain said additional House of Refuge, and that the City Attorney is hereby requested to prepare an act in accordance with the intent and meaning of this resolution, to be presented to the Legislature of Kentucky at its next session."
"A COLORED MURDERESS.†

A Colored Man Fatally Wounded and Eventually Dies from a Wound Inflicted by a Woman.†

The difficulty in the Sly family, an account of which appeared in THE COMMERCIAL of Thursday, in which Robert Jackson was struck back of the right ear by a board in the hands Sallie Sly, while endeavoring to bring about an amicable adjustment between herself and husband, was at first supposed to be a slight wound, from which he would soon recover. The wounded man lingered until yesterday, when died from the effects of the blow.†

The cause of the difficulty, as stated by the guilty woman, is as follows: In February last, she states, she was in bad health, and that through the advice of her husband she paid a visit to her father, living in Corydon, Ind. During her stay there frequent reports reached her that her husband contemplated leaving her, and her anxiety on the subject induced her to return home last Wednesday week. After her arrival home, in an alley between Twenty-first and Twenty-second and Harney and St. Xavier streets, her husband came to see her, and firmly denied the charges against him, repeatedly assuring her that he wished to live with her, and with this understanding they had been living peaceably and quietly together until within a few days of the difficulty, when Sly manifested in his actions an inclination to stay away from his home, remaining absent for a few days, each day passing the house, but never coming into it. Wednesday morning about 2 o'clock Sly was heard by his wife and mother-in-law talking to some one outside of the gate. His wife called to him to come in, which he did, but upon being asked to take a chair he flatly refused, and said that he did not wish to remain to talk to her. Sly and his mother-in-law engaged in a conversation on the subject, and soon came to hot words, ending in Sly knocking her down. His wife saw the perilous position of her mother, and commenced an attack on her husband. At this juncture Jackson appeared, and attempted to interfere, when Sallie Sly struck him a heavy blow back of the ear with a piece of board, which has since resulted in his death.†

The woman was arrested yesterday morning by Officers Kelly and O'Mara, and afterward moved to the City Hospital until she would be in a fit condition to stand a trial. Jackson had been employed as overseer on Mr. Ormsby Hite's place, and was spoken of by all who knew him as a quiet man.†

In the absence of Coroner Moore, 'Squire Twyman was called, and held an inquest yesterday, the jury returning a verdict of death from a wound inflicted by Sallie Sly.†

At the conclusion of the inquest, Dr. E.O. Brown, physician of the Eastern district, held a post-mortem examination, and discovered that the skull had not been fractured. He attributed the cause of death to hemorrhage of the brain."
"Swearing Colored Voters for Baxter--Promise of Office. +

A story of peculiar richness comes from the "Point" in regard to the recent doings of a colored Baxter club in that locality. Not long since some of Mr. Baxter's strikers gathered the materials for a Baxter club among the negroes on the "Point," and Mr. Baxter, Hon. Jacob Bickel, and "Uncle" George Cozzens, an old colored man, met one night at the house of the latter to organize the club secundum artem. Councilman Bickel, being long accustomed to night work, made some touching introductory observations. Mr. Baxter followed, telling his hearers that the dreadful condition of the city, and the fiendish malignity of the Jacob party, demanded that their proceedings should be kept profoundly secret, and for the good of the present colored population, and the welfare of unborn colored generations, he would ask all present to hold up their right hands and solemnly swear to vote for Baxter for Mayor. A score of dusky hands were then uplifted, and while two-score of dusky eyes glistened in the dim light of a lamp, and great beads of sweat stood out upon their foreheads, an awful oath was administered, whose imprecations of vengeance upon the heads of the bolters far exceeded the oaths of Know Nothingism, and the club was formally sworn to vote for John G. Baxter. A clothes-pin might have been heard to drop in the stillness which followed. "Uncle" George, who sat as Chairman during the exercises of the night, declared that it was the happiest moment of his life, and that "Mr. Baxter had done him proud." It is said that this venerable colored brother has been promised the position of Station-house keeper on the "Point," with a salary of $912.50 a year. As the same promise has been made to two or three others, Uncle George may find that he is reposing on a bed of thorns between now and the election. The plan of swearing in Baxter's colored voters is a wise one, and it will doubtless be necessary to swear in all Baxter's voters, both white and colored, very soon. "There's millions in it." //
"Shocking Sacrilege--A Colored Preacher Makes a Baxter Speech at a Revival Meeting."

Louisville, November 7.

Editor Louisville Commercial:

"Last week there was a protracted meeting in Elder Gaddy's church, which was interesting in the extreme, many expressing a deep interest in religion. Elder Gaddy, who is the successor of that good man, Elder Smith, now gone to his reward, after a useful and happy ministry, preached one evening to a large congregation. Before the services closed, and while Elder Gaddy was still in the pulpit, he began to make a speech in favor of Baxter, in which he said that Baxter had held a meeting at Gaddy's house, and had assured him that "he was the poor man's friend, and would give them plenty of work." Two of the members got up and protested against Gaddy's profaning the pulpit and church in that way. Elder Gaddy ordered them to sit down, and refused to let them continue their remarks. The meeting then broke up, and while the people were going out of the church a member began to remonstrate with Elder Gaddy about his conduct in church. The Elder replied, "You can't whip me!" to which the member replied very severely. Now, Mr. Editor, we claim to be good and law-abiding citizens of Louisville, and we contributed to the support of the church, and we want to know of Christians in the colored churches if they intend that their sacred altars shall be prostituted to such base purposes as this Elder has maintained in his pulpit. We are assured that the good Christian people of this congregation will condemn this man, and we trust will prefer charges against him, and send him back where he came from. It is rumored that this renegade had been promised a horse and buggy for his low and impious work. While sinners in his church are calling for mercy, he is calling for a horse and buggy! The churches were never meant for such work as Gaddy and Baxter are putting this one to, and colored citizens who respect religion and themselves will see that this wicked work is stopped at once."

TWO COLORED CITIZENS
KY SLAVES HAD RIGHT TO JURY TRIAL; CT OF APPEAL HEARD NONE UNTIL 1859

Dan J. Flanigan, 'Criminal Procedure in Slave Trials in Antebellum South,' JSH, Nov 1974

p 545/ "Kentucky slaves had the right to a jury trial, but the Kentucky Court of Appeals did not rule on a slave's appeal until 1859." The case was Jane v. Commonwealth, 2 Metcalf 30 (Ky. 1859)

RUMORS OF SLAVE INSURRECTION AT IRON WORKS ON KY-TEEN BORDER 1856

Chas B. Dew, 'Black Ironworkers & Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856,' JSH 41, Aug 1975

p 321/ "Letters published in the Louisville Courier on December 6, 1856, claimed that slaves at three Tennessee blast furnaces located just below the Kentucky border were preparing to cross the state line and lead a revolt in the Hopkinsville area. 'The Negroes in Southern Kentucky are in a mutinous state . . .,' reported a Louisville correspondent of the St. Louis Missouri Republican, . . ." and Nashville steamers carried rumors to St. Louis in early December. /p 322/ Dew says that "A close analysis of the events surrounding the terror of 1856 in Kentucky and Tennessee suggests, however, that the fright in the white community was probably groundless." However, numbers of slaves were arrested.
SLAVES WHIPPED INTO CONFESSIONS ABOUT SLAVE PLOT IN HOPKINSVILLE-CLARKSVILLE IRON WORKS 1856

chas b dew, 'black ironworkers & slave insurrection panic of 1856,' jsh, 41, aug 1975

SLAVES WHIPPED INTO CONFESSIONS; RUMORS OF PLOT IN HOPKINSVILLE-CLARKSVILLE IRON WORKS PLOT 1856

chas b dew, 'black ironworkers & slave insurrection panic of 1856,' jsh, 41, aug 1975

p 329/

SLAVE ironworkers just down the Cumberland in Stewart County, Tennessee, were not so fortunate, however. As in the case of the rumored revolt in neighboring Montgomery County, conflicting accounts of the Stewart County unrest appeared in area newspapers in early December. According to a letter from Clarksville dated November 28, 1856, and published in the Memphis Daily Appeal on December 3, the branch of the "revolt" centered at ironworks in Stewart and in the county seat of Dover came to light when a stockhold of five hundred arms was uncovered across the state line near Hopkinsville, Kentucky. The lash was applied to slaves in the Hopkinesville area, and confessions were extracted implicating blacks at Dover. Punishment inflicted on slaves in Dover produced information that black laborers at the nearby Cumberland Iron Works, a manufacturing complex consisting of several blast furnaces, a forge, and a rolling mill, were also in on the rebellion. "Some of the favorite servants, (at the Iron Works,) who have been greatly indulged, had to be whipped very severely before they would reveal anything," the writer claimed, and one slave "received four hundred lashes before he would speak a word." The plot, to murder all the whites at the rolling mill, attack Clarksville, rob the bank, kill the whites there, burn the town, and then cut their way through to a free state, had been thwarted only because of the revelations that had been tortured out of the black participants, he believed.

A second version of the Stewart County developments appeared in the form of a letter dated December 13, 1856, and signed by a

resident of Pembroke, Kentucky, southeast of Hopkinsville. This account, first published in the Canton, Kentucky, Dispatch and reprinted in a number of papers, gave a detailed and gruesome description of the results of this phase of the white panic. Just as the Clarksville letter of November 28 cited above traced the origin of the plot to Kentucky, this letter from a Kentuckian put the first stirrings of the Dover-Stewart County revolt in Tennessee. "Last Wednesday week [December 3]... news came here [Pembroke] that the negroes at the furnaces at Stewart county had rebelled, and that they had crossed the Cumberland river, and would attack Lafayette [Kentucky, southwest of Hopkinsville] that night, and with this came other rumors from Dover," the writer remarked. He saddled up and rode at once to Lafayette, where he found no attack imminent, but he did find "the town... in a state of perfect excitement upon the negro question," and a hastily formed vigilance committee was engaged in interrogating local blacks. "Tuesday [Thursday, December 4?] morning I went to Dover, and arrived there about 2 o'clock," he continued. "The people had hung four negroes at 11 o'clock that morning, and two more [were] then in town to be hung." The writer seemed pleased that he had gotten "to the place of execution in time to see the last one go off... I learned that the men at the [Randolph] forge [part of the Cumberland Iron Works] were at work whipping the truth out of
their negroes, so I rode out there that night, and was up with them all night," he went on. Some slaves had taken five hundred or six hundred lashes before admitting anything, and one of the blacks at the forge had died as the result of a severe whipping. These beatings had secured the details of a slave plot to rise on Christmas eve night, kill the white men and children at the forge, seize the white women as wives, and then link up with the slaves from the Cumberland rolling mill for a joint rush on Dover. At the rolling mill and at nearby Dover furnace, whippings had uncovered similar plans to murder the managers and take the white women, he asserted, and as a result one slave had been intentionally whipped to death at the mill and another had been lynched at the blast furnace. More executions would follow, he predicted, and he warned that one owner of a group of hired slaves who had succeeded in rescuing some of his men would probably "be mobbed" if he returned and tried to claim his six or eight slaves who were still in the hands of the ironmasters.18

The final direct account of the events in Stewart County came from an editor of the Courrier des États-Unis, a French-language newspaper published in New York, who happened to be steamboating up the Cumberland when the panic broke out. In letters from Dover and Clarksville dated Tuesday, December 2, and Wednesday, December 3, he described the atmosphere prevailing in the area at the height of the insurrectionary fear. "Before the only hotel in Dover are assembled excited groups of people, and from among them, horsemen, with revolver in hand and riied [sic] slug across the back, start off frequently in all directions," he reported. "Here also meet, from distant places, numerous horsemen, whose animals covered with foam bear witness to the rapidity with which they have traveled." Most of the town's women and children were being guarded in the hotel and in several adjacent houses, and nine blacks were under arrest, four of whom, "the chiefs of the conspiracy," were to be hanged. Later that same day, the editor's steamboat stopped at the Cumberland rolling mill, and he heard further details of the supposed plot. Around November 22, a slave had attempted to escape from the Cumberland works but had been promptly recaptured. When taken, he had claimed that he had "fled from the persecution of his brethren in servitude.
SLAVES WHIPPED INTO CONFESSIONS; RUMORS OF HOPKINSVILLE-CLARKSVILLE
IRON WORKS SLAVE PLOT 1856

chas b dew,'black ironworkers & slave insurrection panic of 1856,' 
JSH, 41, Aug 1975

who had threatened to kill him if he refused to take part in the conspiracy. As a result of his testimony almost eighty slaves had been arrested and interrogated, and sixty of these men were still under guard in the rolling mill and being whipped when the editor called at the works. The slaves' plan, which supposedly called for an uprising sometime between December 23 and December 26, "was to butcher the whites upon isolated farms and in the workshops . . .," attack Dover, and then fight their way north to Indiana or Illinois. "Nothing less was contemplated than a general massacre," he assured his readers. In addition to the slave whippings, "three white Free-Soilers . . . [had] been arrested in Dover . . .," been beaten for "exciting a revolt," and been warned to leave the state within thirty hours. 16

Trying to sift a correct chronology of events from these various accounts is difficult enough, and determining the truth of the white charges of incipient rebellion is almost impossible, given the available evidence. Of the three reports cited above, the first, which traced the origin of the Stewart County revolt to the discovery of arms near Hopkinsville, is clearly in error. Letters from Hopkinsville and Lafayette published in the Louisville Courier during

16 New York Courrier des États-Unis, December 11, 1856, quoted in Clarksville Jeffersonian, December 24, 1856.

SLAVES WHIPPED INTO CONFESSIONS; RUMORS OF HOPKINSVILLE-CLARKSVILLE
IRON WORKS SLAVE PLOT 1856

chas b dew,'black ironworkers & slave insurrection panic of 1856,' 
JSH, 41, Aug 1975

December show that the panic in that area started with the rumor that blacks from three Stewart County works, Eclipse, Clark, and Lagrange furnaces, were marching on Dover and that the insurgents planned to sweep into Kentucky on their way to the Ohio River. The alarmed citizens of Lafayette organized a vigilance committee and issued a frantic call for help on the evening of December 2. The Hopkinsville sheriff and militia, 150 strong, responded the next morning but found nothing more than a frightened town when they arrived at Lafayette. Nevertheless, some thirty to fifty blacks in the Hopkinsville area were jailed, whipped, and forced to acknowledge a plot to rebel on Christmas Day. 17 When Christmas passed with no insurrection white fears subsided, and in mid-February all the slaves in the Hopkinsville jail were released. 18

The second and third accounts of the Stewart County "rebellion" seem to offer the most trustworthy description of actual events, particularly their statements regarding executions of supposed black ringleaders. Numerous press reports confirmed that six or seven slaves were killed at Dover and nearby ironworks during the panic, including several men belonging to Senator John Bell. 19 There are, however, difficulties with the letter from Pembroke and the French editor's report. The editor laced his account with obvious rumors, which he presented as hard facts based on personal
knowledge; among his more obvious errors was a tale that two
dozen slaves had actually begun a march on Dover and that sixty
of these insurgents had been arrested. The Clarksville Jeffersonian,
commenting that "some wag was practising upon his credulity,"
devoted its Christmas eve editorial to correcting this and numerous
other errors and distortions in the report the French editor had filed
earlier that month.

In the case of the account written by the man from Pembroke, his
version of the panic in Lafayette is confirmed by newspaper reports,
as is his description of the executions which were carried out in
Dover. This letter accepts as legitimate, however, the rumors of a
planned uprising around Lafayette and Hopkinsville, but these
rumors were later discounted by the release of all the black
prisoners in the Hopkinsville jail. In addition, when he returned to
Pembroke after visiting the panic-stricken Tennessee iron district,
he found his home town in a state of uproar. His description of the
situation there suggests strongly that he was willing to swallow a
considerable amount of wild hearsay in his effort to justify the
bloody suppression of the so-called plot and that he himself was a
ready participant in the mob actions that figured so prominently in
that suppression:

We are at work here [Pembroke] to-day. We have one negro in chains, and
will hang him, I think, certain; if the [vigilance] committee will not, the
community are determined to do it. I think we will have quite an exciting
time here before we get through. I have no doubt but that it is a universal
ting thing all over the Southern States, and that every negro, fifteen years old,
either knows of it or is into it; and the most confidential house servants are
the ones that are to be the most active in the destruction of their own
families. The negroes, everywhere they are examined, all agree that the
men, [old] women and children, are to be slain, and that the young
women are to be kept as wives for themselves, and a good many of them
about Dover and the furnaces, went so far as to select their future com-
panions. 20

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20 Louisville Courier, December 6, 10, 1856; see also New York Herald, December 9, 12,
1856.
21 Louisville Courier, January 1, 1857; Covington (Ky.) Journal, February 21, 1857. The
Hopkinsville correspondent of the Courier complained that it had, in fact, been a dull
Christmas because boys were not permitted to shoot firecrackers and the town's black
population had remained off the streets during the holidays.
22 Clarksville Chronicle, December 10, 1856, quoted in Louisville Courier, December 13,
"Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856," 211-12. claims that nineteen blacks were hanged at
Dover and that nine more were executed at the Cumberland Iron Works. These figures are
based on early exaggerated press reports which were subsequently corrected.
The section of this passage referring to the rebels' lust for white women would seem to offer more insight into the sexual fantasies and anxieties of the white males engaged in putting down the uprising than into the details of an actual plan of insurrection. Finally, what can one make of the information in this and other accounts which was gathered by ironmasters and vigilantes "whipping the truth out of their negroes"? Confessions secured by systematic and brutal torture constitute firm evidence only for the existence of white hysteria and reveal nothing concrete except the lengths to which some whites were willing to go in order to confirm their vision of the horrors of an incipient black rebellion.

When viewed against the background of events elsewhere in Tennessee, Kentucky, and throughout the South in 1856 the supposed insurrection in the Cumberland iron district emerges in all probability as simply another phase of the panic which gripped the slave states before and after the presidential election of that year. The white fear which began in Texas in September hit not only

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20 Canton Dispatch, quoted in Louisville Courier, December 29, 1856.

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those sections of Tennessee already discussed—the Memphis area and the Cumberland region to the north; it also affected Nashville, Murfreesboro, Gallatin, Franklin, Columbia, Shelbyville, and Sparta, Macon and Perry counties in Middle Tennessee, and Obion County at the extreme northwestern tip of the state. The panic contagion proved equally virulent in Kentucky, with insurrectionary alarms spreading down the Cumberland into Trigg and Lyon counties in the iron district and into half a dozen other widely scattered areas of the state.
The Louisville Times, Nov 13, 1885, p 2

"The Colored Refugees.+

"A Plan of Colonization Suggested for the Colored Population of the City."+

To the Editor of The Times.+

"The remedy suggested by your reporter is by city legislation compelling the colored population to reside in the 'colored district.' But have we a "'colored district!' Unfortunately, no. The time for this 'city regulation' was twenty years ago. Already the beauty of our city is marred, in a degree, by allowing the colored citizens to occupy quarters on almost every block in Louisville (with a few exceptions). Of course this is detrimental to the interests of all property owners. My word for it, property would advance 10 per cent. if a city ordinance was made requiring all colored citizens to remove to the 'colored district' within five years from date of said ordinance. But, first, the city must designate the 'site.' Where should the location be? Somewhere south of Bank street and west of Twenty-sixth, where land could be bought by the acre, laid off into blocks and neat cottages be built for the exclusive use of our colored citizens. Complaints without a remedy are useless in any cause. The city, by becoming the owner of say 500 acres of ground extending in a line due westward to the river, and erecting cottages thereon, could become the landlord and derive a large annual revenue from rents to the colored people. Suppose the city purchased 500 acres at $300 per acre, which would be an outlay of $150,000. Then let it build the first year say 100 neat frame cottages of three rooms each, block at a time, and 100 annually thereafter. This would solve the

Housing of Blacks in Louisville 1885; Suggested Segregation 5993-A

The Louisville Times, Nov 13, 1885, p 2

problem. Then would follow the demolition of all the old negro houses and rookeries and in their stead owners of this class of property would erect substantial two-story residences that would be occupied by our white citizens, say at $300 to $360 per annum. This is the class of houses wanted in central localities, now occupied by negroes. The negroes must be provided for by having houses erected for them. Many (by far the majority) are industrious and reliable, as tenants paying their weekly or monthly rent in advance, and they, as a race, would gladly avail themselves of all living together (as one family) in their new 'colored district.' Necessity of finding rooms and habitations now cause them to locate promiscuously on almost every square in our city, and the value of city real estate is depreciated thereby. The remedy is suggested—it remains for action by our 'City Fathers.' Pro Bono Publico."
SLAVES IN MT. STERLING STREETS ON CHRISTMAS DAY 1858

w h venable, 'down south before the war; record of a ramble to new orleans in 1858,' ohio archaealogical & historical quarterly, ii, march 1889

p. 461

... Continuing our trip to Mount Sterling, which we reached December 23, we put up at the Ashton House, a very pleasant hotel, where we remained until January 5, 1858. On Christmas day the streets of Mount Sterling were thronged with colored folks, dressed in their Sunday apparel, and bent on pleasure. We were told that it had long been the custom in Kentucky to grant the slaves absolute freedom from duty on Christmas, and, indeed, to allow them large liberty during the entire Holiday week.

SLAVE HIRING; AUCTION; MT STERLING JAN 1, 1859

w h venable, 'down south before the war; record of a ramble to new orleans in 1858,' ohio archealogical & historical quarterly, ii, march 1889

p. 461

By ten o'clock on New Year's morning the town was overflowing with a much greater multitude than was seen on Christmas. White and black; male and female; men, women, children of all ranks and conditions, in wheeled vehicles, on horseback, on foot,—hundreds came pouring in from every direction. Owner and owned flocked from various parts of the county to readjust their property relations for the ensuing year. It was the day set apart for slave-holders to sell, buy, let and hire human chattels. And the slaves were permitted to exercise a limited privilege of choosing new homes and masters. Some servants were loaned by way of friendly accommodation, many were rented or leased at a rate of from $50 to $200 a year. One woman was crying because it had fallen to her lot to serve a mistress whom she feared. "If I could only please her," sobbed the poor girl, "I wouldn't care; but she won't like me, she won't like me." The greater number of the slaves seemed stupid and indifferent to their fate. The natural cheerfulness of the race was exhibited in sharp contrast with the melancholy background which their condition as bond-people afforded. At a street corner a hilarious group of Sambos and Cuffeys laughed and danced to the lively thrum of a banjo, played by a grinning minstrel black as ebony.
A comical old fellow wearing the picturesque ruin of a silk hat on his gray, woolly pate, limped about with grotesque antics, informing everybody that he was a “spoilt darkey,” and that he would “be of no use to anybody” who might hire him.

In the yard of the Court House—temple of blind justice,—a black man was put up at noon-day on the auction block, and was sold to the highest bidder. The crier announced the name and age of the human vendible standing there for public inspection, and vouched that “Jack” was sound in all respects. Perhaps it was mere curiosity, perhaps some irresistible impulse of the abolitionist blood of my father crying in my veins “Man is man, no man is more,” that impelled me to walk up to the block, and speak to the dusky brother who was “going, going,” and soon would be “gone” for the market price. He told me that he had a wife in Mount Sterling, from whom he did not wish to part. “I don’t care who buys me, I ain’t afraid of no cruel master; but I want to stay close to wife and chil’en.”

The man was sold for $750, a very low price, the bystanders said, and I thought so, too. I was ashamed to look the unfortunate “property” in the face, for he must have felt very cheap under the circumstances.

On Christmas Eve, a gang of colored hands from the “Iron Works,” came in joyful procession to Mount Sterling. Their captain headed the line, improvising and singing in a loud voice, such couplets as:

“Oh Lord have mercy on my soul,  
De hens and chickens I has stole.”

At the close of each line the whole squad would join in a jubilant chorus, animating to hear. The sooty troubadors of the “Iron Works,” were coming home to spend the holidays, and were abandoning themselves to the pleasure of anticipation. After the week had been spent in idleness, laughter and general jollification, the reluctant company returned, in slow procession, and again they sang, but now in a mournful strain. The leader,
w h venable, 'down south before the war...' ohio arch & hist quart, ii, march 1889

improvising his solo as before, changed its tenor to suit his mood:

"Fare ye well, ye white folks all!"

The wild, sad chorus came swelling from the marching column, as from some melodious instrument:

Chorus — "Wo—o—o—o—o—o!"
Solo — "And fare ye well, ye niggers, too!"
Chorus — "Wo—o—o—o—o—o!"
Solo — "I holler dis time, I holler no mo!"
Chorus — "Wo—o—o—o—o—o!"

Thus went on the strange song and chorus, as the slaves filed back to their labor, tramp, tramp, tramp; and the tones grew fainter in the distance, till at last the dying, "Wo—o—o—o—o—o!" was lost in the silence of the winter night.

INDIAN CHIEF MET BY GIST AT DELAWARE TOWN EAST OF SIOTO 1751

p 463 Cnt’d

w e connelley & e m coulter, hist of ky, i, 1922

p 69/ In Oct 1750 Gist began a journey /p 68/ to "search out and discover the Lands upon the River Ohio, & other adjoining Branches of the Mississippi down as low as the great Falls thereof...." /p 71/"Gist and his company came to a small Delaware town on the east side of the Scioto on the 27th./Jan/ The Delawares were friendly to the English, and the chief of this town entertained Gist as best he could. He owned a negro man—a slave—whom he directed to feed the horses of the party well."
GIST SPEAKS OF HIS "BOY" AND HIS "SERVANT" FEB 12, 1751

Gist was instructed by the Ohio Company Sept 11, 1750, to go "... Westward of the great mountains, and carry with you such a number of men, as you think necessary, in order to search out and discover the lands upon the river Ohio, & other adjoining branches of the Mississippi down as low as the great Falls thereof." On Sunday, Jan 27, 1751, Gist entered "... a small Delaware Town of about twenty families on the SE side of Scioto Creek--We lodged at the house of an Indian whose name was Windaughalah, a great man and Chief of this town, & much in the English interest. He entertained us very kindly, and ordered a Negro man that belonged to him to feed our horses well; this night it snowed, and in the morning tho the snow was six or seven inches deep, the wild rye appeared very green and flourishing thro it, and our horses had fine feeding."

GIST SPEAKS OF HIS "BOY" AND HIS "SERVANT" FEB 12, 1751

Gist stayed in the Shannoh Town opposite the mouth of the Scioto Creek from Jan 31-Feb 11, 1751. He decided to go to Twigwee Town.

"Tuesday 12.--Having left my Boy to take care of my horses in the Shannoh Town, & supplied myself with a fresh horse to ride, I set out with my old Company viz. George Croghan, Andrew Montour, Robert Kallander, and a Servant to carry our provisions &c NW 10 M."
On Tuesday March 12, 1751, Gist left Shannoah Town. "I got my Horses over the River and after Breakfast my Boy and I got ferryed over—The Ohio is near 3/4 of a Mile wide at Shannoah Town, & is very deep and smooth."

Gist repeatedly heard /he had heard at Shannoah Town/ that there were "French Indians" at the Falls of the Ohio; that he would be killed or imprisoned if he went there. He got to within 15 miles of the Falls. He found newly set traps, footprints of Indians whom he thought had been there the day before. "I was now much troubled that I could not comply with my Instructions, & was once resolved to leave the Boy and Horses, and to go privately on Foot to view the Falls; but the Boy being a poor Hunter, was afraid he would starve if I was long from him, and there was also great Danger lest the French Indians should come upon our Horses Tracts, or hear their Bells, and as I had seen good Land enough, I thought perhaps I might be blamed for venturing so far, in such dangerous Times, so I concluded not to go to the falls; ..."
The Louisville Courier Journal, April 9, 1873, p 4

"The Sixth and York-street Schoolhouse--Has a Mistake been Made?+

"To the Editor of the Courier-Journal."

"A great error is about to be committed and a great wrong perpetrated in the location of the school house for colored people at the northeast corner of Sixth and York. The proximity of the school house already built for white children at Fifth and York will lead to daily collision between the two races. There is already a negro church in the same vicinity, and there is no just reason why this neighborhood should be made to endure so many nuisances. The vested rights of property-holders are entitled to some respect. A most convenient place may be found for the school, one which will not meet with opposition, and it is to be hoped that they who have charge of this matter will pause for a time before they thus do violence to a large and respectable number of good citizens. JUSTICE."

The Lou Courier Journal, April 11, 1873, p 4 (Friday)

"The New Colored School Building.+

"The following are the resolutions passed at the meeting of the citizens at the Sixth-street engine-house on Wednesday night:

"Resolved, That we respectfully request the School Board to reconsider and rescind their resolution to have erected at the northwest corner of Sixth and York streets a school house for negro children, or any other school, and present to them the following reasons why some other neighborhood should be selected."

"1. That the location at the corner of Sixth and York is too near the school house at the corner of Fifth and York; that the proximity of the two schools would lead to disturbances between the two sets of pupils, and more especially so as the school at Fifth and York is for white children."

"2. The proposed location would be too near the engine-house on Sixth street for the welfare and safety of the children attending the school, the position of the engine-house being such that the engine would pass the proposed school-house in the great majority of instances when called out, and would endanger the lives of the children."

"3. That locality has already the school at the corner of Fifth and York, the engine-house on Sixth, the negro church on Fifth, near York, and to add a negro school at Sixth and York would be to subject that locality to more than its fair proportion of such disagreeable necessities; and we request the members of the School Board from the Eighth ward to use their best efforts to prevent said school from being located at the corner of Sixth and York, and in any part of Sixth street."

"In order to assist in locating, if possible, that schools be located on
"The Central colored school opened yesterday with about 200 scholars, Miss Lottie Adams acting as principal. Mr. Maxwell, the elected principal, left the city yesterday for Washington to take a position in the Pension Bureau at a handsome salary."

"The Portland Colored School opened yesterday with an attendance of thirty scholars. The building rented for this school is a wretched condition, and ill suited for school purposes."
"A negro gambling den on the northeast corner of Preston and Market streets was raided upon yesterday morning by Lieut. Smkhors and party and Gip. Yound and James Steward captured. They were arrested on the charge of keeping a gambling house."

ATTENDANCE, COL SCHOOLS LOU, SEPT 1873

Col Sch No. 1 --- 457 enrolled ---- 338 daily attendance -- 6 teachers
No. 2 291 206
No. 3 47 47

No. 1 = 56.7 average students
6 teachers
No. 2 = 68.6 per teacher
"Central Colored School."+
"Dedication of the New Building this Afternoon.+

"The dedication of the Central Colored School will take place this afternoon at 3 o'clock. As will be seen by the programme, the exercises will be of a very interesting character: +

"1. Music by the choir of the Fifth-street Baptist church.+
"3. Music by the choir.+
"4. Delivery of the keys with appropriate remarks by Mr. O. O. Smith, chairman of the Building Committee.+
"5. Address of President Camp on transferring the keys to the colored Board of Visitors.+
"6. Response by Mr. Horace Morris on behalf of the Board of Visitors.+
"7. Remarks by the Principal, Mr. Maxwell.+
"8. Music by the choir.+
"9. Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Mortimer.+
"10. Music by the choir.+

"The exercises will begin promptly at the hour named. An extra number of Sixth-street cars will be running to accommodate the large crowd which will doubtless be in attendance."

"The colored schools are increasing in the number of pupils so rapidly that the schools are long will not be able to hold them all. The Central colored school had over seven hundred scholars present yesterday, and, although ten teachers are now in the school, two more are required. The Portland colored school, which began with about thirty pupils, had fifty-six present yesterday."
"Citizens living on the several streets contiguous to the new colored school on Kentucky street, between Sixth and Seventh, complain bitterly of the conduct of the scholars, and we are informed that it is a daily practice of many of the colored boys to insult white girls whom they meet on their way from school and that they frequently club together in crowds and whip white children, both boys and girls, whom they find unprotected in the streets."

"Truant boys from the Seventh-ward school at the corner of Fifth and York, and the new colored school on Lexington street, meet daily on the streets and have regular pitched battles with stones. As a result, Dr. Barnum has dressed about a dozen wounded scalps within the past week."
lou courier journal, march 3, 1874, p 4

The report on the black schools indicated the black schools were overflowing. The committee on lots reported two locations: 1. Jacob Street between Preston and Jackson; 2. Rose Lane, fronting on the north side of Rose Lane. The board accepted the Rose Lane location at a cost of $3000.

lou courier journal, march 10, 1874, p 4

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees for schools a letter "...was read from Horace Morris, stating that the colored people were displeased with the selection on account of its location, and giving various reasons for their objections." Asked that the Board rescind the purchase of the lot on Rose Lane. The Board submitted the issue to a committee, and then a resolution was submitted to advertise for a lot between Preston and Handcock streets, south of Jacob street.

lou courier journal, april 7, 1874, p 4

"The Committee on Colored Schools reported that they had purchased a lot for the new colored school on the northwest corner of Jackson and Breckinridge streets, for $3,500 cash, and proposed the erection of an eight-room building. They presented the names of Horace Morris, Marshall Woodson, Napoleon Bonaparte, Andrew Bibb, Jesse Merrivether, George Brown, George Taylor, Bascom Rogers, and William Stewart as the colored Board of Visitors of the colored schools, with the recommendation for an increase of the number of the board from nine to twelve members; three more names were to be presented at the next meeting in case of the approval of the recommendation. The different features of the report were each adopted."

lou courier journal, april 9, 1874, p 4

lot purchased, by sch bd; 75 ft by 150 feet.
LOU APPOINTMENT OF COLORED POLICE 1874

lou courier journal, july 4, 1874, p 4

"Special Colored Police Appointments."

The following certificate has been issued from the office of the Clerk of the County Court:


BLACK RESIDENT ADVOCATES COLORED NIGHT SCH IN LOU 1874

lou courier journal, oct 9, 1874, p 4

"Colored Night Schools Wanted."

"To the Editor of the Courier-Journal."

"We, the colored people of Louisville, feel the necessity of having a night school for such of our race, as can not attend the regular colored free school, and we hope that the School Board will make some such provision for the colored children as have been made for the white boys, who attend the school at the corner of Fifth and Walnut. We have many colored youths who can not go to the day school, and must be educated, if educated at all, at night. They could spare an hour or two every night at school, and get a fair education. We hope that our Trustees will not think this request an intrusion, for we are very thankful to them for what they have already done for us. Colored Parent."
RENTED COLORED SCHOOL OPENED AT THE POINT, W H GIBSON PRIN.

lou courier journal, nov 10, 1874, p 4

"The new colored school on the Point was opened yesterday with forty-six scholars. Mr. W. H. Gibson is the principal. The school is a rented one."

HARPER "LAW" SCHOOL IN LOU 1874

lou courier journal, nov 17, 1874, p 4

An article says that 2 young men, A. A. Smith and J. W. Bell, came from Wash., D C, to attend the Harper Law School; they had an advertisement which told of the teachers, some of whom were men like J. M. Harlan, E. Y. Parsons, whom the CJ says never heard of the school. They say there is no Harper Law school.
TEACHERS, SALARIES AT COL SCHOS IN LOU JULY 1876

Committee on Colored Schools recommends:

**EASTERN SCHOOL**
- Prin-J. M. Ferguson, $700
- First Class Asst-Areen Carey, C. S. Lambe, R. W. Quigley, $500
- Second Class Assts-A.P. Anderson, L. A. Lindsay, C. H. Brown, $450
- Third class Assts-W. H. Gibson, Jr., D. C. Young, George Walker, $350

**CENTRAL SCHOOL**
- Prin-J. M. Maxwell, $1,200
- Head Asst-M. Lottie Adams, $600
- First Class Assts-M. L. Mead, W. P. Annis, M. A. Morton, $500
- Second Class Assts-C. M. Miller, M. V. Robinson, K. L. Washington, $450
- 3d class Assts--C. B. Paris, M. A. Johnson, A. J. Young, $350

**WESTERN SCHOOL**
- W. T. Peyton, $700 (apparently principal)
- First Class Assts--V. M. Burks, L. S. Morris, C. B. Preston, $500
- 2d class Assts--C. B. Price, S. C. Ridgewater, M. F. Cox, M. C. Ferguson, $450
- 3d class Assts--J. C. McKinley, E. C. Wood, F. M. Robinson, L. S. Patterson, $350

**Portland**--W. L. Gibson, $500
- Point--J. A. Arthur, $500

PROF J H JACKSON CALLS FOR EQUAL SCHOOLS; A NORMAL SCH Sept 1879

In a long speech by Prof. J. H. Jackson to the Colored State Teachers' Convention in Louisville in 1879 said blacks should be put on an equal basis with whites with regard to schools; that blacks needed a normal school.
"The Eastern colored school on Jackson and Breckinridge streets was next visited and the pupils were found to have been divided into their respective grades, but were collected together in the chapel. There probably never was a queerer looking set of persons assembled as pupils in a school building before. The majority of them were grown men, many being over forty years of age, and some even older, of every size and description. Here and there throughout the assemblage a mischievous little head, with a face stretched into a broad grin, would peep up over a desk beside an old and solemn man, bearing the appearance of grandfather and child, rather than fellow-pupils, actuated by a like desire to accumulate a little store of knowledge. Many of these grown men were questioned, and stated that they were compelled to work every day for a living, and never before had an opportunity afforded them to attend school. They seemed extremely glad of the opportunity, and expressed a greater desire to learn than even the white children. Short talks were made by Mr. Finzer, Dr. Leber and Mr. Frank Pope, all being attentively listened to. The corps of teachers in this school is as follows: J. M. Maxwell, Principal; and Messrs. W. H. Perry, W. P. Annis, C. M. Millard and W. L. Gibson, chosen from among the best colored teachers in the school."

"THE WESTERN COLORED SCHOOL" was then duly inspected, and much the same scene presented itself. The teachers had gotten a little further along than the others, however, and had organized all their classes and had them at work. Each room was inspected in turn and presented a business-like appearance, the boys and old men being classed together according to the knowledge they possessed. In one of the rooms a rather ludicrous scene presented itself. This grade was made up almost entirely of small boys, just old enough to be admitted, and, sitting in the middle of them, was an old negro, apparently over sixty, with white wooly hair and a luminous pair of brass-rimmed spectacles surmounting his nose. He was busily intent in studying out the simple tasks set for him, and seemed annoyed when interrupted by the reporter. He stated that he had been compelled to work hard all his life, and had never been able to attend school during the day, but was only too eager to catch the opportunity thus afforded. The teachers employed in this school are all fully qualified and experienced. They are as follows: William T. Peyton, Principal; Messrs. Brown, McKinley, Ferguson and Wood."

WM The Reporter said there was growing opposition on the school board to continuing these night schools. There was talk of a lack of discipline.
J. M. Maxwell's Salary Increased $100 in July 1883

Resolution adopted:
"Resolved, That the salary of J. M. Maxwell, Principal of the Central School and ex-officio Principal of the Colored High School be increased $100 per year."

Delegates Arrive in Lou: National Col People's Convention Sept 1883

"Ample accommodations have been secured for all who attend, and those already here express great satisfaction at the hospitable manner in which they have been received." Says 35 delegates registered at the Park Hotel, corner of Seventh and Ormsby Avenue; others staying with relatives and friends in private homes. No "indiscriminate" "demand" for "accommodations." Meetings to be held at Liederkranz Hall, beginning Monday, Sept 24.
Says 6,000 "clean colored faces" picnicked at Central Park Sat May 30, 1885. "The use of Central Park was kindly donated and the different street-car lines transported the children from any part of the city for a single fare. A caterer was hired to furnish the refreshments placed on stands around the park, ..." Gates opened at 8:30. Black school officials were there. Games & sports, etc., football, marbles, Schneider's orchestra was there and played. "It was quite a compliment to the colored people that only two policemen should be placed among them. They fulfilled expectations, and behaved themselves in a most orderly manner." Lasted until 6:30.

Night schools opened for season Sept 8, 1886; they will close Dec 22. "Last year persons of any age attended the night schools. Some of the trustees objected to any one over the school age of twenty years profiting by the advantages of these institutions. Consequently a bill was introduced in the Legislature to allow any one under forty years of age to attend. It met with opposition, and a compromise was made at twenty-five years."
This study of the black family structure in seven Ohio Valley cities is an effort to fill the void in historical literature on the origins of the present-day urban black family, especially the phenomenon of the lower-class "black matriarchy." Based on the manuscript census, all male- and female-headed families are compared with such demographic data as the age, sex, and family structures; size and number of children; and socioeconomic data of real estate ownership and occupations. The basic conclusions are twofold: (1) the urban black family structure during the nineteenth century was basically a two-parent, male-headed family that showed little evidence of retaining structural characteristics of the slave family, and (2) despite the increasing trend towards residential segregation, the only sign of a lessening of the two-parent family is a rise in the proportion of female-headed extended families.

LAMMERMEIER DISTINGUISHES BETWEEN "FEMALE-HEADED & "MATRIARCHAL" FAMILIES; EXAMPLE OF LOUISVILLE

Reviewing each city separately, Louisville's higher proportion of female-headed families in 1850 and 1860 suggests that the thesis of Stampp and Frazier regarding the matriarchy under slavery had some influence on the free black population. Between 1860 and 1870, the ratio of female-headed families declined by more than one-third. A threefold significance is indicated in this substantial reduction in female headship. First, a greater portion of two-parent families came into existence. Second, Louisville's male-female head of family sex ratio after the war resembled the other cities in the Valley. Finally, these differences suggest that an "adjustment" had taken place with the passing of slavery. That the presence of slavery had an effect on the family structure of ante-bellum free blacks will be seen throughout this study. It has not yet been determined, however, whether the change in family structure after emancipation meant that the free black community of 1860 had more two-parent families in 1870, or whether it was primarily due to the formation of two-parent families by the newly-freed blacks. What is certain is that emancipation lead to a greater proportion of male family heads and two-parent families.

Female-headed" families, therefore, are clearly delineated in the census. "Matrarchal" families can be approached only indirectly through an analysis of sex and age structure of heads of families, size of families, number of children within each family, and other demographic data.
Celebration of reopening of Jacob Street Tabernacle; erection began Jan. 1878; corner stone laid Aug. 1878. In Feb. 1879 the congregation began worshiping in the basement, and continued until March 1883 when the auditorium was completed. Rev. E. H. Curry led the congregation in building the church. Four days of celebration for cleaning and painting church. Various churches, ministers to take part. New minister who had earlier replace Curry to be installed.—one Rev. W. M. Hargrave.

"The National Colored Editor Association will assemble in this city August 9. The morning session of the first day will be occupied with the appointment of committees and election of others. The evening session will be devoted to their installation, the welcoming address by Prof. W. J. Simmons, the reading of various papers, and their discussion. The business of the second day will consist of reports of committees and discussion thereon, including 'Report of Committee on Southern Outrages,' and in the evening there will be a public ratification meeting. Invited guests will speak on topics of interest, and a paper will be read from Hon. Fred. Douglass."
Wm Ward was "favorably known to nearly every citizen of Louisville, white and colored, having been a resident of the city for more than thirty years, and present Chief Janitor of the city building. He was initiated in the G.U.O. of O. F. May 2, 1869, when that order was quite in its infancy, and has since been prominently identified in the rapid expansion throughout the Southland,..." Held office in order, gone to 3 national conventions.

"The Excelsior Jubilee Singers, of Nashville, will give two concerts to-morrow and Tuesday evening, at Macauley's Theater, for benefit of the Bible Christian College, of New Castle, in the interest of which they are traveling. It is said they are very excellent singers, and certainly deserving in their efforts. The troupe is in charge of Rev. Preston Taylor."
DEATH OF MOSES LAWSON, PROMINENT LOU CITIZEN, JULY 1887

lou courier journal, july 10, 1887, p 5

"Moses Lawson, a prominent and respected colored citizen, died at his home on Magazine street yesterday evening at 7:15 in the fifty-second year of his age. Mr. Lawson was born in Shelbyville, this State. He was a prominent Mason, having at one time been Deputy Grand Master of Kentucky. He was also Past High Priest of Mt. Horeb Royal Arch Chapter and Past Master of Mt. Moriah Lodge F.A.M. For over seventeen years he has Superintendent of the Fifth Street Baptist Sabbath school, and only missed being present when forced to remain at home on account of sickness. He enjoyed the confidence and respect of both teachers and scholars; /sic/ who knew him to be an honest and God-fearing man. For nearly twenty years he has been a member of the church, and was one of its ordained deacons for fourteen years. He was also a member of Y. M.C.A. No. 1, and took a deep interest in its success.

"Moses Lawson was indeed /sic/ and in truth an honest, conscientious, Christian gentlemen, /sic/ who was liked by all who knew him. Mr. Lawson kept a furniture store on Market street, near Eleventh, and has been in business in this city for about twenty-two years. He leaves his wife in comfortable circumstances." Had 5 children, 3 brothers, 2 sisters.

REPT ON COL SCHS TO LOU SCH BD OCT 1889

lou courier journal, oct 8, 1889, p 6

"The Committee on Colored Schools would report that the Eastern Colored School and the Main-street School are greatly over-crowded, there being as many as 120 to 140 pupils in some of the rooms. They would recommend that the cottage now rented at the Eastern School be enlarged, by authorizing the owner to build additional rooms to be taken at the same rate of rental as at present. Further, that the Colored School Committee be authorized to secure a building, subject to the approval of the Board, at some point in the eastern part of the city, to be used as an additional colored school. The committee would recommend also the appropriation of a sum not exceeding $150 for preparing a room in the basement of the Central Colored School, to be used as a laboratory."*

"The resolutions in accordance with the report were made and adopted."
SLAVE A MID-WIFE; BUYS FREEDOM

p 310/ This work is primarily stories told to children about slavery; remembered in 1935 for this article:

"My grandmother, who lived in Frankfort, Kentucky, was a mid-wife, well cared for and was allowed a part of her earnings. When not engaged at her profession, she made ginger cakes and sold them on the courthouse grounds. She finally saved enough to buy her freedom and her husband's besides."

SLAVE DESCRIBED FOOD ON SUNDAYS

p 300/ Told to interviewer in 1930s: "Mae D. Moore of Minden, La./ quoting her father, a Kentucky slave, says, 'Wheat bread was permitted Sunday mornings; a little sugar, coffee and syrup would also be given on Sundays.'"
glen schwendemann, 'nicodemus; negro haven on the solomon,' kansas hist quart, 34, spring 1968

p 11/ "The colony /Nicodemus/ had received its initial inspiration from a white man, W. R. Hill. A pioneer settler of Graham county, Hill had migrated from Indiana in the summer of 1876. In the fall of that year he laid out Hill City, destined to become the county seat, and began looking for ways to build up the area. It was probably at this time that he first thought of settling a colony of freedmen within the county. The idea was communicated to a group of Negroes then living in Topeka, who undertook the labor of organizing and perfecting the plan.+

"These colored men--capable, intelligent and far-sighted--were former slaves from Kentucky, but had been residents of Kansas for several years." They apparently were W. H. Smith, Simon P. Roundtree, and Z.T. Fletcher.

REV. DANIEL HICKMAN, FROM GEORGETOWN AREA, BUILT FIRST CHURCH IN NICODEMUS, KAN, 1879

g schwendemann, 'nicodemus; negro haven on the solomon,' kansas hist quarterly, 34, spring 1968

p 26/ "... no church was organized until the arrival of the Revends Hickman and Lee in the spring of 1878. Hickman reportedly built the first church edifice--a sod building--in 1879."
Edmund Palmer, 'Negro secret societies,' Social Forces, 23, Dec 1944

The efforts of Negroes to adjust to their minority status have manifested themselves in many collective endeavors. One of them is the secret society. The formal structures of Negro institutions are almost exact replicas of white institutions. Whether the subtler functions of Negro institutions are peculiarily Negro in temperament or in African cultural heritage remains a moot point."

"The numerous Negro secret societies in the United States are now and always have been almost exclusively ceremonial, i.e. lodges and fraternal orders. There never has been a Negro secret society which even slightly resembled the Ku Klux Klan." /p 208/ "A lodge is primarily a social organization. Secrecy, ritualism and sociability provide its chief appeals; benefit features, if any, are accidental." /p 212/ "An analysis of the underlying motives for the establishment of these societies strikingly points to the conclusion that Negroes regard themselves as an integral part of the American society."

C. Eaton, 'Slave hiring in the upper south,' MVHR, 46, March 1960,

"Some of the slave-hiring agents who advertised in the Louisville, Kentucky, newspapers combined the business of hiring slaves with renting houses and dealing in real estate." /p 664/, note 4, the source for this material, says that "Slaves were also hired out at public auction on the first day of January each year, usually in front of the courthouse."
"The hired slave possesses strong weapons, if he chose to use them, for obtaining good treatment from the employer. He could mangle, could practice passive resistance, or, in the last resort, could run away, and the employer, not the master, would be the loser of his time."

"Despite abuses, hiring was often a form of upgrading of slave labor and of loosening the bonds of servitude. Since the hired slave was frequently allowed the choice of a master, he could use this privilege for bargaining." Eaton says that "... hiring was in some cases an intermediate state between bondage and freedom...." for some slaves.

"Hiring was the main method of introducing the slave into southern industry and city life—an important step toward freedom."
HIRED SLAVES OFTEN HAD ADDED OPPORTUNITIES TO IMPROVE THEIR CONDITION
1850s

C. Eaton, 'slave hiring in the upper south,' MVHR, 46, March 1960

p 671/ The previous paragraph was on slave hiring in iron works.

"Other industries in which the hired slave had the opportunity to improve his condition were the hemp factories of Kentucky and Missouri and the salt wells of western Virginia. The task system employed on the ropewalks and bagging factories enabled industrious slaves in the 1850's to earn two or three dollars a week for overtime work. John Coleman, a hemp manufacturer of Woodford County, Kentucky, included in some of his contracts a promise to pay the hired slave five dollars a year as a reward for good behavior."

source: Eaton, Old South, 258, 279

SOME OF EATON'S STATISTICS ON SLAVE HIRING IN KY

C. Eaton, slave hiring in upper south, MVHR, 46, March 1960

p 673/ Eaton says the censuses of 1850 and 1860 did not distinguish between slaves owned and slaves hired. Eaton therefore, went through the manuscript returns. Some returns of the Asst. Marshals in the National archives did list a figure for hired slaves, but the records are very inconsistent. Eaton said the manuscript notations seem to indicate that "... hiring of slaves was not practiced very extensively on the farms and plantations of Kentucky." In talking about the manuscript returns: "p 674/ "In Louisville, Kentucky, the marshals reported slave-hiring in seven of the eight wards, indicating that about 16 per cent of the slaves of the city were hired; but in Lexington only 7 per cent of the town's 2,480 slaves were reported /he means listed by the marshals/ as hired."
SLAVES HIRED PRIMARILY IN INDUSTRIAL, DOMESTIC WORK; LITTLE FARMING

"The expansion of the hiring system took place primarily in industrial and domestic labor. In agriculture, hired slaves were used as a supplemental labor force, when they could be obtained, especially during planting and harvest seasons. A Kentucky tobacco farmer, Augustus E. Woodward, recorded in his diary in 1856 that he had hired out three of his slaves for one month to work on the building of a railroad for the sum of $51 and board."

source: A E Woodward Diary, uk,3-31-56

SLAVE TRADE BIG IN CENTRAL KY 1843-1860

"Kentucky dealers were well established by 1843 but many writers on the subject have concerned themselves with the decade 1850-60, simply because it was during this period that the dealers came out into the open and began advertising in the newspapers. In 1843 there were at least two established slave dealing firms driving a rich trade to the South. These traders were located in Lexington, but traded extensively throughout the Blue Grass counties. Downing and Hughes, who established themselves in the slave trade in 1843, included a slave from almost every one of the central Blue Grass counties in their first coffle."
SLAVE DEALERS DIFFERED LITTLE FROM LIVESTOCK DEALERS 1840-60

T D Clark, 'slave trade between ky and cotton kingdom,' MVHR, 21, Dec 1943

p 333/ "Slave dealing differed little from the livestock trade, for when unable to drive a bargain privately the trader always had recourse to the public auctions."


SLAVE COUPLE MARRIED BY LONDON FERRILL, TIL DEATH OR DISTANCE PARTED THEM

T D Clark, 'slave trade between ky and cotton kingdom,' MVHR, 21, Dec 1943

p 341/ "In pronouncing a marriage ceremony London Ferrill, a Virgina-born slave preacher, united the couple in wedlock 'until death or distance did them part,' and many were the partings by distance. The traders had little regard for family ties when their best pecuniary interests were jeopardized."
By 1850 there was no doubt that the slave trade was well established between Kentucky and the cotton belt. Traders became bolder and the competition keener while newspaper columns were filled with dealers' announcements. William A. Pullum, a veteran trader, gave notice that due to ill health he was retiring to private life. In the same paper Lewis Robards advertised that he had rented the Pullum jail and the slave trade would go on as usual. Robards seems to have been well anchored in Fayette County for he was the only dealer who remained in business continuously for the period 1850-60. He was not only a trader but also a Fayette County land-owner and in this capacity he evaded such conditions as embodied in the following advertisement:

Commissioner's Sale

of

Land and Negroes

By virtue of a decree of the Clark County Circuit Court... I will as commissioner of said court on Tuesday, the 10th day of January, 1854, expose at public sale on the premises 307 acres of land... At the same time will be sold eleven likely negroes consisting of men, women, and children. It is decreed that the negroes shall not be taken out of the state. The trader purchased the negroes, transferred them to his farm until the contract was duly forgotten, after which he disposed of the slaves as he chose. Many were the evasions and shady deals recorded against Lewis Robards by the clerks of the Fayette County Court and from the records it seems that Robards was uneasy unless his name appeared on the court's docket. He expanded his business to such a degree that in 1849 he was in a position to lease as his jail the old Lexington Theatre on Short Street, where often in the past the best theatrical talent visiting the West had acted the most popular plays of the time. The price of the slave traders was, however, not without his handicaps. Numerous lawsuits proved destructive to the Robards establishment and on October 20, 1855, his jail was advertised for sale to satisfy his creditors. The jail was purchased by Bolton, Dickens, and Company of Tennessee, and Robards became the agent for A. B. Caldwell, in whose employ he remained until 1857.
p d nelson, 'experiment in interracial ed. at berea 1858-1908,' jnh, lix, jan 1974

p 17/ "By action of the board of trustees, the ad- /begin p 18/ ministration even declared in 1872 that it was not opposed to interracial dating. /source: Bd of Trustees, July 2, 1872, "Minutes of Bd of Trus"/ Black students, with the support of two black faculty members, Miss Julia Britton and Mr. James S. Hathaway, apparently responded favorably to the liberal Fee-Fairchild policy." No source for last sentence; date of not given.

GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF ATTITUDE OF WHITES IN KY JAN 1866

Clinton B. Fisk, asst comm., to Howard, commissioner, in Washington, written from Nashville, Tn, Jan 6, 1866. House Ex Doc # 70, 39 cong, 1 sess, 1866 (serial 1256)

No. 1.

BUREAU REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS,
STATES OF KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE AND NORTH ALABAMA,
Assistant Commissioner's Office, Nashville, Tenn., Jan. 6, 1866.

GENERAL: I have the honor to report progress in Kentucky. My "circular" and "address to the freedmen" were both well received by a large majority of the people. There are some of the meanest, most inefficient, and unreconstructed, rascally rebellious revolutionists in Kentucky that curse the soil of the country. They now claim that although the amendment to the Constitution forever abolishing and prohibiting slavery has been ratified, and proclamation thereof duly made, yet Congress must legislate to carry the amendment into effect, and therefore slavery is not dead in Kentucky. Others cling to the old barbarism with tenacity, claiming that the government must pay Kentucky for her emancipated slaves. There are few public journals in the State which afford great comfort to the malcontents, but the majority of the people of Kentucky hail the dawn of universal liberty, and welcome the agency of the bureau in adjusting the new relations arising from the total abolition of slavery. I have succeeded in charming the services of many first-class, judicious popular citizens to act as superintendents at the important points. The "Blue Grass" region is in the best of hands. General Hay, at Hopkinsville, was a bad failure. He has been removed. I have consulted General Palmer in the appointment of every agent. I return to Kentucky on the 10th instant, by invitation of the governor, and shall meet the principal planters of the State at Frankfort, in convention, on the 11th. I hope to do good unto them, and make the bureau a blessing to all Kentucky.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

CLINTON B. FISK,
Brevet Major General, Assistant Commissioner.

Major General Howard,
Brevet Major General, Assistant Commissioner.
With the Negro, the poorest segment of the community, forced to bear the full responsibility for the education of black children, the future was not very promising. According to the Auditor's report, 41,804 black children in the state were eligible for education by January, 1866. The "Negro Fund" contained $5,656.01 at the end of 1866, only one-half of which could be appropriated for Negro education. If the fund had been apportioned in the same way that money was apportioned for white schools, each black child in the state would have been allotted six cents per year.\textsuperscript{15}

T. K. Noble, the Bureau Superintendent of Schools for Kentucky, correctly interpreted the Kentucky law as a dead letter from the beginning, and felt that it was window-dressing for Washington. Thirteen Negro schools with a total of 9,995 students were reported to have been taught under the law of 1866 but no money was appropriated from the "Negro Fund" because the law was repealed before the drafts could be honored; and a new law of March 9, 1867, decentralized the system of Negro education by putting it under the control of the trustees of the common school district and county courts which were authorized to grant two dollars and fifty cents for each pupil taught.\textsuperscript{16} The change in the law was in response to the demands of local prejudice which insisted that the whites in each county control black education even when sustained by taxes levied entirely on black citizens. In most counties, public opinion was determined to have no black schools.
The establishment of Negro schools by the Bureau met opposition throughout the state with the strongest resistance coming from the southern and western portions. Even in Louisville, however, the rental of a building led to prolonged disorder in the neighborhood. The Bureau could rely on General Order No. 44 to secure a detachment of troops to station near the school to prevent "Regulators" from intimidating the teacher, students, and black community into closing the school. By the end of 1866 physical violence aimed at suppressing the schools had practically ceased in the larger towns of Louisville, Lexington, Frankfort, and Danville.\textsuperscript{22}

The revision of the school law of March 9, 1867, provided that all taxes collected from Negroes were to be available for the education of black children. The county government was given complete control of the black school fund. Although the law provided that two and one-half dollars were to be provided for each black child in school under a certified teacher for at least three months, two years after provision was made for state funds for Negro education, only Fayette and Todd counties had given any support at all to black schools. The provisions of the law were not imperative. The law read that the trustees of the common school district "may cause a school to be taught" instead of \textit{shall} cause a school to be taught. Because of the strong feeling against Bureau control of Negro education, and prejudice against the blacks, the county officers refused to establish Negro schools. The state legislature abdicated its responsibility and leadership in the face of white prejudice, and the county officers had been permitted to turn back the clock to the legal status that existed before the Civil Rights Act of 1866. In
some counties, Bureau officers called meetings of county officers to urge them to appoint a receiver for Negro funds and to certify a teacher, but they eventually reached the conclusion that the county authorities would do nothing unless "driven to it" by Federal authority. In Louisville, the friends of black education found all roads blocked. Resistance was met in the city council to Negro education in any form, and a resolution presented to the Louisville Board of Education looking forward to carrying out the state law was brought to a stalemate because the sheriff and city assessor would not cooperate. 30

30Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Kentucky for the School Year Ending December 31, 1866, pp. 248-249. John Ely to Sidney Burbank, October 4, 1867, Letters Sent, XVII, 203. T. K. Noble to J. W. Alvord, July 8, 1867, Letters Sent, XVII, 9-11; Wells Bailey (Henderson, Kentucky) to John Ely, June 28, 1867, Bureau Records. Chicago Tribune, August 20, 1867. Minutes of the Board of Education of Louisville, 1866-1867, Vol. D, (Manuscript Record, Louisville Board of Education). Even in Lexington where Negro educational claims were more favorably received, as late as October, 1866, they only received promises of the use of taxes taken from them. The city council of Lexington later authorized the Treasurer to make the taxes from blacks available for Negro education, and this was later translated into three or four hundred dollars of aid for the school year of 1866-1867. As late as 1869 the appropriations for Negro education were made without the black community having a voice in the disposition of the funds or knowing whether they were receiving their just dues. Only 700 of 1800 who were eligible to receive education in Lexington were able to receive the benefits of the law. See: Lexington Observer and Reporter, October 3, 1866; Jeff C. Davis to O. O. Howard, November 5, 1866, Letters Sent, XV, 601; T. K. Noble to J. W. Alvord, July 8, 1867: Assistant Superintendent of Bureau Ed-

USE OF SCHOOL FUNDS ON PAUPERS; FALSE USE 1867

The law of March, 1867, provided that only the residue of funds was to be used for pauper aid after the educational needs of the blacks were met. With the exception of Fayette and Todd counties, the "Negro Fund" was used entirely, if at all, to aid black paupers. Throughout the state much of the tax money was swallowed up by payments to whites who received three or four dollars per week from the county court for caring for their elderly slaves. In many cases these servants proved to be very useful around the house to such an extent that they should have been paid a wage as an employee. In Bourbon county the court awarded one claim of almost $800 for a pauper case, and after the county met other claims, only enough was left out of a total county fund of $2,500, to erect a few huts on the poor farm. Under these circumstances I. S. Catlin, Superintendent of the sub-district of Louisville, viewed the Negro tax as "legalized robbery of the Free men." 31

31Catlin, Superintendent of the sub-district of Louisville.
Part of the hostility to Negro education was due to the fact that the teachers were generally from the North. It was a part of the general hostility of the South to northern men who were engaged in any activity in the South, be it education, business, agriculture or religious work. Yet it went deeper than that. The southern people felt that the blacks were being taught by persons who were alien to the customs and civilization of the South, and that the Negro was being trained to accept social equality. The literature and text material contained propaganda which was said to be hostile to the South and the pupils were taught to sing northern war songs.\textsuperscript{42}

Among the farmers in Kentucky were those who believed that the educated freedman would be worthless as a laborer and that he would waste his time if he were educated. They feared that eventually they would be burdened with increased taxes to sustain this education.\textsuperscript{43} In the final analysis, mass education of the blacks implied a transformation of their traditional role in terms that were little short of revolutionary. Even to Oliver Howard and other benevolent leaders in the Bureau, it was a social experiment that even in the North had little to tie it with the past.\textsuperscript{44}

Much of the opposition to black education was politically motivated. Education prepared the blacks to function as enlightened citizens, which implied training in political responsibility and encouraged an interest in politics. Education and suffrage were inseparable handmaids in the American ideal that the blacks readily accepted. The schoolhouse became the symbol of the Republican opposition in the minds of Democrats and conservatives. It was not only the educational center of the blacks but it was also the meeting place of the Union League, the politically conscious black benevolent societies, and the politically oriented Negro religious societies. The leadership of all these was often vested in the same person who served as teacher, minister, and political leader. Negro schoolhouses were often burned because they were centers which gave birth to political interests and ambitions.\textsuperscript{45}
As the Legislature of 1873 got under way, the black citizens of Kentucky called a Colored People’s Educational Convention for February, 1873. The Convention sent a memorial to the legislature earnestly requesting that there be “no special legislation . . . for colored people.” They called for “equal school privileges” for Negro children. The convention resolved to establish a “Colored Men’s State Educational Union,” and a meeting was called to convene in July to set up a permanent organization for the Union. They called for different privileges for Negro children. The convention resolved to establish a “Colored Men’s State Educational Union,” and a meeting was called to convene in July to set up a permanent organization for the Union. The Legislature of 1873 considered an Act to establish a state system of Negro schools. Negro property would be taxed twenty cents on each hundred dollars of property with a capital tax of one dollar. The maintenance of Negro schools would still rely entirely on funds derived from Negro taxes. The adoption of the law would depend on the approval of Negro voters in an election to be held in June, 1873. The act was not adopted, however, because the State Senate added an amendment concerning Federal land revenue which was not approved by the lower house. The leaders of the Colored Men’s State Educational Union, more determined than ever, called a convention to meet in Frankfort in November, 1873. The convention expressed disappointment that their petition to the last legislature had not secured for them the educational advantages accrued “to others upon the payment of school taxes.” They resolved that if the Legislature of 1874 did not provide “such school advantages and facilities as are accorded to other citizens,” they would empower the Colored State Central Executive Committee to take steps through the state and federal courts to obtain equal school advantages. The State Superintendent of Schools, in his report of 1873 to the Governor, strongly advocated that the state adequately provide for Negro education. “If the foundation upon which a free government rests be the intelligence and virtue of the people . . . then since the negro (sic) has become an elector, it is the dictate of duty and self-interest, and within the purview of dignified statemanship to consider how he may be trained for intelligent citizenship,” he declared.
The Law of 1874 authorized the State Superintendent to organize a Negro Teachers’ State Educational Association and a call was issued in July, 1877, for a meeting in Frankfort to establish such an organization in August of that year. It was decided that the association would meet in August of each year. The meeting of 1878 in Danville, Kentucky, adopted strong independent measures. A committee was selected to draw up a memorial to be presented to the next legislature of Kentucky setting forth the educational wants of the Negro citizens of the state. When the Legislature met, the committee informed it that the funds for black schools were wholly inadequate, and the lawmakers were asked to equalize the school funds on a per capita basis without regard to race, and to establish a common age limit for all children. The committee met with the Joint Committee on Education of the legislature which promised serious consideration of the proposal. After the legislature failed to act, the Negro Teachers’ Educational Association adopted a resolution urging the blacks throughout the state to hold mass meetings and to call on the legislature to grant relief sought by the memorial committee. The convention of 1879 of the Negro Teachers’ State Educational Association again memorialized the legislature urging the equal distribution of school funds.

The Negro Teachers’ Association which met in August, 1881, sent a third memorial to the legislature asking for equal distribution of school funds. Steps were also taken to file a suit in the Federal Courts to secure the equal distribution of funds under the Fourteenth Amendment. This brought a response from the state government. When the Legislature of 1881-1882 convened, Governor L. P. Blackburn called on the General Assembly of Kentucky to place education within the reach of every child in Kentucky, and the new Superintendent of Schools pleaded the case for the 80,000 to 100,000 black and white children within the state who were not enjoying the benefits of a common school education. The memorials of the Negro Teachers’ Association and local Negro meetings were presented on the floor of the Senate by friends of the blacks, and a bill to equalize school funds was introduced in the Legislature. The bill provided for an additional tax of ten cents per hundred dollars of property owned by white citizens so that the tax on all citizens would be equal. The school funds were
to be distributed on a per capita basis among the white and black students of the state. The ratification of the new law would eliminate provisions under which, according to the state superintendent the white per capita distribution in 1882 was $1.40 and the Negro Children's per capita allotment was eleven cents.

The school bill was tabled and made a special order for April 19, 1882. Advocates of the new law were sure that the bill was dead since adjournment of the legislature was scheduled for April 24, 1882. The instruction of the judge in the Federal district court in the case of Commonwealth of Kentucky v. Jesse Ellis made it clear that Kentucky's school laws would be declared unconstitutional. If the state failed to put state laws in harmony with the Fourteenth Amendment, the separate school system would be abolished and the alternative to an integrated school system would be the abolitionment of public education. Informed whites made it clear to the general public through the press that the alternative to equal education was integration; and lawyers in the Kentucky Legislature were aware that northern state Supreme Courts' decisions had
Although the Law of 1882 equalized the school fund and increased the money available for Negro education almost three times, it was questionable whether the Negro community would be satisfied with the new law because of the clause which required separate schools. In mid-June, a Negro Men's State Convention convened in Lexington to consider the new law that would be voted on in August. On the first day of the Convention most of the speakers condemned the new law because of the segregation feature, but opinions were clearly divided. On the second day, the convention denounced the laws as they existed in 1882 as a "flagrant violation of the rights of colored citizens" because the tax burden was unequally distributed. The special tax on blacks to support education was pronounced a violation of the amendments to the constitution and the people were urged to refuse to pay the tax. Concerning the provision in the new law which established segregated schools, the convention declared it to be "cowardly, un-American and infamous." The convention did not make recommendations as to how the black citizens should vote on the new law in August of that year.

Within the last two weeks of July, Negroes throughout Kentucky held local mass meetings to determine how they would vote in August. The law assured them more educational funds without any increase in taxes and the special black capitation tax which had been so bitterly condemned was removed. Many Negro leaders were violently opposed to the new law because it established segregated schools by law. Within the white community all responsible parties urged the people to ratify the new law. It was believed that if the state did not move to equalize the school fund the Federal courts would, or the schools would be integrated and the trustees of the common school rendered themselves amenable to penalties under the Fourteenth Amendment.
In August, 1882, the new school law was ratified by the voters by a majority of 1700. Since the Law of 1882 only provided for the equal distribution of state funds, the local board of education could still discriminate against Negroes in the distribution of local funds. On April 2, 1883, however, the Kentucky Federal District Court, in the case of Claybrook vs. the City of Owensboro, ordered the school board of Owensboro to distribute the school fund on a per capita basis equally among all children of school age. Judge J. W. Barr declared the state legislation which authorized a separate distribution of school funds according to the race of the taxpayer to be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. An injunction was issued to prevent the continuation of the unconstitutional distribution and the court ordered a consolidation of all school funds.84

The pressure from the Federal courts to equalize education in Kentucky stimulated an interest in the general improvement of education in the state. Attention was called to the fact that Kentucky occupied one of the lowest levels in support of education and 180,000 children in the state did not attend school (only one-third of the school children being in school). The public was informed that 16 per cent of the whites and 50 per cent of the blacks, ten years of age or over, could not read.85
ACRES OF LAND IN POSSESSION OF F B; TENN & KY 1867

u s, house, report of hon t d eliot, chair comm on freedmen's affairs, 
40 cong, 2d sess, no 30, vol i, 1867-68 (serial 1357)

p 15/ Schedule of property in possession and property restored since
organization of the bureau to Dec 31, 1867. Figures for Ky & Tenn. combined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of acres in possession</th>
<th>No pieces of town property in possession</th>
<th>no acres restored</th>
<th>no piece town property restored</th>
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<tr>
<td>50,532</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>24,406</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HOPKINSVILLE SLAVE OWNER RETRIEVES SLAVES FROM CLARKSVILLE 3-1864

u s, senate, senate ex docs, 38 cong, 2d sess, no 28, 1864-65, Serial
1209, report of Hood & Bostwick on condition of refugees

p 17/ In the Tenn. section of the report.

"Edwin R. Cook, of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, has permission to take
to his home from Clarksville, Tennessee, or its vicinity, his three negro
women and two negro boys, (if not in the employ of the government,)
without being interfered with by the military authorities."

signed Lovell H. Rousseau,
Major General Commanding.
BUREAU OFFICIAL RECOMMENDS THAT CAMP NELSON BE REOPENED (Feb 1865) 6061

us, senate ex doc, 38 cong, 2d sess, no 28, 1864-65, serial 1209, report of Thos Hood & S. W. Bostwick on condition of col refugees in ky, etc.

We made a brief visit to Louisville, Lexington, and Camp Nelson, Kentucky. There is no organized camp for the reception and care of colored refugees within this State. That at Camp Nelson had been broken up and abandoned, by order of Brigadier General L. Thomas, Adjutant General; the propriety of which order we think may be seriously questioned. It not only encouraged the hopes of secession sympathizers in Kentucky, but, in like ratio, discouraged enlistments of colored men, who will not leave their families to the tender mercies of Kentucky hospitality, humanity, or Christianity. Owing to the great numbers of colored men who have enlisted in the federal service, in many cases their wives and children are left in a suffering condition on account of being driven from their homes by their Union-hating masters. In addition to women and children residing in the State, hundreds of refugees from other States are congregating here for safety and protection, and unless something is done for them by the general government there will be of necessity great suffering among them. We would therefore recommend that a general camp of reception be at once instated & supported at Camp Nelson; and that provision be made by the government for their support and maintenance, using their labor in such way as may be most useful; this would certainly be not only humane but just, as their husbands, fathers, and brothers are doing the country service in the field, and are, consequently, unable to care for and protect them. We would recommend that the quartermaster at Camp Nelson be authorized and instructed to make whatever preparations may be proper for their accommodation and care. We found General Burbridge, commander of the district, a gentleman whose sympathies are largely with these distressed people; and the recommendations we here make are strictly in accordance with his views and wishes, and which we sincerely hope may meet with your approval.

METHODOIST MINISTER IN AUGUSTA, KY, DESCRIBES CONDITION IN KY FEB 1868 6062

us, house, reports of committee on freed. affairs to house by T.D.Eliot, 40 cong, 2d sess, no 30, vol i, 1867-68, serial 1357.

The following letter from Kentucky describes the condition of affairs in that State:

Augusta, Ky., February 16, 1868.

Dear Sir: In compliance with your request to "furnish facts within my knowledge tending to show the necessity for continuing the Freedmen's Bureau or otherwise," after duly considering the matter I have the honor to submit the following: I have been for more than thirty-one years an itinerant minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, under the war I have been most of the time acting as missionary among the freedmen of this State, so appointed by the Kentucky annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. My business is to take a general oversight of the churches composed of freedmen under our care; as far as possible organize new ones; establish schools among them, (Sabbath and week days;) procure suitable teachers; distribute bibles, testaments, and other religious reading, and by every可用able effort bring them under, as far as possible, moral and religious influences. In so doing I travel extensively over the State four times a year; have, consequently, a good opportunity of learning the condition of the freedmen and of hearing their complaints. In the first place I am convinced the freedmen have no better friends anywhere than are found in all parts of this State, who are ever ready to lend a helping hand in bettering their condition in every way; but throughout the State there are those, and their name is legion, who are violently opposed to all our efforts, and would evidently compel us to cease if they could. They consider schools for the colored children a terrible nuisance and outrage, and urge their protest against them. They to our preaching to the freedmen, or holding meetings for their benefit—for doing which my life has been freqently threatened. Last year the house in which I was staying was surrounded in the night by a mob armed with revolvers, who entered, dragged me to a neighboring creek, into which they plunged me ten or fifteen times, and held me under water until I was nearly suffocated; ordered me to leave the next morning by sunrise, and threatened to take my life if I ever returned. My only offending was I had preached the gospel to the freedmen, but never only in the presence of two or three prominent white citizens of the town (Georgetown,) who are ready to testify that in so doing I had said nothing calculated to give offence. I have good reason to believe that that mob was incited to do as they did by a rebel preacher of the place, who had violated solemn oaths to be true to the United States government, by going off with the rebel army under Bragg, and who, the night before I was mobbed, had taken possession of the meeting-house in which the freedmen worshipped, a comfortable brick edifice, which they had built and paid for, every dollar, when they were slaves. They not only then able to hold property in their own names, elected white men to sit as trustees, who, the freedmen say, without their knowledge, dedicated it to the Southern Methodist church, which, on that ground, still claims it, and the freedmen are deprived of its use. In Hardinburg, Breckinridge co., I have a home which I have occupied nearly nine months, and in which I have found the colored people grateful for the comfort and instruction which I have been able to give them.


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Augusta, Ky., February 16, 1868.

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METHODOIST MINISTER IN AUGUSTA, KY, DESCRIBES CONDITION IN KY FEB 1868 6062-A

us, house, report of t d eliot on freed affairs, 40 cong, 2d sess, no 30, vol i, 1867-68, serial 1357

part of the State, a few days before, a new frame meeting-house, just completed at a cost of $7,000, by loyal men, was burned to the ground, believed to be the work of their enemies. I never go around my district without hearing of cowardly, fiendish outrages being practiced upon the freedmen, who seem to have no other protection but the bureau. The following are a few which have come to my knowledge the past few weeks: In Mercer county the house of a colored man was beset by some of his white neighbors who had come professedly to hang him. On his refusing to go out of the house to them at their bidding, they brought combustible material and put it under the house and set fire to it, thus forcing him and a very respectable young colored man, who was there on a visit, to leave the house, when they were seized, tied to a tree, their backs lashed, in a bent position, and whipped (especially the young man) in a most unmerciful and barbarous manner. In town, a company of young men, at Christmas, I am told, amused themselves by going round to the houses of the freedmen and knocking in their windows. In another town, a colored man was peaceably walking along the street, when a white man threw a rock at him, broke his skull, and killed him on the spot. As a recent writer has said, "the real animus in this is the latent spirit of rebellion." It is a spirit of revenge and malice against the national government, manifested to its friends and those whom it befriends. I have just inquired of a loyal minister at my elbow what he thought would be the consequence if the Freedmen's Bureau should at this time be removed. His reply is: "If the bureau is removed, I want to be removed to." As ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church, with our 63 annual conferences spread over the whole of the United States and Territories, numbering considerably more than a million members, we consider it our bounden duty to do a large share in educating, elevating, and christianizing the freedmen. We believe God requires it; the Christian nations of the earth require it, and future generations will hold us responsible if we neglect it. But, with an investiture rebel spirit possessing the minds of the people who have very generally the control over our political affairs, as well as those in our most popular churches, it will be exceedingly difficult for us to continue our labors in many places if the bureau is removed and we are left entirely exposed to the wrath of our enemies. There are several thousand freedmen in this State, 3,000 in one church in Lexington, under our spiritual watch care, who come to us claiming the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences. Many of these have come to us from those churches whose bishops, ministers, and members are pro-slavery in their principles; who did all they could to support and perpetuate slavery: many of them, even the ministers, were, during the war, in the rebel army, and since their return are considered the most honored of the brethren. They declare in their church papers that they believe as firmly as ever in the divinity of slavery. The freedmen have no desire to fraternize with such—to be united with them in church fellowship; they do not want such ministers to teach them morality or religion. The gospel they preach, which teaches that God 4,000 years ago doomed them and their posterity to perpetual bondage, they cannot receive as "good tidings of great joy." They, therefore, have left them from principle, and desire us to administer to them the sacraments of the church and the consolations of the true gospel of Christ. Having given unmistakable evidence of their loyalty to the national government, they ask its protection in their religious as well as civil rights.

Yours, most respectfully,

R. G. GARDINER.
SENATOR POLK ESTIMATES THE LOSS TO KY IN FUGITIVES YEARLY


The speaker, Mr. Polk, said that there had been much interference with acquiring fugitive slaves. "Hundreds of thousands of dollars are lost annually. An no State loses more heavily than my own. Kentucky, it is estimated loses annually as much as $200,000. The other border States, no doubt, lose in the same ratio. Missouri much more."

CONG. RESO. FREEING WIVES, CHILDREN OF BLACK SOLDIERS 3-3-1865

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purpose of encouraging enlistments and promoting the efficiency of the military forces of the United States, it is hereby enacted that the wife and children, if any he have, of any person that has been, or may be, mustered into the military or naval service of the United States, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be forever free, any law, usage, or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding; and in determining who is or was the wife and who are the children of the enlisted person herein mentioned, evidence that he and the woman claimed to be his wife have cohabited together, or associated as husband and wife, and so continued to cohabit or associate at the time of the enlistment, or evidence that a form or ceremony of marriage, whether such marriage was or was not authorized or recognized by law, has been entered into or celebrated by them, and that the parties thereto thereafter lived together, or associated or cohabited as husband and wife, and so continued to live, cohabit, or associate at the time of the enlistment, shall be deemed sufficient proof of marriage for the purposes of this act, and the children born of any such marriage shall be deemed and taken to be the children embraced within the provisions of this act, whether such marriage shall or shall not have been dissolved at the time of such enlistment.

APPROVED, March 3, 1865.
**REPORT ON PERSONS MURDERED IN KY JULY 1, 1867 TO JULY 1, 1868**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
<th>Murderer</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Yokum or Thompson</td>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>13 masked persons</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>May 20, 1867</td>
<td>Hickman county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Sweny</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Washington Stone</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Oct. 16, 1867</td>
<td>Smithfield</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sep. 26, 1867</td>
<td>Lynn county</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Cook</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Aug. 13, 1867</td>
<td>Elkhorn</td>
<td>No indictment found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. B. Puller</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sep. 10, 1867</td>
<td>Hopkinsville</td>
<td>No indictment found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A young woman</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Aug. 28, 1867</td>
<td>Bardwell</td>
<td>No indictment found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert L. Jones</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Nov. 9, 1867</td>
<td>Union county</td>
<td>Sentence of court: Justifiable homicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston Root</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>July 6, 1867</td>
<td>Henderson county</td>
<td>Indicted by grand jury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampson Jones</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>May 11, 1868</td>
<td>Hardin</td>
<td>No indictment found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sikes</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>July 13, 1867</td>
<td>Hopkinsville</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Beaven</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jul. 14, 1867</td>
<td>Calhoun</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David White-ladson</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>July 3, 1867</td>
<td>Bourbon</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Frazer</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sep. 17, 1867</td>
<td>Jessamine</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 man unknown</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>May 30, 1867</td>
<td>Fayette county</td>
<td>Sentence to penalitity for two years. Paroled by Governor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jackson</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 19, 1868</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aaron Peck</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jul. 13, 1867</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Acquitted before the examining jury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Logan</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 31, 1868</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Acquitted by civil court. Case remanded to U.S. court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major J. H. Bridgewater</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>May 13, 1867</td>
<td>Boyle county</td>
<td>Indicted by grand jury; no action since.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury Green</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jul. 13, 1867</td>
<td>Boyle county</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardin Palmer</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>May 13, 1867</td>
<td>Boyle county</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Colenam</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>May 13, 1867</td>
<td>Boyle county</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antony Christian</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>Acquitted on examination trial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Taylor &amp;a McFerrier</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Holman</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steven Campbell</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benj. Baker</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Whitefield</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren Jackson</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 man unknown</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jan. 29, 1868</td>
<td>Boone county</td>
<td>No arrest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**DEAR GENERAL:** We need some military aid in this section of country for the following reasons, to wit: There is a band of Ku-Klux in the vicinity of Crab Orchard, Kentucky, that are continually committing depredations in this part of the country. About two months ago they went to James Baker's, in Pulaski county, and murdered him by shooting him; some five shots took effect. On last Saturday night they went to the house of one Stephen Cummins, of Pulaski county, and killed him and his daughter, and wounded his son; his son escaped by running off in the dark. They shot his daughter for lamenting over her dead father; he, Cummins, killed two of them—one on the ground, and one died at Crab Orchard. They remarked before they left that there was one more—"a abolitionist out of the way. It is Union men that they are operating upon entirely. So, general, if there is not military interference, we will soon be in a very bad fix. The main nest is about Crab Orchard. We think it would be a good idea to station some troops at Crab Orchard, as we think it is one of the worst rebel holes in Kentucky. Union men are becoming alarmed, and will have to band themselves together for their protection if there is not something done. General, we are satisfied that we need protection, or we would not call for it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. CARSON, 
Judge Rockcastle County Court.

A. J. MOORE, 
County Attorney.

R. D. COOK, 
Clerk Rockcastle County Court.

B. K. BETHURUM, 
Sheriff Rockcastle County.
### REPORT OF MURDERS IN KY JULY 1, 1867 TO JULY 1, 1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Complexity</th>
<th>Murderer</th>
<th>Complexity</th>
<th>When</th>
<th>Where</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Stoner</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>John Owens et al.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>July 27, 1867</td>
<td>Nelson county</td>
<td>Dan Connelly and Tom Hardly turned over to U.S. court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daddie Coobs</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>A. Achtem</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>May 24, 1868</td>
<td>Warren county</td>
<td>Arrested by civil authorities; case deferred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I man unknown</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Oct. 15, 1867</td>
<td>Trigg county</td>
<td>No arrest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I man unknown</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Elijah Mason</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>May 23, 1868</td>
<td>Harrodsburg</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Crits</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Davie</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I certify that the above report is correct.

A true copy:

1 black murdered, all others white or unknown

20 blacks murdered
28 whites murdered

### SUMMARY: CONDITIONS IN KY 1868-69-SCHS, HEALTH, OUTRAGES, WAGES, ETC

Brevet Brigadier General S. Burbank, United States army, has continued to discharge the duties of assistant commissioner of this State throughout the year.

The number of officers on duty at date of last annual report was 19; remaining at this time, 8; number of civilian agents employed October, 1867, 17; remaining, 11; number of clerks employed at present date, 10.

It was hoped that by the discharge of officers and agents, a virtual discontinuance of the bureau could be effected in February, 1868, and instructions were issued to that effect. The receipt of information of the proposed reduction throughout the State was followed by an immediate and large increase in the number of outrages and crimes perpetrated upon freed people. It was therefore found necessary to modify the proposed action. A reorganization of the State was effected in July, 1868, whereby the operations of the bureau were greatly curtailed and expenses reduced about $148,883 per annum.

Practically no provision has been made by the State authorities for the care of sick and destitute colored people. A hospital for such cases is in operation at Louisville, Kentucky, to which patients from all parts of the State have been admitted. During the year 763 cases have been treated. Dispensaries have been conducted during the year at Louisville, Covington, Lexington, Mount Sterling, Paducah, and Owensboro. The dispensary at Paducah was discontinued in December, 1867; that at Mount Sterling in May, 1868; that at Lexington in July, 1868.

Efforts have from time to time been made to induce the civil authorities to take charge of the hospitals and dispensaries, and to provide for the sick and destitute, but without success. July 16, 1868, the hospital at Louisville was broken up. After careful inspections, and the discharge of all but the most extreme cases of permanently disabled, it was found that 175 persons who were incapable of labor unless cared for by their friends were returned to the State for care.

Disembarkation, repairs, and maintenance of public works at Paducah, 1868
SUMMARY: CONDITIONS IN KY 1868-69—HEALTH, SCHS, OUTRAGES, ETC

The bureau. These were received in a "Home for the Destitute" which was substituted for the hospital. The orphan asylum is still in operation at Louisville.

Lectures on the subject of education have been delivered to the freed people at different points throughout the State by Brevet Colonel B. R. Runkle, Chaplain T. K. Noble, and by sub-assistant commissioners and assistant superintendents of schools. Many obstacles have been encountered. But little aid has been received from abroad. Benevolent associations sustain but seven schools in the State. Active opposition has been met in some portions of the States. During the year seven school-houses and one church have been burned or otherwise destroyed by mobs. Teachers have been molested and driven away. In the southwestern part of the State the people are bitterly opposed to the education of colored people. Schools, however, have been established along the river and railroads, and recently vigorous efforts have been made to penetrate the back districts and start the work. Officers engaged in the enterprise have been abused and their lives threatened.

During the year 31 school-houses have been erected by the bureau in Kentucky. The superintendent of education estimates that 20,000 children have received the rudiments of an education in the schools supported by the bureau.

More than 1,100 colored soldiers in Kentucky have received their bounty through the bureau during the year. In many cases delay in payment has been unavoidable. It has been difficult to reach claimants in remote and mountainous districts. Having served in the Union army, they have been the especial objects of persecution, and in hundreds of instances have been driven from their homes. The outrages perpetrated by the Ku-klux Klan have caused a great exodus into other States.

SUMMARY: CONDITIONS IN KY 1868-69—HEALTH, SCHS, OUTRAGES, ETC

By the State laws a capitation tax of $2 is imposed on each negro or mulatto over the age of 18 years, the proceeds to be applied to the support of colored paupers and the education of colored children. Complaints of the misapplication of this fund being universal, the freed people to the number of 10,000 signed a petition, which was submitted to the legislature, praying a redress of the grievance. The legislature amended the law, not by repealing or reducing the tax, but providing that the whole amount raised should go to the pauper fund. The practical working of this law is that in many places the tax would be collected, in some cases (as reported) two or three times the amount authorized by the law. In one or two localities the amount due for school purposes was paid; in others (where it has been used at all) the tax has been swallowed up by men who have old servants with them, and who receive $3 or $4 per week from the county court for the maintenance of such servants. This is the only law on the statute-books of Kentucky providing for the care of colored paupers. Practically it is worse than no law at all.

The number of outrages reported as committed by whites upon colored people in the State of Kentucky during the year is: murders, 28; rapes, 3; shootings, 30; otherwise maltreated, 263; total, 327. The mode of procedure by bureau officers in such cases has been to take the complainant and his witnesses before a United States commissioner, who, upon affidavit of complainant in due form, issued a warrant for the arrest of the accused. When arrested, the accused is taken before the commissioner and examined, and if the evidence sustain the charge he is held in bond or committed for trial at the next session of the United States district court. Another and more successful plan has been to bring the witnesses before the United States grand jury and procure an indictment and warrant for the arrest of the accused. But the difficulty of ascertaining the commission of the offenses has been a great obstacle to any thorough investigation of the outrages committed by the Ku-klux Klan.
us, cong, house ex doc, rept of sec of war, 40 cong, 3d sess, no 1, vol i, 1868-69; this summary written by o o howard

indictments or warrants, but in making arrests. The United States marshals and bailiffs have found it difficult to make arrests in some parts of the State, and in others impossible. The people of the locality where the outrages occur warn, conceal, and protect the evil-doers. Take for instance the case of George W. Northcraft, who murdered David Coulter, an inoffensive colored preacher, in cold blood; this man Northcraft rides through the country armed and attended by a body-guard, and the marshals do not succeed in capturing him. In some districts one white man is seldom, if ever, brought to justice for murdering another. The United States marshal of the district has warrants unserved for the arrest of 25 offenders.

Outside of the large towns there has been comparatively little desti-

notwith standing these disadvantages a majority of the freedmen have
labor ed faithfully. Many have become property-holders, and wherever
they have been fairly treated they have shown marked improvement in
every respect. Complaints have been made that freed people crowded
into the towns. Two reasons are assigned for this: first, to take advan-
tage of the facilities for educating their children; second, because they
are molested and driven out of the country by the Ku-klux or regulators,
and fly to the towns for protection.

The State of Kentucky discriminates against colored children bound
apprentices, by not requiring the persons to whom the children are bound
to educate them. This has given the agents of the bureau much
trouble, and through their aid many children bound by the State courts
have been released by the United States court.
% OF BLACK PUPILS ENROLLED 1891-92 AGE 5 TO 18

us, report of comm of ed for 1891-92, 1894

p 863/

per cent of persons
5 to 18 enrolled
1891-92
black white
62.86 61.97

LOU BLACK CHURCHES ORGANIZE INTO "LOUISVILLE CHRISTIAN UNION" 1877

The Louisville Commercial, Jan 31, 1877, p 8

The black churches in Lou have, for several weeks, been meeting to for
city-wide organization. "A few evenings ago a mass meeting was held, in
which ten churches were represented. The following resolution was adopted: +

"Whereas, The great necessity for earnest, active Christian work
among the colored people of this city is forced upon us by the combined
powers of sin and wickedness, and many of our young men and women are
being schooled in vice and immorality; therefore,

"Resolved, That we, the colored churches of Louisville represented
in this meeting, do hereby constitute and organize ourselves as the
Louisville Christian Union, for the purpose of holding union Gospel
meetings and putting forth our united strength to rescue the rising
generation of our race from sin and degradation." A committee was set
up to draw up a constitution, and reported the following officers:
Rev. J. W. Gazzaway of Quinn Chapel for president; Rev. A. A. Allensworth
of Central Baptist for Vice Pres; etc. "The constitution also provides
for the organization of auxiliary associations among the various Sunday-
school superintendents, choristers, and organists of the various churches
connected with the union, with an executive committee selected from lay
members from the different churches." They are going to try to operate
similarly to the YMCA.
"Westward Ho! +

"A Call on Colored Citizens Throughout the Country; +

"At a meeting of the colored citizens of the city of Louisville, Tuesday, June 26, at the Green-street Baptist Church, a Colonization Society was organized, and a committee formed to draw up the following: +

To our Brethren and the Public: +

"Whereas, We, the colored citizens of Louisville, Ky., find it necessary for our welfare and the benefit of our children to form this Colonization Society for the purpose of emigrating to the State of Kansas or Nebraska, where there is a surplus of the very richest land in this country; and we, as citizens and ex-soldiers of the United States, are entitled to 160 acres of these lands, and have only to go there and take possession of them and become energetic, peaceable citizens of either of these States. We find a great many of our color out of employment here, doing no good for themselves or any body else; apparently without any object in life, while the broad acres of the far west are growing up in weeds and wild grass, beckoning us on. This country is at a stand-still—business stagnated, all classes of people discouraged and seemingly at a loss to know what to do. There is a home for us, for our children; not an imaginary home, but a home in reality, a home that with proper care and cultivation will stand for ages, all the while increasing in value. This is the country where we can prosper. Will you come with us? Perhaps you had rather remain in this country in a state of servitude the balance of your days; if so, for heaven's sake, and for the benefit of our race, do not be a stumbling-block to those who have enterprise, energy and good sense. Will you ever obtain a home in this country, we ask? Are we not compelled to pay exorbitant rents, thereby giving the landlord the fruit of our labor? This is a call upon the young men to go with us, and be one of us, and we ask the old men to aid and assist us in the undertaking. We are not going to Canada, or the wilds of Siberia, but propose settling in our United States, where the climate is genial and the laws equal to our own. There we have every privilege we can possibly receive here in the way of schools, with a privilege we can never enjoy here, namely, 160 acres of the very best land, that will grow almost anything. A great many of our color are out of employment, upon the streets idle. To those we say there is employment and plenty ahead. Will you accept it? +

"Some are employed on our streets at a mere pittance, eking out a mere living from day to day. These we ask to come and labor with us, and we assure you something more than a living.+ "The way is open to all; transportation is cheap, land plenty, and with the assistance of the press throughout the country, we call upon all strong, able-bodied colored men to join us. Isaac Curtis, Chairman. E. J. Anderson, Jacob Stone, A. G. Montgomery, Robert C. Benjamin, Committee."
"COLORED GRADUATES.+

Interesting Entertainment By the Pupils of the Male and Female High Schools.+ Delivery of Essays and Orations of an Excellent Order--An Enthusiastic Audience.+ 

The fourth annual commencement exercises of the colored High School were held last evening at Macauley's Theater, and were decidedly successful. The building was comfortably filled with the better class of colored people, and there was also a good sprinkling of white people. This year there were but seven graduates--Misses Louisa J. Lightfoot, Jennie E. Appleton, Zerlina Thompson, F. Gertrude Caldwell, Rebecca R. Taylor, Sarah W. Davis and Richard C. Wrightson. The first honor fell to Miss Sarah W. Davis, whose general average was 5.43, while Richard C. Wrightson carried off the second, with an average of 5.40.+ The graduates were all very becomingly attired in white, and made a very nice appearance. About thirty of the under-graduates also sat upon the stages. Two huge bronze lions stood in the aisle and looked frowningly down upon the sea of faces beneath them. Precisely at 8 o'clock Eichhorn's Orchestra played a very charming selection, after which Rev. Spencer Snells prayed.+ 

Richard C. Wrightson, the salutatorian, welcomed the vast audience, and thanked those present for their many efforts toward the advancement of colored education. His subject was the "Advancement of Knowledge," and he acquitted himself admirably. He discussed very pleasantly the ancient and modern modes of education, and retired amid a storm of well-earned applause.+ 

Miss Louise J. Lightfoot followed with an essay entitled "America." She contended that though America had no vast deserts, no ruined castles and similar wonders, it far surpassed in beauty and grandeur any of the older countries. The progress of American Civilization had been amazing and every day was adding to its commercial strength. By her own worth she had commanded the recognition and respect of the countries toward the rising sun. The glory of this country was that it had no titled aristocracy, no despotic rulers, but a free and great government. She was loudly applauded.+ 

Here the orchestra varied the entertainment by another delightful interlude.+ 

As essay, "Oratory and Orators," by Miss Jennie C. Appleton, came next. Oratory she said, was the art of speaking well and one which needed cultivation. She was the smallest of the graduates, but not the least in point of intellect. The orator, she said, must be a man of sense, virtue and education, and all of the labor he expends in its cultivation would some day be amply repaid.+ 

Miss Zerlina Thompson delivered an essay on "Rome." Nations had changed, and monarchies had tottered, but Rome remained the same. The once proud mistress of the world to this day retained her haughty demeanor, and even then in her adversity she still remembered when her scepter ruled the world. Its victories and its defeats were treated at length; the glories of its heroes and its rich literary gifts to the education of the world were revived, and the vast audience listened with rapt attention to the panorama of the imperial city which the essayist so attractively spread before them.+ 

"Unsatisfied," was the topic upon which Miss F. Gertrude Caldwell had
written. "It always was and always shall be that we are unsatisfied. The more we study, the more we want to learn of that which has been unlearned. The brilliant authors who have achieved the greatest triumphs still strive to improve and view their grandest productions with discontent. This feeling of dissatisfaction is not confined to any class. Kings and vassals alike pine for the things which they have not." At the conclusion of her remarks, many beautiful floral gifts from her admiring friends were brought upon the stage.

The subject of Miss Rebecca Taylor's essay was "Astronomy." She carried her hearers through the myriads of glittering stars, and revealed to them the beauties of the study of the great works beyond the clouds. She was applauded.

Miss Sarah Davis, the valedictorian, discussed the character of Agassiz. "The knowledge he gained by wandering about the fields during his boyhood days was of far greater benefit to him than that he could have secured by poring over the pages of the school books. He became a great naturalist, but he studied, and his knowledge was not attained without hard labor. He was a diligent reader in the investigation of science, and in dying left behind him a memory on the throne of fame." Turning to her former classmates she told them their school days were now over, and she earnestly asked them not to let the flush of future successes cause them to forget the happy days they had spent in the school-room.

The alumni address was delivered by W. H. Goodale, of the class of 1886. Mr. G. H. Cochran, chairman of the committee on colored schools, then made a short address. He then presented the diplomas very gracefully, and withdrew amid a storm of applause.

The benediction was then pronounced by Rev. Mr. Shells, and the assemblage dispersed.

TALK OF NOMINATING A BLACK FOR GOVERNOR 1887

"THE COLOR LINE."

What a Prominent Colored Man Thinks of Its Being Drawn By Republicans.

FRANKFORT, June 2.-(Special.)--Meeting to-day Rev. E. Evans, the pastor of the colored Baptist church of this city, whose name has been mentioned as the best timber for the nomination for Governor by the colored convention to meet at Paris this month, he was asked if he would give expression to his views on the subject, when he said:

"I think the colored Republicans have as much right to be recognized as the Irish or any other race, having been faithful to the principles of the Republican party ever since they were allowed to vote. The white Republicans can't afford to ignore the colored Republicans of Kentucky. I am confident that if a colored man had been placed on the State ticket it would have added strength to the ticket. The colored people are Republicans, but they are becoming intelligent and are tired of being led and paid off on promises. I think Mr. Bradley will poll a large vote among my people if prominent colored men are put on the stump. I shall support the ticket, but think the Executive Committee should fill the existing vacancy with some colored man. If they fail to do it, I think they do not give us fair treatment. I won't allow my name to go before the convention for Governor, but I insist that my race is entitled to recognition at the hands of the Republican party. Otherwise, I think there will be a falling off of a part of the vote of our race."
"EVANS FOR GOVERNOR.+

Colored Kentucky Republicans Preparing to Nominate One of Their Race.+

The Dissatisfaction Growing Out of the Late Convention Taking Shape.+

There is no doubt that the colored voters of the State are very much offended at the treatment they received in the late Republican Convention held in this city. The only colored man put in nomination at the convention was the Rev. E. Evans, of Frankfort, for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. But the white Republicans would not consent to have him on the ticket, and selected some one else. Very naturally, the colored men have felt insulted at this slight, as they poll half the Republican vote of the State, and are certainly entitled to at least one place on the ticket.+

The American Baptist, edited by Rev. W. J. Simmons, a representative man of his race, in its last issue suggested that a convention be called and nominate Evans for Governor. The young men of color of Kentucky have decided to act upon the suggestion, and will hold a convention next month at Paris, Ky. They will nominate Mr. Evans as an Independent Republican candidate for Governor, although it is not yet known whether he will accept the nomination. He is an educated man, and is said to be an excellent speaker. He is pastor of a colored Baptist church at Frankfort, and has at different times conducted two newspapers, one at Bowling Green and one at Lexington. He is very popular in the State, and the colored men are proud of him. Should he make the race, they will give him a very large vote. A colored man said yesterday:+

"I am not prepared to state how Mr. Evans takes the treatment he received at the late Republican Convention, but I know that many of the colored Republicans are very lukewarm in their support of the ticket then nominated. I am satisfied that the bad feeling is growing, and we can not tell what will happen. The colored Republican leaders have got on their war-paint, and are ready to take somebody's scalp. I am a Republican, and never voted any other ticket. I have not made up my mind what I will do, but I intend to wait and see how the Labor men act. Perhaps we can consolidate with them."
First Day's Proceedings of the National Convention of Freedmen and Their Friends, With+

FRED. DOUGLASS PRESIDING:

The first national colored convention that ever assembled in the United States met in Liederkranz Hall at 12 o'clock yesterday. For over an hour previous to that time the hall was filled with delegates, and caucuses were being held indiscriminately to settle questions of interest in the various delegations. In one corner the Missouri delegation met, and after a few preliminary motions agreed to invite representative men from the South to join them, which swelled the attendance at the caucus to a large meeting. The object at this meeting seemed to be the formation of a treaty between the West and South, in which they were to pool their issues and stand by each other. The caucus effected the desired combination and adjourned. The Tennessee and Pennsylvania delegations held spirited meetings in other parts of the hall, and tried to settle questions that are usually referred to the Committee on Credentials, and as far as Tennessee was concerned everything worked well, but Pennsylvania was not so successful. Dual delegations were present from each State, and the delegations were anxious to settle the question as to which delegation would be recognized prior to the assembling of the convention.+

THE SENTIMENT.+

In all the delegations there prevailed a spirit that betokened independence of action outside of any party organization, and some of the speakers were very emphatic in their declarations that the conventions was not going to be dictated to by any party. As the City-hall clock struck the hour of 12 the Louisville Silver Cornet Band of colored musicians struck up a patriotic air and the delegates began to take their places. As they walked down the aisles the spectator instantly discovered that a fine-looking body of men was assembling and during the work of organization it was seen that the representative men of the race in the United States had been selected as delegates to the convention. There was no disputing the fact that an unusually large number of them were men of intelligence, learning, industry and familiarity with parliamentary laws. Certainly there was nothing to make any colored man feel ashamed of the material which formed their first National Convention. It was a fine body of men - men of spirit and energy who would attract attention anywhere.+

As the musical notes died away, Mr. W. M. Holland, of Washington City, Chairman of the delegation from the District of Columbia, called the meeting to order and read the circular issued by a convention of colored citizens of that District to the colored men of the United States, setting forth the necessities of a national convention, and urging them to appoint delegates to meet in Louisville, Ky., for that purpose.+

THE OPENING.+

A prayer was then offered by Dr. B. W. Arnett, of Nashville, Tenn,
during which the convention stood with bowed heads. The prayer was delivered with a fine voice, and was deeply expressive of the feeling of gratitude to God for the blessings of the past and the privilege of assembling on the occasion.

Prof. J. M. Gregory, of Howard University at Washington, was selected as preliminary Secretary.

Mr. Holland announced that the first business in order was a temporary organization, for which nominations for temporary Chairman should then be made. In a moment half a dozen delegates were on their feet pronouncing the words "Mr. Chairman."

Judge A. J. Dumont was the first to catch the Chairman's eye, and said: "As Chairman of the Louisiana delegation I arise to nominate for temporary President of this convention one who by his intelligence, industry, ability and sacrifices recommends himself most highly to the members of this convention as a proper selection for that office. I nominate Rev. A. M. Green, the soldier pastor of Louisiana."

Capt. S. H. Tandy, of St. Louis, "a soldier who shouldered his musket to fight for the freedom of his race," was put in nomination.

D. A. Straker, of South Carolina, put forward the name of Hon. Fred. Douglass, which was received with applause. He said that, as much had been said against the holding of the convention, he thought it was proper for the delegates to select Mr. Douglass for this position as an indorsement of his action in the convention which called the convention together. After a conference, however, he asked to be allowed to withdraw the name.

Hon. Geo. L. Ruffin, of Massachusetts, was put in nomination.

by Judge Nelson, of Galveston, Tex., who said he wanted to honor a man who in boyhood played at the feet of Chas. Sumner.

Dr. H. Fitzbutler was also nominated, but asked permission to withdraw his name.

While the nominations were being made considerable confusion existed at times, and it required prompt action on the part of the Chairman to keep things in order, but Mr. Holland was equal to every emergency, and made a most efficient officer.

The Secretary announced the following as the candidates for temporary Chairman: Rev. A. M. Green, of Louisiana; Capt. S. H. Tandy, of Missouri, and Mr. Geo. L. Ruffin, of Massachusetts.

The vote was taken by States, which showed representatives from twenty-seven States, and resulted in 153 votes for Green, seventy-two for Tandy, and eighteen for Ruffin.

A motion to make the vote unanimous prevailed with great enthusiasm, and the chair appointed a committee to conduct the temporary President to the chair, and the band again discoursed appropriate music.

In introducing the temporary President Mr. Holland said: "Gentlemen of the convention, I have the honor to introduce to you as your presiding officer for temporary organization a man who suffered martyrdom for his race by serving six months in the Pennsylvania penitentiary for rescuing a man from that existence worse than any in human slavery."
Dr. Green then proceeded to address the convention at considerable length, thanking it for the high honor it had bestowed upon him and counseling moderation.

He congratulated them on the auspicious event of assembling in convention in the State that claims the great Clay as its own. He called upon them to so shape their actions as to make this an occasion to which they could look back upon with pride and show to those whose shortsightedness led them to oppose the convention what progress the colored people of this country had made, and assure the world that that progress was but a shadow of that which they expected and intended to accomplish in the future. The address was very appropriate, and was received with applause by the convention.

The Chairman then proceeded to introduce Mr. Fitzbutler, who would have delivered an address of welcome, but he was interrupted by a delegate who insisted on the appointment of a Committee on Credentials.

A motion to that effect prevailed, and on a call of the States the following delegates were selected to compose the committee: J. H. Walsh, Alabama; C. A. Rydout, Arkansas; J. B. McGinnis, Delaware; R. S. Laws, District of Columbia; S. C. Upshor, Georgia; S. W. Scott, Illinois; C. C. Stapp, Indiana; W. W. Vance, Iowa; W. D. Matthews, Kansas; W. H. Ward, Kentucky; L. A. Martinet, Louisiana; William Murrell, Maryland; G. L. Ruffin, Massachusetts; J. D. Steward, Minnesota; H. C. Hardy, Mississippi; C. H. Tandy, Missouri; Jesse Lawson, New Jersey; R. A. Jones, Ohio; B. M. Stewart, Pennsylvania; S. M. McKinley, South Carolina; I. B. Scott, Texas; George M. Arnold, Virginia; G. W. Holinger, West Virginia; G. W. Bierney, Wisconsin.

Fully an hour was consumed in selecting the Committee on Credentials, during which the President lost control of the delegates, and they kept up a constant volley of motions and counter-motions, questions of order and statements of the same until, at 2:30 o'clock, a motion to adjourn till 7 o'clock prevailed.

The following telegram was received and read by the Chairman:

Recognizing the fact that in a republican Government the enactment and enforcement of laws for the protection of the rights of citizens largely depend on the public sentiment of the country, and believing public sentiment is created by representative gatherings of the people, I regret my inability to attend the convention, owing to the lateness of reception of notice of my election. I nominate Hon. A. J. Dumont my proxy. Trusting the deliberations of the convention will be harmonious, dignified, discreet and beneficial to those it represents, I am your obedient servant.

P. S. B. PINCHRACH, NEW YORK.

MR. MILTON M. HOLLAND, The Preliminary Chairman, is a graduate of the law department of Harvard and holds a $1,600 clerkship in the Treasury Department.

The following telegram was received and read by the Chairman:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., Sept. 24, 1883.—To the Chairman of the Colored Convention at Louisville, Ky.: Connecticut greets the colored men of the nation and prays them to memorialize Congress in favor of the Colored Commission Bill. ANDREW J. CHAMBERS.
EVENING SESSION.

The convention reassembled at 7 o'clock last evening, and, after urging decorum and prudence and dignity on the part of the delegates, the Chairman announced that the convention was awaiting the pleasure of the Committee on Credentials. No report had been received from the committee and many delegates wanted to proceed with the appointment of other committees while waiting, but the chair ruled: all such efforts out of order, which caused considerable confusion and many amusing personal tilts between the chair and delegates. Several persons were rebuked vigorously, but many speakers got in their work and made glowing addresses on organization and parliamentary law. The committee came in finally and reported the presence of 258 votes, some of them being divided between contending delegations, so that there were about 300 duly admitted delegates on the floor.

After the roll of delegates was called considerable time was consumed in making corrections, but that imaginary defect was finally remedied, and motions were made by the dozen to proceed in as many different ways with the work of organization. Committees on rules, resolutions and order of business were suggested in rapid succession, in the midst of which a motion to go into the election of a permanent President prevailed.

SPEECH OF COL. DUMONT.

Col. A. J. Dumont, of New Orleans, was the first to obtain recognition from the Chairman, and he said.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION--I preface my remarks with an apology, not from myself right, should my remarks fell short of the expectations of my hearers, as undoubtedly they must, in doing justice to the great man who I am about to nominate.

The slender merit of my remarks will be due in part from an entire want of time in preparation, but more especially from the native poverty of my power as a speaker. But, Mr. Chairman, it has just occurred to me that even had I the eloquence of a Bossuet, a Mirabeau, a Phillip, a Sumner or an Ingersol, I could but unfittingly do justice to his claims on our devotion. In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, I think the most fitting discourse man's lips can utter is the mere mention of the name of that great and good man, of that sage and patriot, Frederick Douglass. I nominate him for permanent Chairman.

A TUMULT.

Glowing tributes were paid to Mr. Douglass by those who seconded the nomination, and enthusiasm became so great that it seemed for a while that no one's name would be mentioned. But this opinion was shaken by a delegate from St. Louis, who nominated Hon. J. H. L. Sweres, of Indianapolis, and, in his eulogy on his candidate, expressed his ignorance of any act of Mr. Douglass' life at all beneficial to his race. This caused a perfect storm of indignation, and he was hissed and hooted with great vehemence, and it was with great difficulty that the Chair quieted the tumult so that the Western delegate could proceed. "You can afford to listen to him," said the Chairman, " and reserve your indignities for those who sent such a man here." This rebuke raised the tumult to a higher pitch than ever, and it seemed impossible to stop it.

Sweres persuaded a delegate to yield the floor to him, and he proceeded to put a different face upon the proceedings. He spoke with great power and eloquence, stating that he could not permit his name to be put before
the convention if in doing so it became necessary to pull down the fame and glory of that grand old hero, Frederick Douglass.

In conclusion, therefore, he preferred to withdraw his name from the nomination in which it had been placed and to move that Mr. Douglass be declared the permanent President by acclamation. This threw the Convention into a perfect turmoil of delight, and all that was necessary to accomplish the election of Douglass was for the Chair to put the vote. But various motions and counter-motions delayed matters until all at once a Tennessee delegate got the floor and began an onslaught on Douglass, in which he defied the power of the Chairman and the jeers of the Convention. The attempts to silence him only made him worse and gave him opportunities to make charges of unfairness against the convention, which won him many followers, first in the audience and then among the delegates, and in five minutes after the election of Douglass was almost an accomplished fact the tide was turned and for two hours his election seemed very doubtful. Tennessee was a red-hot disturbing element, and taking advantage of the onslaught made by delegates from that State, South Carolins stepped to the front with Hon. D. A. Straker as their nominee, and the tide of war swelled and rolled on.

W. H. Young, of Tennessee, got the floor at this juncture, and pronounced a flowing philippic against Douglass, accusing him of having indicated an intention, if Butler should be the Democratic nominee in 1884, to deliver the colored votes of the country over to him.

Rainey, of Nashville, followed Young in the same vein, and after trying in vain to read from an interview with Douglass, said that Tennessee could not vote for him because he had said that if Butler became the Democratic candidate he would sweep the colored vote from one end of the country to the other.

Other questions came up at this juncture which seemed to have been brought forward by the Douglas men to gain time and a wrangle followed as to the length of time each delegate could speak. While this was going on Douglas was escorted into the hall by a large number of his friends which movement warmed the enthusiasm and confusion ruled again. Finally after sixty or seventy speeches were made and both candidates were substantially eulogized, the convention was ready to go into a ballot for President. This work proceeded very smoothly until Tennessee was reached, when the old attack on Douglass was renewed and the old charges about Butler and the colored vote . Douglass had been conducted to the stage, and was looking the scene with great composure; but when he heard the charges he sprang to his feet and was making his way to the footlight when his friends stopped him and prevailed upon him to pay no attention to what they said.

The ballot was finally concluded, and resulted in the election of Douglass by a vote of 201 against fifty-seven cast for Straker.

REMARKS OF MR. DOUGLASS.

After its announcement, loud calls made for Douglass, and he arose and advanced to the front of the stage and waiting for the tumult to cease. When was restored, he said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I am gratified to you for the high honor you have conferred upon me by making me your presiding officer. I can scarcely express the profound gratitude I feel. I will undertake the task with dis in my own powers, and hope you will assist in the
work before me, and that our efforts may increase in character, not only the people of this country but of the world. I can not help but feel glad deep down in my soul, to know that after over fifty years of suffering my people appreciate me.

Over fifty years ago I suffered in jail for speaking passes--I had learned to write them which my people could escape from bondage and over forty years ago I was whipped Indiana, and I can but feel repaid that, after this, my people appreciate me and have made me the presiding officer of their first national convention.

I can only thank you to-night, but tomorrow I will address you and tell you what I think you ought to do. But before I say good-night I want to say to my enemies who think I am to break up the Republican party, that I said Butler could sweep the colored vote. was a slip of the reporter's pen; but it have cost me the vote of all my old friends Hickory State. Good night.

The convention then adjourned till o'clock to-day."

ADDRESS OF PALMER TO LEX BLACK DELEGATION Aug 1865

The New York Times, Aug 20, 1865, p 2

THE NEGROES IN KENTUCKY


From the Louisville Democrat

Last Wednesday, a delegation of very intelligent colored men from Lexington, presented to Gen. Palmer a communication embodying a series of complaints of bad treatment from former slaveholders and certain city officials.

Gen. Palmer, in reply, delivered the following address, which will be read with interest all over the country:

I have read your communication and listened to your statement of the wants of the people you represent with the greatest interest, and deeply regret that my power to aid them is so limited. I have long believed that the true ends of government are to promote the freedom, the welfare and the rational happiness of mankind, and that if any government fails to secure these ends it ought to be reformed. I am also persuaded that the mere forms of government have much less influence upon the welfare and happiness of the people than is ordinarily believed. Habits and customs are more potent than laws. To illustrate my meaning, I will state that in my opinion slavery has no legal existence in any State or Territory of the United States. I think the various agencies which have operated upon the system of slavery within the last four years have subverted and destroyed it as a politico-legal system. If it exists, in fact, anywhere, it is because individual masters, supported by public opinion and custom, assert
their dominion over individual persons, and those persons, ignorant of their right to freedom, or unable or unwilling to assert that right, acquiesce in the asserted dominion, and yeild to the authority of the alleged master. Experience has shown that in all ages the habit of command is greatly aided by a corresponding habit of submission; hence, whatever may be the present or future state of the law of slavery, the present generation of masters will always be able to exercise great control over the present generation of slaves. With these classes, admitting some exceptions, mastership will be real, while freedom will be only nominal. After these reflections, I will proceed to answer the various points presented in your communication. You ask me, as the representative of the National Government to protect you in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience, and in freedom to worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience. I have already informed you that my powers are extremely limited. They are restricted to the mere maintenance of public order, and to the protection of the people against unlawful force. When that force cannot be restrained by the agencies which belong to the laws, I can assure you that my powers, which must be exercised wherever these legal limits exist, will be employed for the advantage and protection of all the people of the department without distinction, according to their necessities and their rights. If any one portion of the people seem to receive a larger share of my attention than another, it will be so only because their necessities are greater. You have the undisputed right to assemble at such times and such places as you may choose, (subject of course to your duty to maintain public order and peace,) and worship in such modes and according to whatever forms may be agreeable to you. No one will be permitted to molest you. All laws of ordinances which abridge or forbid the exercise of these rights must be void as to you. If any such laws or ordinances have a nominal existence they were made for a state of slavery, and can have no application to a free people. I presume that there can be no considerable opposition to these assertions of your rights. We are a Christian people, and though our ideas of religion may be somewhat perverted by the demands of prejudices or interest, all will agree that each individual may, if he chooses, be his own priest, whoever may choose for him his master or king. You ask for the protection of the liberty of the colored people of the State. I have already expressed my apprehension that little more than nominal liberty is possible to a majority of the colored people. I now add, that no efforts of the National or State Government can make you free in the true sense of that word. It must be your own achievement. You must first resolve to be free, and after you have reached this resolution, you must adhere to it. Freedom, in its beginning, is a sentiment; its fruition is self-asserted manhood. To be valuable it must be supported in the individual by industry, morality, and an independent manful spirit. No law can confer these qualities upon you. To be free you must have homes. Of course I do not mean that it is essential to freedom that every man must own lands or houses, though perhaps it may not be altogether destitute of truth if asserted; but referring to your people I mean a country. You have learned long ago that there are many persons who deny your right to live where you were...
born, and some, more benevolent than others, are willing you shall be free if you will leave Kentucky. Schemes for colonizing the colored people are suggested, and quite lately the plan of gathering the colored people together in some part of the United States if proposed. I think where you were born and have toiled you have the right to remain, and that colonization or "aggregation" will be adopted whenever a suitable country can be found for you which white men do not want, and sufficient means can be raised, which white men will never give. Politicians, to meet popular issues and to evade rugged issues, will devise plans enough for you, but your true plan is a very simple one. Go where labor is most in demand and is best rewarded. You will not, in any considerable numbers, be welcome anywhere in this country, and many people in Kentucky are unwilling that you should remain here. You will have much to endure. The laws will not be executed very rigorously for you, and hence will afford you inadequate protection. Slavery, which had depraved our national politics and diabolized our religion, is too deep-seated to justify the hope that you will speedily be forgiven the crime of being free. Your refuge and defence are found in obedience to the laws, by the successful cultivation of all those qualities which will render you valuable to society, until you have demonstrated your usefulness and value as a free people. You will be insulted and oppressed by that class of men who have always been the terror of the feeble and defenseless. Not the highest type of manhood, it is true, but still they are men, and no country is wholly exempted from their presence. You ask as to what assistance the government can afford to you in the education of your children." I answer none; none directly. The National Government has no power to engage in the work of education except under very special and peculiar circumstances. The calamities of the late civil war have thrown many thousands of persons, white and black, upon the government for their support and protection. They have been brought together in large numbers. In many cases benevolent persons, organized under various names, have, with the approval and incidental assistance of the officers of the government, opened schools by means of which much good has been done. Beyond this nothing has been or can be done. You may rely upon the certainty that every officer of the General Government is deeply impressed with the indispensable value of education to you, and sympathizes with you in your anxiety for the diffusion among your children. Your schools shall have protection; they will encourage the benevolent men and women of the country to assist you. Do not lose sight of the importance of securing to every colored child in the State a solid education. I think I can assure you that as your rights are better understood by yourselves and the people of the State, your difficulties in this respect will greatly diminish. You can appeal to your people, and you will learn the value of union and organization, and from these the happiest results will follow. In my opinion, the colored race upon this continent have their destinies in their own hands. Timid politicians and innocent dreamers may devise plans for your welfare, but you will be required, after all is said or proposed, "to work out your own salvation." Wise men will cease to devote their lives to talking about you, but will speak to you, and leave you to act. But do not
allow yourselves to forget that your highest duty and interest demand that you should labor. Idleness is a vice under any circumstances, and in any person. With your people it is a crime. You furnish the only example within my recollection of a people who have emerged from slavery to freedom, homeless and destitute. To acquire homes you must work. Don't regard honest labor as a burden but as a privilege. Don't wait for the highest wages, but work for what you can get. Honest labor is a school of virtue--do not despise or neglect its valuable teachings."

"FROM KENTUCKY+
Explanation of the Negro Impressment--Law Against Getting Substitutes in Kentucky--Cordial Welcome of Gen. Palmer by the Legislature and the Governor.+
Correspondence of the New York Times.+
Louisville, Tuesday, Feb. 21, 1865.

Colored folks here and elsewhere complain bitterly of their impressment, some, it is said, being taken out of their beds by "recruiting" officers, but these are reported released who are found without the scope of the order of Gen. BRISBANE, (Superintendent of Organization,) which enjoins the summary enlistment of all slaves who have left their masters, of all colored fugitives whom the President's proclamation, by reason of its geographical restrictions, did not reach; and excludes all free negroes, all freedmen under the proclamation, and all slaves still with their masters. It is also reported that the masters of these impressed runaways receive the local bounty and the compensation allowed by the Government. Many loyal whites complain of the order as liable to abuse, snatching of despotic kidnapping, and tending to frighten, alienate and drive off many of our remaining blacks, who otherwise would voluntarily enlist in Kentucky, or take their chances in our coming draft.+

The bill to prevent outsiders procuring substitutes in Kentucky, making it punishable with $1,000 fine and imprisonment, is a law. Discharged two years' veterans and persons from any cause not liable to draft are not subject of our bounty taxes.+

KY BLACKS COMPLAIN ABOUT IMPRESSMENT MARCH 1865 LOUISVILLE

The New York Times, March 1, 1865, p 1

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ADDRESS OF PALMER TO LEX BLACK DELEGATION Aug 1865

The New York Times, Aug 20, 1865, p 2

allow yourselves to forget that your highest duty and interest demand that you should labor. Idleness is a vice under any circumstances, and in any person. With your people it is a crime. You furnish the only example within my recollection of a people who have emerged from slavery to freedom, homeless and destitute. To acquire homes you must work. Don't regard honest labor as a burden but as a privilege. Don't wait for the highest wages, but work for what you can get. Honest labor is a school of virtue--do not despise or neglect its valuable teachings."
On the 20th, on resolution of Hon. J. F. Bell (concurred in by the Senate,) the House and the Senate paid their personal respect to and welcomed Gen. Palmer as Commander of the Department of Kentucky; and afterward the House unanimously, adopted a resolution of Mr. Hanson. (Conservative) that we assure Gen. Palmer of our hearty cooperation "in his patriotic efforts for the protection and peace of our people in the enjoyment of our rights under the Constitution and the laws." Gen. PALMER, in his speech to the Legislature, said he came feeling sensibly the difficulties and delicacy of his position, but felt confident that the State and Federal authorities will set in perfect harmony and concert. Gov. BRAMLETTE avows, "I will give all my personal influence and official power to aid Gen. PALMER in accomplishing his mission amongst us, and in executing the instructions of our President."+ 

The New York Times, March 1, 1865, p 1

"FROM KENTUCKY."+ 
Gen. Palmer Down on Guerrillas and Slave-Pens, and any Abasing of Negroes- 
The Inducements for Slaves to Enlist--Patriotic and Charitable 
Colored Societies--Legislative.+ 
Louisville, Monday, March 6, 1865.+ 
Gen Palmer orders an energetic pursuit and destruction of all guerrillas and robbers, all possible prevention of pillage and disorder among the troops, and the sending to headquarters, with charges and witnesses' names, of all persons not prisoners of war.+

By his order, all slave-pens and other private establishments for confining colored persons here are suppressed, and the confined discharged, with an invitation to the able-bodied to enlist and get the three hundred dollars city bounty to themselves. The city bounty, so far withheld from colored recruits, is to be paid to them, as it should be, and those slave-owners who pocketed it made to refund. In the above pens were negroes held for forced enlistment for the master's benefit, and for sale to bounty and substitute brokers; also, some who asked their indignant masters for wages, and some "saucy" wives of negro soldiers.+ 

It is computed that the United States law, declaring the families of colored soldier free, gives freedom to two-thirds of Kentucky's negroes--to 167,000--leaving 48,000 not freed; of the latter, but 22,000 between the ages of 10 and 50. Officers are recording the names of our colored soldiers, put at 27,000, and their families. They and others tell every ablebodied colored male to enlist, and every single female slave to marry a colored soldier.+
Our colored folks have colored soldiers' aid societies, and societies styled Sons and Daughters of the Morning. Daughters of Zion, &c., for relieving disabled colored soldiers, and all other helpless colored sick and afflicted within their reach. They are zealously and efficiently engaged in this good work.+

Though the House passed it 49 to 21, the Senate tabled it. Senator Whitney's bill to organize the discipline the State militia, is a law. Bills extending the statute of limitations for United States soldiers' benefit, and providing that where wrongs have been committed by the military since the Fall of 1863, the time from that on to the end of the rebellion, be deducted in applying said statute, are laws.+

The Legislature adjourns from to day till May 16.

PONTIAC.

KY CENSUS STATISTICS 1790-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>free colored</th>
<th>slaves</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>61,133</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>11,830</td>
<td>73,077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>179,871</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>40,343</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>324,237</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>80,561</td>
<td>406,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>434,644</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>126,732</td>
<td>564,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>517,787</td>
<td>4,917</td>
<td>165,213</td>
<td>687,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>590,253</td>
<td>7,317</td>
<td>182,258</td>
<td>779,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>761,413</td>
<td>10,011</td>
<td>210,981</td>
<td>982,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>919,517</td>
<td>10,684</td>
<td>225,483</td>
<td>1,155,684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free Col.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FACTS ON KY BLACK SCHOOLS 1875

us, dept of ed, report of commissioner of ed, 1875

p 139/ Public schools for blacks have been in operation for 1 yr. Some whites have aided, blacks have aided. About 600 schools taught, with about 18,000 children attending. The Ky Supt suggests Congress pass the "educational bill".

taken from ky supt report, pp 105-107

GENERAL INFO. BLACK SCHOOLS, 1874

us, report of commissioner of ed for 1876, 1878

p 136/ The Ky sch fund furnishes .55 for each pupil. The fund comes from taxes levied on black people. "It is also to include all moneys hereafter donated by Congress from the sales of public lands, the pro rata share to each pupil not to exceed that to the whites. In other words, all the taxes paid by colored citizens are allowed them for the education of their children. They enjoy the benefits of the State government, but are not required to contribute to its support." Supt of Ed for Ky estimates 50,000 black voters illiterate; 40,000 white.

source, Henderson supt report 1876-76, pp 18, 21, 70
BLACKS IN SCHOOL 1875-77

us, report of commissioner of ed for 1877, 1879

p 74/

School age blacks age 6-16
1875-76 1876-77
50,602 53,126 increase of 2,524

colored enrollment
- 19,107

average attendance of black youths
- 13,393

BLACK SCHOOLS FOR KY 1877

us, report of commissioner of ed for 1877, 1879

p 74/ 532 schools for blacks in 1877. Black school districts reported in all but 8 counties. There are 620 sch dists with schools in all but 88.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Average COL Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879-1880</td>
<td>35,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1881</td>
<td>31,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1882</td>
<td>30,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-1883</td>
<td>28,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-1884</td>
<td>26,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-1885</td>
<td>24,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-1886</td>
<td>22,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-1887</td>
<td>20,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-1888</td>
<td>19,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>17,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-1890</td>
<td>16,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1891</td>
<td>15,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1892</td>
<td>13,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-1893</td>
<td>12,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>10,860</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Average Black Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891-1892</td>
<td>35,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-1893</td>
<td>33,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>31,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-1895</td>
<td>29,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1896</td>
<td>27,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-1897</td>
<td>25,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-1898</td>
<td>23,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>21,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>19,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1901</td>
<td>17,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1902</td>
<td>15,508</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902-1903</td>
<td>13,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-1904</td>
<td>11,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904-1905</td>
<td>9,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1906</td>
<td>7,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-1907</td>
<td>5,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907-1908</td>
<td>3,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-1909</td>
<td>1,508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The numbers in the table represent the total number of students enrolled in school for the respective years.
BLACK SCHOOL DISTRICT STATISTICS 1881-
u.s., report of comm of ed for 1881, 1883

p 81/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>col. sch dists</th>
<th>had schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879-1880</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1881</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sch houses for colored youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879-1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

us, report of comm of ed for 1883-84, 1885

p 97/

| 1881-1882 | 482 | 1881-1882 | 31.82/26.84 |
| 1882-1883 | 536 | 1882-1883 | 31.75/25.02 |

us, rept of comm of ed for 1886-87, 1888

p 875/

1882 BLACK SCHOOL AGE ALTERED TO SAME AS WHITES (6-20)

us report of comm of ed for 1882-83, 1884

p 84/ Says a Ky law on school age, passed in 1882, made the school age for blacks 6 to 20, the same as whites.
us, dept of interior, bureau of ed, report of comm of ed for 1886-87, 1888

p 139/ Act passed by Legis Feb 26, 1886.

"Night schools."

"Whereas, the management of the night schools in the city of Louisville by the board of trustees of the public schools of said city has developed the fact that a large number of the applicants for admission are by laboring people of both sexes who are unable to read and write, have to be excluded under the present law because over the school age; and whereas such people, ignorant from misfortune, poverty, or lack of opportunity, are children in knowledge, and manifest a laudable ambition in seeking knowledge to overcome their ignorance and become better citizens by studying and attending school at night after their toil of the day; and whereas it is manifestly to the interest of the public at large that every person know how to read and write, without which knowledge they can not properly or fully discharge the duties of citizenship under a free and enlightened government: Therefore * * * the board of trustees of the public schools of any city in this Commonwealth, having a population of 20,000 or over, are hereby authorized and empowered to admit as pupils in the night schools under their direction ... under the age of 40 years, ..."

BLACK-WHITE COMPARISON IN SCH ENROLLMENT 1885-86-1889

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1885-86</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ratio of enrollment to sch population</td>
<td>40.87</td>
<td>63.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>col</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>col</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.76</td>
<td>62.59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Us, dept interior, bureau of ed, rept of comm of ed for 1888-89, II, 1891

p 1412/ 1889

|                |
|----------------|---------|
| col | white |
| 93 | 94 |

average no. days sch kept

p 1413/ 1889

1890-1891

100 100 (both est by supt)

us, dept interior, bureau of ed, report of comm of ed for 1890-1891, II, 1894

p 961/

1890-1891

56.85 57.65

us, rept of comm of ed for 1891-92, II, 1894 /p 863/

1891-1892
NUMBER PUPILS ENROLLED AGE 6 TO 14 — 1889
us report of comm of ed for 1888-89, II, 1891

p 1412/
No of pupils enrolled
per 100 pupils, age
6 to 14
1889
black white
61 81

MONEY SPENT OF ED IN KY WHITE & BLACK 1885-1890
us, rept of comm of ed for 1888-89, II, 1891

p 1431/
1885—97,839 black children sch age, $151,650.45 or $1.55 each black & white
1886—99,654 " " $164,429.10 or $1.65 each race
1888—107,144 " " $203,573.60 or $1.90 " "
1889—109,518 " " $223,773.90 or $2.05 " "
1890—111,355 " " $239,413.25 or $2.15 " "
"Colored school trustees for each colored school district shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner that white trustees are elected: Provided, however, That no tax shall be levied upon the property or poll, or any services required of any white person for the benefit of a school for colored children, and no tax shall be levied upon the property or poll, or any services required of any colored person for the benefit of a school for white children. And no colored person shall be allowed to vote for a trustee to a white school; and no white person shall be allowed to vote for a trustee of a colored school. It shall not be lawful, under any of the provisions of this act, for any white child to attend any common school provided for colored children, or for any colored child to attend any common school provided for white children." Sch Law, 1886, p 49, sec 3

POPCULATION STATISTICS FOR KY, 1791 CENSUS (PART OF VA)

us, first census of the us, 1791, 1791

p 51/ 15,154 Free white males of 16 years and upwards, including heads of families.
17,057 Free white males under 16 years.
28,922 Free white females, including heads of families.
114 All other free persons.
12,430 Slaves.
73,677 Total.

Samuel McDowell, Jr.
Marshal for Ky Dist.
### US, Second Census of the US, 1800, 1801

**Total Population**

- **Total Population**: 220,959
- **Slaves**: 40,143
- **Free Blacks**: 741
- **White**: 179,876

**About 5.3 Whites per 1 Slave**

\[
\frac{41,084}{220,959} = 0.1859\% \quad \text{Total Pop. (613)}
\]

**4.35 Whites for each Black**

\[
\frac{41,084}{179,876} = 0.2288\%
\]

---

### Free Black--Slave--White Population Statistics by Counties 1800

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Slaves per Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fayette county</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>220,959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessamine co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21,553</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodford co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11,787</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12,394</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16,196</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracken co</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,582</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19,593</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pendleton co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,835</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerk co.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1,535</td>
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</table>

**Total Slaves**: 41,084

**Total Whites**: 179,876

**Total Population**: 220,959
**FREE-BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1800**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery co.</td>
<td>11 749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleming co.</td>
<td>1 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd co.</td>
<td>9 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin co.</td>
<td>5 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin co.</td>
<td>17 1109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone co.</td>
<td>15 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell co.</td>
<td>2 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry co.</td>
<td>4 406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas co.</td>
<td>6 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourbon co.</td>
<td>4 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercer co.</td>
<td>58 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garrard co.</td>
<td>5 1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson co.</td>
<td>3 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullit co.</td>
<td>9 944</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| County       | Free Slave | White |
|--------------|------------|
| Montgomery   | 18 6\(\%\)  |
| Fleming      | 14          |
| Floyd        | 240         |
| Franklin     | 260         |
| Gallatin     | 1109        |
| Boone        | 325         |
| Campbell     | 21          |
| Henry        | 406         |
| Nicholas     | 322         |
| Bourbon      | 134         |
| Mercer       | 1994        |
| Garrard      | 1534        |
| Nelson       | 167         |
| Bullit       | 944         |

**FREE-BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1800**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Shelby co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jefferson co.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln co.</td>
<td>22 2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardin co.</td>
<td>23 1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breckinridge co.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio co.</td>
<td>1 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulasky co.</td>
<td>3 122</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knox co.</td>
<td>1 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson co.</td>
<td>2 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingston co.</td>
<td>4 444</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| County       | Free Slave | White |
|--------------|------------|
| Green        | 20         |
| Cumberland   | 312        |
| Shelby       | 282        |
| Jefferson    | 2330       |
| Lincoln      | 2300       |
| Hardin       | 310        |
| Breckinridge | 38         |
| Ohio         | 28         |
| Pulasky      | 298        |
| Knox         | 62         |
| Henderson    | 50         |
| Livingston   | 444        |

| County       | Free Slave | White |
|--------------|------------|
| Green        | 20         |
| Cumberland   | 312        |
| Shelby       | 282        |
| Jefferson    | 2330       |
| Lincoln      | 2300       |
| Hardin       | 310        |
| Breckinridge | 38         |
| Ohio         | 28         |
| Pulasky      | 298        |
| Knox         | 62         |
| Henderson    | 50         |
| Livingston   | 444        |
### Free Black--Slave--White Pop Statistics by Counties 1800

#### Description of Persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>175</td>
<td>2348</td>
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<tr>
<td>Logan co.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3493</td>
<td>4269</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warren co.</td>
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<td>43144</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>832</td>
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<td>1462</td>
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<td>Washington co.</td>
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<td>9355</td>
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#### Aggregate Amount of each

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<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian co.</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan co.</td>
<td>12,8</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren co.</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boling Green,</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren county,</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhlenburg co.</td>
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<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhlenburg co.</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barren co.</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington co.</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison co.</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>34,346</td>
<td>199,876</td>
<td>220,955</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Free Blacks--Slave--White Pop Statistics by Counties 1810 (54 Ctt.)

#### Description of Persons

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adair County,</td>
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<td>6,011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbia,</td>
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<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrin County,</td>
<td>1,656</td>
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<td>11,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow,</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>173</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boone County,</td>
<td>656</td>
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<td>3,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracken County,</td>
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<td>3,451</td>
<td>3,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta,</td>
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<td>255</td>
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<tr>
<td>Breckenridge County,</td>
<td>505</td>
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<td>3,430</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bourbon County,</td>
<td>2,307</td>
<td>11,869</td>
<td>18,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris,</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>1,152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Millersburgh,</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North part of ditto,</td>
<td>1,494</td>
<td>5,064</td>
<td>5,569</td>
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<tr>
<td>Butler County,</td>
<td>274</td>
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<td>2,181</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bullet County,</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester,</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>292</td>
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**Second Census of the U.S., 1800**

- Christian co.
- Logan co.
- Warren co.
- Boling Green
- Warren county
- Muhlenburg co.
- Muhlenburg co.
- Barren co.
- Washington co.
- Madison co.

**Third Census of the U.S., 1810**

- Adair County
- Columbia
- Barrin County
- Glasgow
- Boone County
- Bracken County
- Augusta
- Breckenridge County
- Bourbon County
- Paris
- Millersburgh
- North part of ditto
- Butler County
- Bullet County
- Clarke County
- Winchester
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Sub Totals</th>
<th>Total Whites</th>
<th>Total C. Whites</th>
<th>Total C. Blacks</th>
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<tr>
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### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1810 (54 Co.) 6094-C

**us, third census of the us, 1810**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>B+W Sub Totals</th>
<th>B+W Totals</th>
<th>Sub Total Whites</th>
<th>Total Co Whites</th>
<th>Total Co Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henderson County,</td>
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<td>46</td>
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<td>92</td>
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<td>96</td>
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<td>5,251</td>
<td>4,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>495</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>1,371</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1810 (54 Co.) 6094-D

**us, third census of the us, 1810**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>B+W Sub Totals</th>
<th>B+W Totals</th>
<th>Sub Total Whites</th>
<th>Total Co Whites</th>
<th>Total Co Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>8,676</td>
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<td>6,307</td>
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<td>9,039</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8,923</td>
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### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1810

#### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1810

#### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1810

#### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1810

#### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1810

**Scott County, Georgetown,**
- **Free Black:** 81
- **Slave:** 3,585
- **Total:** 11,890

**Shelby County, Shelbyville,**
- **Free Black:** 36
- **Slave:** 2,996
- **Total:** 14,453

**Wayne County, Monticello,**
- **Free Black:** 6
- **Slave:** 118
- **Total:** 424

**Washington County, Springfield,**
- **Free Black:** 22
- **Slave:** 2,185
- **Total:** 12,999

**Warren County, Bolin Green,**
- **Free Black:** 17
- **Slave:** 1,447
- **Total:** 11,783

**Woodford County, Versailles,**
- **Free Black:** 81
- **Slave:** 3,179
- **Total:** 9,171

**Total:**
- **Free Black:** 1,713
- **Slave:** 80,561
- **Total:** 406,511
### White-Black Total Pop Statistics in KY 1810

**Us, Third Census of the Us, 1810, 1811**

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<th>Total White Pop</th>
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80,561 slave
1,713 free

---

### White-Black Total Pop Statistics in KY 1820

**Us, Fourth Census of the Us, 1820, 1821**

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63,914 male slaves
62,818 female slaves
1,493 black free males
2,266 black free females
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<th>Total Whites</th>
<th>Total Black %</th>
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FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1820

us, fourth census of the us, 1820

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<th>Total Co Blacks</th>
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Totals

2940  12946  132354  431964  566818  23.4%

70 of Total  67.1  22.9  23.5  76.5  108.7

SLAVES BY COUNTIES, AGE, 1820 MALE + FEMALE

us, fourth census of the us, 1820, 1821

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P.33
us, fourth census of the US, 1820, 1821

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TOTALS

|            | 31,499     | 17,112    | 19,944      | 4,359      | 29,231    | 17,407    | 11,801     | 4,379     |

FREE MALE & FEMALE PERSONS OF COLOR BY COUNTIES, AGE 1820
us, fourth census of the US, 1820, 1821

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<th>FEMALE 26+</th>
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TOTALS

|            | 2,175      | 1,521     | 1,654        | 1,161      | 1,545     | 1,161     | 1,161      | 1,161      |

1820

Total Pop 5,927,371
Slaves 126,732
Free 2,759
### FREE MALE & FEMALE PERSONS OF COLORE BY COUNTIES, AGE, 1820

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<th>Female</th>
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Total: 585

### BLACK--WHITE POP STATISTICS IN KY 1830: AGE, SEX (Deaf, Mute)

### FREE WHITE PERSONS

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<td>29,017</td>
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Total: 250,664

White persons included in the foregoing who are deaf and dumb, under fourteen years of age, 100
Do deaf and dumb, of fourteen and under twenty-five, 115
Do deaf and dumb, of twenty-five and upwards, 100
Do blind, 100
Do deaf and dumb, 123
Do, Aliens, Foreigners not naturalized, 173

Total deaf, 518
us, fifth census of the us, 1830, 1832

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<th>MALES under ten years,</th>
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<td>of thirty-six and under fifty-five,</td>
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<tr>
<td>of thirty-six and under fifty-five</td>
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<td>of fifty-five and under one hundred,</td>
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<td>of fifty-five and under one hundred,</td>
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<td>of one hundred and upwards,</td>
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<tr>
<td>of one hundred and upwards,</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Total aggregate,</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of slaves,</td>
<td>82,509</td>
<td>Total number of free colored persons,</td>
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FREE COLORED PERSONS.

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<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of thirty-six and under fifty-five,</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of fifty-five and under one hundred,</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of one hundred and upwards,</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.FEMALES under ten years of age,</th>
<th>633</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of ten and under twenty-four,</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of twenty-four and under thirty-six,</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of thirty-six and under fifty-five,</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of fifty-five and under one hundred,</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of one hundred and upwards,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total number of free colored persons, | 2,917 |
| Total aggregate, | 687,917 |

Slaves and colored persons included in the foregoing who are deaf and dumb, under fourteen years of age, | 10 |
Do do do do do of fourteen and under twenty-five, | 55 |
Do do do of twenty-five and upwards, | 5 |
Do do blind, | 83 |

46 = 0.27% of total black pop | 83 = 0.48% of total black pop

**STATISTICS, DEAF, MUTE, BLIND 1830**

us, fifth census of us, 1830, 1832

pp 116-117/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>2,542</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Total 2,542**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>503</th>
<th>= 88.59% White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FC+Slav</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>= 13.45% FC+Slav</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total 594**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>472</th>
<th>= 79.46%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FC+Slav</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>= 21.71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d+d = total black
black blind total

96 = .027% of total black pop
93 = .048% of total black pop

119 = .075% of total pop deaf, mute & blind
### Statistics on Blind 1830-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Blind</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>FC+Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Blind</th>
<th>Free Col</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Average 1830-1860**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Blind</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>FC+Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Statistics on Deaf Mutes 1830-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total d+d</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>FC+Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total d+d</th>
<th>Free Col</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1830-60 average**

13.0%
### Statistics on Insane 1840-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Insane or Idiots</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>FC + Slaves</th>
<th>Free Colored</th>
<th>Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81.53%</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95.25%</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.74%</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94.38%</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.61%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Statistics on Idiots 1840-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Idiots</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>FC + Slaves</th>
<th>Free Colored</th>
<th>Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81.53%</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>8776</td>
<td>12.25%</td>
<td>2.22%</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>15.68%</td>
<td>1.03%</td>
<td>1.03%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FC + Slaves in Private</th>
<th>Slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Total Deaf, Dumb, Blind (only categories)</td>
<td>Total Deaf, Dumb, Blind, Insane, Idiots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>1,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White 472 = 78.53%</td>
<td>White 1,431 = 78.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FC + Slave 129 = 21.46%</td>
<td>FC + Slave 58 = 21.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Deaf, Dumb, Blind, Insane, Idiots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>2,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White 2,224 = 87.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free Chinese 325 = 12.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Deaf, Dumb, Blind, Insane, Idiots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White 2,570 = 85.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free Chinese 437 = 14.53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Deaf, Dumb, Blind, Insane, Idiots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>3,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White 2,310 = 61.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free Chinese 576 = 15.24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combined Statistics on Insane & Idiots 1840-1860:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Insane &amp; Idiots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White 795 = 81.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FC + Slave 180 = 18.46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Insane &amp; Idiots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White 1,298 = 90.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FC + Slave 136 = 9.48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Insane &amp; Idiots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White 1,480 = 88.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FC + Slave 201 = 11.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Everywhere Together.
### Statistics on Slaves 1830

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total Slaves</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>% of Slaves</th>
<th>% of Free</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>65,244</td>
<td>8.36%</td>
<td>35.79%</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>32,531</td>
<td>32,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-29</td>
<td>62,445</td>
<td>8.00%</td>
<td>34.26%</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>30,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-36</td>
<td>30,153</td>
<td>3.86%</td>
<td>16.54%</td>
<td>15,058</td>
<td>15,058</td>
<td>15,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-54</td>
<td>18,702</td>
<td>2.39%</td>
<td>10.26%</td>
<td>9,054</td>
<td>9,054</td>
<td>9,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-100</td>
<td>5,655</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>2,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100+</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0.007%</td>
<td>0.034%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Slaves: 610,055
Total Free: 163,865
Total Pop: 687,917

\[ \text{% of Slaves} = \frac{\text{Total Slaves}}{\text{Total Pop}} \]

\[ \text{55 to 100} = 3.134\% \text{ of Slaves Pop} \]

### Statistics on Slaves 1840

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total Slaves</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>% of Slaves</th>
<th>% of Free</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>65,244</td>
<td>8.36%</td>
<td>35.79%</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>32,531</td>
<td>32,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-29</td>
<td>62,445</td>
<td>8.00%</td>
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<td>31,624</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>30,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>30,153</td>
<td>3.86%</td>
<td>16.54%</td>
<td>15,058</td>
<td>15,058</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-55</td>
<td>18,702</td>
<td>2.39%</td>
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<td>9,054</td>
<td>9,054</td>
<td>9,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-100</td>
<td>5,655</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>2,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100+</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0.007%</td>
<td>0.034%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Slaves: 182,258
Total Free: 779,828
Total Pop: 9,317

\[ \text{% of Slaves} = \frac{\text{Total Slaves}}{\text{Total Pop}} \]

\[ \text{55 to 100} = 3.134\% \text{ of Slaves Pop} \]
### Statistics on Slaves 1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total Slaves</th>
<th>% Total Pop</th>
<th>% of Slaves</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>70,120</td>
<td>7.13 %</td>
<td>33.23 %</td>
<td>34,736</td>
<td>35,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>100,925</td>
<td>10.27 %</td>
<td>47.83 %</td>
<td>50,338</td>
<td>50,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>55,870</td>
<td>5.68 %</td>
<td>26.48 %</td>
<td>27,972</td>
<td>27,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>61,723</td>
<td>6.28 %</td>
<td>29.25 %</td>
<td>31,401</td>
<td>30,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>34,422</td>
<td>3.50 %</td>
<td>16.31 %</td>
<td>16,845</td>
<td>17,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>13,895</td>
<td>1.40 %</td>
<td>6.58 %</td>
<td>6,443</td>
<td>7,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-99</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>.008 %</td>
<td>.038 %</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

982,405 total pop
210,981 slave pop
10,011 free pop

### Statistics on Slaves 1850

See Xerographed 1850 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total Slaves</th>
<th>% Total Pop</th>
<th>% of Slaves</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>70,120</td>
<td>7.13 %</td>
<td>33.23 %</td>
<td>34,736</td>
<td>35,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>100,925</td>
<td>10.27 %</td>
<td>47.83 %</td>
<td>50,338</td>
<td>50,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>55,870</td>
<td>5.68 %</td>
<td>26.48 %</td>
<td>27,972</td>
<td>27,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>61,723</td>
<td>6.28 %</td>
<td>29.25 %</td>
<td>31,401</td>
<td>30,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>34,422</td>
<td>3.50 %</td>
<td>16.31 %</td>
<td>16,845</td>
<td>17,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>13,895</td>
<td>1.40 %</td>
<td>6.58 %</td>
<td>6,443</td>
<td>7,370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

982,405 total pop
210,981 slave pop
10,011 free pop

761,413 white pop
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Free Black</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
<th>Total White</th>
<th>% Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>1,057</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>1,759</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>1,441</td>
<td>2,720</td>
<td>4,162</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barren</td>
<td>1,183</td>
<td>2,143</td>
<td>3,333</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>1,231</td>
<td>2,750</td>
<td>3,981</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>1,081</td>
<td>2,029</td>
<td>3,110</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourbon</td>
<td>2,508</td>
<td>2,795</td>
<td>5,303</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracken</td>
<td>1,460</td>
<td>2,743</td>
<td>4,203</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breckinridge</td>
<td>1,567</td>
<td>2,729</td>
<td>4,296</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullitt</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>2,729</td>
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**Total:** 17,190 white males, 32,923 white females, 11,830 black males, 11,830 black females, 3,071 total slaves.
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FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1830 (83 Censuses) 6102-A

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FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1830 (83 Censuses) 6102-A
### Free Black—Slave—White Pop Statistics by Counties 1830 (83 Co.)

#### Us, Fifth Census of the Us 1830, 1832

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</table>

**Note:** The table above presents the population statistics for free blacks, slaves, and whites by county in the United States for the years 1830 and 1832. The data includes the total population for each county, with breakdowns for free blacks, slaves, and whites.
### Free Black--Slave--White Pop Statistics by Counties 1830 (83 Cens)

#### U.S. Fifth Census of the U.S. 1830, 1832

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### Free Black--Slave--White Pop Statistics by Counties 1830 (83 Cens)

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### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1830

#### us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832

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### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1830

#### us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832

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# Free Black--Slave--White Pop Statistics by Counties 1830 (1832)

**US, Fifth Census of the US 1830, 1832**

## Slave -- Free -- Total County

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<th>Total Co Whites</th>
<th>Total Pop</th>
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# Free Black--Slave--White Pop Statistics by Counties 1830 (1832)

**US, Fifth Census of the US 1830, 1832**

## Slave -- Free -- Total County

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<th>Total Co Whites</th>
<th>Total Pop</th>
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### Slaves By Age, Sex, County 1830 (25 Censuses)

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<th>Males 55</th>
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<td>13%</td>
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<td>147%</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>130</td>
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<td>666</td>
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<td>73</td>
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<td>885</td>
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#### Notes

- The data represents the number of slaves by age and sex in the various counties of the United States during the 1830 census.
- The percentages indicate the proportion of male and female slaves out of the total population in each county.
- The data is sorted by county, with columns for males and females under 10, 24, 55, and 100 years old, as well as the total population.

---

**County Totals**

- Adair County: 311 males, 280 females, 129 males under 10, 136 males under 24, 70 males under 55, 286 males under 100, 642 males under 100%.
- Allen County: 198 males, 137 females, 50 males under 10, 137 males under 24, 50 males under 55, 229 males under 100, 386 males under 100%.
- Anderson County: 207 males, 150 females, 54 males under 10, 150 males under 24, 54 males under 55, 286 males under 100, 356 males under 100%.
- Barren County: 678 males, 600 females, 270 males under 10, 600 males under 24, 270 males under 55, 642 males under 100, 715 males under 100%.
- Bath County: 276 males, 244 females, 142 males under 10, 244 males under 24, 142 males under 55, 286 males under 100, 302 males under 100%.
- Boone County: 292 males, 262 females, 148 males under 10, 262 males under 24, 148 males under 55, 304 males under 100, 322 males under 100%.
- Bourbon County: 1,232 males, 1,115 females, 554 males under 10, 1,115 males under 24, 554 males under 55, 1,232 males under 100, 2,568 males under 100%.
- Bracken County: 171 males, 167 females, 63 males under 10, 167 males under 24, 63 males under 55, 171 males under 100, 342 males under 100%.

---

**City Totals**

- Adair City: 277 males, 228 females, 117 males under 10, 228 males under 24, 94 males under 55, 286 males under 100, 311 males under 100%.
- Allen City: 181 males, 129 females, 69 males under 10, 129 males under 24, 36 males under 55, 168 males under 100, 185 males under 100%.
- Anderson City: 207 males, 150 females, 54 males under 10, 150 males under 24, 44 males under 55, 210 males under 100, 207 males under 100%.
- Barren City: 678 males, 600 females, 270 males under 10, 600 males under 24, 67 males under 55, 700 males under 100, 715 males under 100%.
- Bath City: 276 males, 244 females, 142 males under 10, 244 females under 24, 35 males under 55, 280 females under 100, 302 females under 100%.
- Boone City: 292 males, 262 females, 148 males under 10, 262 females under 24, 44 males under 55, 306 females under 100, 322 females under 100%.
- Bourbon City: 1,232 males, 1,115 females, 554 males under 10, 1,115 females under 24, 100 males under 55, 1,232 females under 100, 2,464 females under 100%.
- Bracken City: 171 males, 167 females, 63 males under 10, 167 females under 24, 63 females under 55, 171 females under 100, 342 females under 100%.

---

**Total Slave Population**

- Total males: 2,568
- Total females: 2,568
- Total under 10: 1,115
- Total under 24: 1,115
- Total under 55: 554
- Total under 100: 678
- Total under 100%: 2,568

---

**References**

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**SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1830 (83 LEW)**

us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832

| M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 677 | 508 | 39 | 37 | 45 | 47 | 3 | 3 | 50 | 44 | 25 | 19 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 610 | 512 | 368 | 417 | 389 | 186 | 133 | 169 | 169 | 50 | 1 |
| 715 | 645 | 374 | 159 | 45 | 50 | 18 | 22 | 710 | 536 | 297 | 188 | 65 | 41 | 16 | 20 | 605 | 395 | 298 | 390 | 298 | 186 | 133 | 169 | 169 | 50 | 1 |
| 45 | 47 | 53 | 52 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 42 | 36 | 16 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 210 | 140 | 80 | 121 | 78 | 44 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 50 | 1 |
| 605 | 512 | 395 | 297 | 188 | 65 | 41 | 16 | 20 | 605 | 395 | 298 | 186 | 133 | 169 | 169 | 50 | 1 |
| 683 | 507 | 286 | 140 | 47 | 17 | 50 | 41 | 498 | 260 | 135 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 |
| 535 | 437 | 242 | 121 | 36 | 15 | 8 | 4 | 44 | 22 | 16 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 210 | 140 | 80 | 121 | 78 | 44 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 50 | 1 |
| 605 | 395 | 298 | 186 | 133 | 169 | 169 | 50 | 1 |
| 115 | 146 | 146 | 82 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 118 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 |
| 64 | 47 | 29 | 13 | 4 | 1 | 81 | 77 | 20 | 13 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 210 | 140 | 80 | 121 | 78 | 44 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 50 | 1 |
| 348 | 374 | 134 | 67 | 17 | 50 | 498 | 260 | 135 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 |
| 32 | 27 | 13 | 7 | 2 | 37 | 40 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 210 | 140 | 80 | 121 | 78 | 44 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 50 | 1 |
| 380 | 401 | 147 | 74 | 19 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 | 183 | 121 | 65 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 28 |
| 17 | 17 | 12 | 9 | 1 | 22 | 35 | 13 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 210 | 140 | 80 | 121 | 78 | 44 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 50 | 1 |
## SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1830 (83 248)

### us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832

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### SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1830 (83 248)

### us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832

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### US, FIFTH CENSUS OF THE US 1830, 1832

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<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<td>7,454</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>7,916</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9,982</td>
<td>8,184</td>
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### Slaves by Age, Sex, County 1830

#### Table of Slaves by Age, Sex, and County in 1830

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</table>

Note: The table above provides a summary of the number of slaves by gender and county in 1830, which is a part of the fifth census of the US in 1830.
**SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1830 (§ 3 Cass. 1832)**

us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832

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us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832

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FREE BLACKS BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1830

us, fifth census of the us 1830, 1832
### FREE BLACKS BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1830

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**FREE BLACKS BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1830**

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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling Green</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of Warren county,</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of Kentucky,</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Colored People and Their Schools.

The dedication yesterday of a costly and well-appointed building designed to carry out the purpose of our city authorities to extend the benefits of free education to the colored people of this city was an event of no little significance. It places Louisville in the strong light of the highest progress of the day, and is an earnest of her consistent intention to make all her people, of whatever race or color, good citizens and capable and qualified voters. It is a recognition of the safety embodied in a thorough and proper popular education, which shall in the future contribute to her best and most material prosperity. Our colored population is growing with the growth of the city, the last directory giving the number of that people as 19,276. These figures are probably much below the actual fact, and the tendency of the race to seek the cities will undoubtedly greatly increase the present population in the next few years, aside from any natural causes. They are beginning to hold large amounts of real estate. Certain districts of the city are, indeed, inhabited by colored men who own the ground upon which they live. They mean to remain here, and before the city gave them ward schools they instituted church schools of their own and through many obstacles fought their way to knowledge, recognizing, from their own observation, that it is power. Gradually the privileges of our public school system have been accorded them. The Board of School Trustees have withheld nothing in the scope of their power and means, and the comely building, which was dedicated with such interesting exercises yesterday is a monument to the liberal policy pursued by our municipal authorities. The promise was made to our colored people yesterday that such educational

facilities would be increased, and the evident gratification which followed the announcement is proof of the deep interest taken in such measures. It is left for these people to avail themselves of such facilities. The enlightened among them have clamored for the opportunity which equal educational privileges afford, and have promised noble things in mental and social progress. The opportunities are presented them: the way is open, and the game is in the hands of the colored people themselves. Louisville can do no better work than this, not only in the general cause of advancement, but for her own material interests."
Judge Thompson Says Such an Establishment is Absolutely Necessary.

The Countless Temptations Thrown in the Way of Young Negro Girls.

On last Wednesday Sallie Scott and Jane Patterson, two notorious colored women, were fined $20 and required to give bond in the sum of $1,000 each for six and twelve months, respectively, in the City Court, for receiving young colored girls in their houses for purposes of prostitution. Judge Thompson said it was clearly the duty of the court, and of all good citizens, to give the utmost aid in their power to the parents who desired to raise their children respectably, and he made an example of these people in order to call the attention of the public to the danger which menaced the well being of this community from this source.

Jane Patterson is the same woman who was some time ago arrested for cruelly beating a colored girl for the purpose of forcing her to submit to outrageous requirements, and, though sentenced in the City Court, succeeded, on appeal to the Circuit Court, in getting off on a compromise. This case is probably fresh in the minds of the readers of the Courier-Journal. At the time of its occurrence it excited a great deal of indignant comment, as well as bringing to the minds of thinking people Judge Thompson's repeated advocacy of the establishment of a House of Refuge for colored girls.

There is much to be said on this subject, and any one who will take occasion to be on the streets in the vicinity of Fourth and Green, and, indeed, from Fort Street west to Ninth or Tenth, can easily be convinced of the depravity of a large number of colored girls, of all ages, who, when released from their places of employment for the night, parade up and down the streets. Among these girls can be found those whose tender years would seem to be a protection, but they show plainly that they are guilty of shameless depravity.

A House of Refuge for colored girls has been urged by Judge Thompson for years, and he holds it an absolute necessity to enable parents to control their children, by giving them the moral force of the law to enforce their authority, and by providing a place for those who are not amenable to such authority. In advocating the establishment of such a reformatory Judge Thompson last evening said to a Courier-Journal reporter:

"The almost universal disregard of marital ties among the negroes and the consequent destruction of the family among them, is rapidly forming a criminal class which is every year becoming more dangerous to the welfare and peace of the community. Children are raised without family ties, without parental control, and consequently without any moral training whatever. I say without any moral training, for no amount of mere intellectual culture can supply the place of parental discipline and the moral influence of a virtuous home. There are many colored people who would gladly bring their children up to virtuous and useful lives if it were in their power to do so; but they can not. The greater part of the younger generation are born out of wedlock, and the evil example set by the parents results most disastrously to the children, and the females, under the circumstances which surround them, scarcely have an idea of chastity, and everything seems to conspire for their ruin. They are regarded and treated as the natural
prey of the lecherous, white and black. The result is that almost every one of those who are driven by necessity to occupy the menial places in our households, for which alone they are fitted, live in immoral relations with men, and a large proportion of the mysterious burglaries and housebreakings and robberies are the direct result of these illicit connections—the family servants giving information and admittance to the criminals. "The homes of the young negro girls are schools of vice. The keepers of the evil negro dens regard them as legitimate grey, and don't hesitate to receive children of tender years into their disreputable places and even to entice them there, for purposes of prostitution; and there seems to be no remedy for this horrible state of affairs. This statement, which must be corroborated by every observing and thoughtful man in the community, white or black, ought certainly to awaken the apprehensions of our people, if it does not impel them from a sense of duty to take severe measures for the protection and proper moral nurture of the young among the colored people." "

"Then the board got into a fight over the election of a principal to the California colored school. Dr. Smith, the Chairman of the Committee on Colored Schools, nominated Miss Lucy N. Duvall for the post. Mr. Funk nominated W. L. Gibson, the late principal, who was not renominated by the committee. Dr. Smith explained the notion of the committee by stating that Gibson has been charged with unbecoming conduct toward the colored female teachers, and had not disproved the charges. Dr. Bloom backed Dr. Smith up, and Mr. Funk spoke giving Gibson a charge to appear before the committee and refute the charges. The board stood by the colored schools' committee, and Miss Duvall was declared elected. In order to hang up the election, a motion to reconsider the vote was made by Mr. Peter, and was opposed vigorously by Dr. Bloom and Dr. Smith. Dr. Gilbert and Mr. Peter joined in the discussion, and held that the charges were not serious enough to warrant the dismissal of the teacher. The vote was reconsidered by a vote of 17 to 5. Thereupon Dr. Bloom offered his resignation as a member of the Committee of Colored Schools. Dr. Gilbert held that Dr. Bloom was too good a member to be lost, and the Board refused to accept his resignation. The action of the trustees in reconsidering the vote got the Board into a tangle. Some members wanted Gibson re-elected, so charges could be preferred against him. The committee thought this an effort to put Gibson in as a fixture, and the members vigorously opposed it. Dr. Smith promised his connection with the committee as Chairman would cease upon Gibson's election. Mr. Stites said the proper thing to do would be to refer the whole matter to a proper committee. A motion to refer the matter to the joint committees on Colored Schools and Grievances was voted down, and the Board referred the whole business to the Committee on Grievances, as well as any other charges that might be preferred against
"DELEGATE DOUGLAS
And Other Prominent Colored Men Give Their Views
On the Probable Action of the National
Convention, Which Meets Today.

"THE LEADER OF A RACE INTERVIEWED.

Delegates to the National Colored Convention continued to arrive yesterday, among them some of the leading colored men of the country. Hon. Fred. Douglass arrived on the mid-day O. and M. train, and proceeded to the residence of Mrs. John Morris, on Seventh street, between Main and Market, where accommodations awaited him. He is accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Irene Sprague, who is his constant attendant. A Courier Journal reporter called to get his views on the objects of the convention, and found him busy with the manuscript of an address which he will probably deliver before the convention. "I desire to be prepared for any task that may be assigned me," he said, "and as it is probable that I may make a few remarks, I thought I would scribble them down beforehand." In appearance he is rather attractive, his almost white hair being long and projecting out over his massive shoulders.

In conversation he is at no loss for words to express himself; they seem to come easily, and are well selected and expressive. When asked if he was a candidate for the Presidency of the convention, he replied; "No, I am not a candidate for that position, but am ready to render any assistance that is in my power. It is true that I have been heralded as a candidate in advance of my arrival, but I am ready to work in any capacity to which the convention, in its wisdom, may assign me. I come in the interest of no political party, although I am a party man, and if my party is assailed, I will endeavor to defend it. If chosen to preside over the deliberations of the convention, I shall insist on a rigid adherence to the terms of the circular calling the convention, which terms relate especially to the condition of the laboring classes, both North and South; to the equalizing of educational facilities, the promotion of civil rights, protection in the use of the ballot-box, equality before the law, the right of trial by a jury of our peers, and all matters pertaining to our welfare as a race recently emancipated and enfranchised. The convention will, therefore, be moral in its tone rather than political. I have reason to apprehend, however, that there will be a determined effort to arrest the convention from its broad and benificent purposes. I hope there will be a sufficient number of good and true men in the convention to check and defeat such an attempt, however formidable. Our Republican friends have been unnecessarily uneasy lest the convention might organize a new party and nominate a ticket, but of course such fears will pass away. Much has been said about the convention on account of its being a colored convention, but I think it will be seen before its deliberations terminate that there are good and sufficient reasons for observing the color line in its composition." +

"Will the Register of the Treasury, Mr. Bruce, attend?" asked the reporter.
"I hardly think he will; he is in Ohio campaigning, and I have been told that he is not in favor of the holding of the convention."

"Will Langston, of Ohio, the Haytian Minister, be present?"

"I am not prepared to say. I have seen some interviews from him in which he appeared to be inimicable to the convention, but I have heard that he will be accredited from Tennessee and will appear as a delegate. In that case some one of his friends will doubtless arise in the convention and mention the fact that the Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the republic of Hayti is in the audience and express the belief that he but voices the feelings of the convention in asking that Mr. Langston be heard from. Then we will either hear the convention rebuked or an account of his official labors."

When the reporter suggested that it was probable that Elliott and Pinchback, of Louisiana, would be present, he seemed a little surprised, and said: "Well, if they come they will make it hot for me."

Mr. D. A. Straker, Professor of Common Law and Dean of the law department of the Allen University, at Columbia, S. C., was seen also. He is the guest of his old friend Q. B. Jones, on Guthrie Street. He has a number of acquaintances in the city, having resided here during 1868 and 1869. He is a native of the island of Barbadoes, but came to the United States in early life, and, while pursuing his studies, was engaged in St. Mark's Episcopal school, in this city, under the auspices of Bishop B. B. Smith, of the Episcopal church. He afterward spent several years in the

Sixth Auditor's office in Washington. As a delegate from Columbia, he is associated with Mr. R. A. Stewart, a law student of Allen University. In response to the reporter's inquiries as to the substantial objects of the convention, he replied: "Owing to the increase of intelligence among the colored people, they have concluded that their rights are not fully recognized even by the Republican party, of which they are members, and they feel a great desire to devise some plan by which they may engage in the industries of the country and elevate themselves materially. Among the things we expect to do is to express our earnest desire to secure Federal aid in the South for the education of the masses, and we wish also to have that aid so regulated as to benefit those needing it most. Of course, the greatest illiteracy is among the colored people, but there is a great deal of it among the whites, and I regard its existence in that quarter as the chief source of our disordered social condition. The convention will be non-political. Save in the sense that we regard ourselves as citizens, having equal rights before the law, we are in no wise assembled as office-seekers, nor will any schemes of a political nature be tolerated."

He thought there was a disposition manifest to select the President of the convention from among the Southern delegates, but he had heard Mr. Douglas' name mentioned very prominently for the place. He was greatly gratified to find that Louisville had taken such advance steps in the education of the colored children. Indeed, he was surprised to find her so far in advance of Northern cities in that matter.
Lou Courier Journal, Sept 24, 1883, p 6

"Mr. George W. Williams, of Boston, the author of "the Negro in History," an exhaustive work that has been highly complimented, is also a delegate. He is now engaged in writing a history of the reconstruction of the Southern States, embracing the period from 1865 to 1880. He thought that education and methods for teaching the colored people the mechanical arts and trades would be the chief topics discussed. "What the race needs," said he, "is the development of employment. The latter question in connection with the plantation credit system of the South, which is not unlike the factory credit system of the North, and which I consider the cause of the exodus of the colored people from the Southern States, should receive our earnest attention."

"The labor status in the South should be readjusted, and in that matter the capitalist and planter are as deeply interested as any one else. I think that Mr. J. C. Calhoun, who appeared recently before the Senate Committee on Labor, has done more to solve that question than any one else, and I think his system should be adopted. Federal aid to education will also be dealt with. After the failure of the plans embraced in the Freedman's Bureau and night school system, private contributions for school purposes and the State schools—the latter plan being inefficient, on account of the impoverished condition of the Southern States—a more substantial foundation is necessary." He was not prepared to say who was most likely to be called to preside over the Convention. He had been told that everything had been cut and dried, and that the "machine" would be brought from Washington and put in operation in Louisville for a few days. "If such is the case," said he, "I suppose we will have to submit, but I am of the opinion that the Committee on Credentials will have all it can attend to. There has been a widespread opposition to the Convention from all quarters, but the fact is that the colored people do not expect any more legislation in their favor; they consider that all questions growing out of the war have been settled, and they want to meet and discuss plans for their future welfare." He is a man of good address, fine accomplishments, extensive information and would make a good presiding officer.

"The following delegates arrived at the Park Hotel yesterday: J. A. Scott, Lexington; L. W. Atwood, Simmon Pocher and P. H. Carson, Washington, D. C.; A. V. Cooper, Baltimore; Philip Joseph, Mobile; James Louis, New Orleans; Capt. W. Matthews, Kansas City, and many others."
TABLE 2. PROPORTION OF FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES IN BLACK URBAN COMMUNITIES OF THE OHIO VALLEY: 1850-1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pittsburgh</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
<th>Louisville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>Total Families</td>
<td>Total Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: United States Manuscript Census, 1850-1860.

**Small Cities** includes Steubenville, Wheeling, Marietta, and Portsmouth.

***Louisville*** includes families, not households.

“Female-headed” families, therefore, are clearly a “families.” According to the Bureau, a columns one and two is due to the fact that included in the census. “Matrilineal” families can be approached only indirectly through an analysis of sex and age structure of heads of families, size of families, number of children within each family, and other demographic data.

The nineteenth century manuscript census included “households,” not “families.” A “household” included one or more persons living apart from others, whether in a separate dwelling or in a building with two or more households. It also included one-person households and boarding houses. Since 1947, however, the Census Bureau has distinguished between “households” and “families.”

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PROPORTION OF BLACK REAL ESTATE OWNERS IN LOU AMONG FAMILY HEADS 1850-1870

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Per cent of all Black Families Owning Real Estate</th>
<th>Per cent of Female-Headed Families Among Real Estate Owners</th>
<th>Per cent of Female-Headed Families Among Families Owning no Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: United States Manuscript Census: 1850-1870.

**Includes families, not households.

**Real Estate valuation was not listed in the 1880 Census.

**Includes Steubenville, Wheeling, Marietta, and Portsmouth.

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Table 3 gives the percentage of family heads listing property and the proportion of female-headed families in that group, followed by the ratio of female-headed families among the nonproperty. Although families owning no real estate generally had a greater ratio of female-headed families, the difference between columns two and three is generally less than 10 per cent. Compared with current statistics based on income, the proportion of female-headed families among property owners was (1850) to 29.5 per cent in Louisville (1850). On the other hand, female-headed families among the nonproperty is much lower than today, never reaching 30 per cent, except in ante-bellum Louisville. **
TOTAL POP; % BLACKS IN LOU POP 1850-80


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Steubenville</th>
<th>Wheeling</th>
<th>Marietta</th>
<th>Portsmouth</th>
<th>Pittsburgh</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
<th>Louisville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,140</td>
<td>11,874</td>
<td>3,179</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>46,601</td>
<td>115,377</td>
<td>37,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>(2.2%)</td>
<td>(1.7%)</td>
<td>(1.8%)</td>
<td>(3.6%)</td>
<td>(4.2%)</td>
<td>(2.8%)</td>
<td>(4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,134</td>
<td>14,141</td>
<td>4,310</td>
<td>6,268*</td>
<td>48,931</td>
<td>161,044</td>
<td>73,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>(2.8%)</td>
<td>(9.6%)</td>
<td>(0.8%)</td>
<td>(3.4%)</td>
<td>(2.3%)</td>
<td>(2.4%)</td>
<td>(2.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,105</td>
<td>19,371</td>
<td>5,218</td>
<td>10,432</td>
<td>86,244</td>
<td>215,770</td>
<td>100,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>(2.1%)</td>
<td>(2.6%)</td>
<td>(0.8%)</td>
<td>(3.2%)</td>
<td>(2.5%)</td>
<td>(2.5%)</td>
<td>(1.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12,200</td>
<td>28,947</td>
<td>5,449</td>
<td>11,131</td>
<td>155,571</td>
<td>255,139</td>
<td>123,762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>(4.1%)</td>
<td>(2.4%)</td>
<td>(3.0%)</td>
<td>(8.6%)</td>
<td>(2.6%)</td>
<td>(3.2%)</td>
<td>(16.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SEGREGATION-INTEGRATION IN LOU HOUSING 1870-80


It is a generally accepted fact that blacks in the nineteenth century cities were not as geographically segregated as today. For example, black families lived on approximately 75 per cent of Louisville's city blocks in 1870, while numbering only 14 per cent of the total population. This is not to say that residential segregation did not, in fact, exist. Blacks tended to cluster in Louisville's alleys and side streets. Congress Alley and Magazine Alley on the west side were almost entirely black for 15 blocks by 1880. Yet, the fact that Main and Broadway Streets, scarcely one-half block away and running parallel to these two alleys, were inhabited mostly by whites suggests that the two races did not physically separate themselves from each other.
p j lammermeier, 'the urban black family in 19th cen; a study of black family structure in the ohio valley 1850-80,' journal of marriage and the family, 35, aug 1973

**TABLE 4. SEX RATIO: FEMALES TO MALES (MALES = 100): THE OHIO VALLEY: 1850-1880**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Small Cities</th>
<th>Pittsburgh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages: Over 60</td>
<td>Ages: Over 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totalb</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>124.1</td>
<td>110.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>117.8</td>
<td>125.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>100.5</td>
<td>93.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>102.3</td>
<td>140.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 5. MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BETWEEN THE AGES OF 21 AND 40**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Small Cities</th>
<th>Pittsburgh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totalb</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
<td>Ages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The differences in Louisville before and after the war. During the ante-bellum the Civil War in Table 5 and Figure 2 deserve period, 37 per cent of the males of the same age comment. Until the abolition of slavery, there were household heads, while 48 per cent were lower ratio of two-parent families resulted in the same position in 1870. With 70 per cent more women in the free black community of the city's black population still in slavery heading households at an earlier age than in the before 1865, it is quite possible that a portion of the black community.**

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TABLE 6 - CHILDREN BY PRESENCE OF PARENTS: BLACKS IN THE OHIO VALLEY: 1850-1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>With Both Parents</th>
<th>With Mother Alone</th>
<th>With Father Alone</th>
<th>With No Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>471c</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>637c</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>4446</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>5986</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Includes children under 16 years of age listed within all families, households, and children of black domestics living in white households. It does not include children over 10 years of age who reported an occupation.

Free black population only.

Three-quarters of the black children 15 years of age and younger lived in two-parent families in the urban Ohio Valley in the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to Table 6, the proportion of children in such families increased slightly from an average of 75.1 per cent in 1850 to 76.2 per cent in 1880. During the same period, children reported as living only with their mothers as head of the family declined from 18.4 to 17.6 per cent of the total. Although this decrease is small in all cases, except in Louisville, it is significant in light of the overall rise in the proportion of female-headed families. Louisville, once more, gave an example of the more matriarchal society with the presence of slavery. In 1850, almost one-half of the children under 15 years of age did not live in two-parent families. After the war, the greater adaptation to a two-parent structure became apparent when 70 and 75 per cent in 1870 and 1880 respectively of the city's black children were reported as living with both parents.

PROPORTION OF LOU HOUSEHOLDS WITH 4 OR MORE MEMBERS, BY SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS 1850-80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Per cent of Households With 4 or More Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small Cities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United States Manuscript Census: 1850-1880. This table includes all households.

Includes Steubenville, Wheeling, Marietta, and Portsmouth.

Free black population only.
TABLE 8. AVERAGE SIZE OF MALE AND FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Small Cities</th>
<th>Pittsburgh</th>
<th>Cincinnati</th>
<th>Louisville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Members in</td>
<td>Members in</td>
<td>Members in</td>
<td>Members in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Male 4.74</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>5.02</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female 5.33</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>4.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Male 4.95</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female 3.62</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Male 5.00</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female 4.10</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Male 4.78</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>4.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female 4.23</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>4.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table includes all nuclear and extended-augmented families.
Includes Steubenville, Wheeling, Marietta, and Portsmouth.
Free black population for 1850 and 1860.

TABLE 9. FAMILY STRUCTURE: BLACK FAMILIES IN THE URBAN OHIO VALLEY, 1850-1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Small Cities</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Pittsburgh</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1850 1860 1870 1880</td>
<td>1850 1860 1870 1880</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Incipient Nuclear Family (Husband and Wife)</td>
<td>8.4 11.2 8.9 12.9</td>
<td>11.8 12.0 15.5 16.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Simple Nuclear Family (Father, Mother, Children)</td>
<td>42.1 41.5 39.1 42.1</td>
<td>34.9 31.0 41.3 40.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Attenuated Nuclear Family (Father, Children)</td>
<td>-- -- -- 1.8</td>
<td>-- -- 1.1 1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Attenuated Nuclear Family (Mother, Children)</td>
<td>8.4 19.1 11.2 10.0</td>
<td>7.6 14.0 11.4 6.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Nuclear Families</td>
<td>58.9 71.8 59.2 66.8</td>
<td>54.3 57.0 69.3 65.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended-Augmented Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Incipient Extended-Augmented (Husband, Wife, Relatives and/or Boarders)</td>
<td>13.4 6.7 7.8 5.9</td>
<td>11.2 10.5 5.8 8.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Simple Extended-Augmented (Father, Mother, Children, Relatives and/or Boarders)</td>
<td>21.7 18.0 24.8 18.4</td>
<td>28.0 23.5 19.9 18.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Attenuated Extended-Augmented (Father, Children, Relatives, and/or Boarders)</td>
<td>-- -- -- 0.7</td>
<td>1.2 2.0 0.6 0.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Attenuated Extended-Augmented (Mother, Children, Relatives and/or Boarders)</td>
<td>6.0 4.5 8.2 8.2</td>
<td>5.3 7.0 4.4 7.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Extended-Augmented</td>
<td>41.1 29.2 40.8 33.2</td>
<td>45.7 43.0 30.7 35.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cincinnati Louisville
number of children within female-headed families, which was decreasing. Rather, the cause lay in the increased number of female-headed extended families.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The family structure of the black communities in the nineteenth century has been divided into eight categories, using a modified form of Billingsley’s breakdown of family structure (1968:17). Basically, the nuclear or primary family is limited to husband, wife, and children. The extended-augmented family usually contains elements of the nuclear family (father, mother, and children) in addition to other secondary familial elements, such as brothers, in-laws, parents, and boarders. Extended and augmented families have been combined for this study. Since the 1850 through 1870 censuses did not list relationships of family members to the head, rather than disregarding the potential information, family structure was based on (1) last names within the household, (2) age structure within the household, and (3) birthplaces of component members. Nuclear families were not difficult to ascertain, since most had identical last names, their ages corresponded to a parents-children structure, and their birthplaces followed a regular pattern (e.g., Cincinnati to Steubenville, Wheeling, Marietta, and Portsmouth).

The extended-augmented family frequently includes three generations (Table 9). The preponderance of nuclear and two-parent families in the nineteenth-century Ohio Valley presents a contrast to the apparent high ratio of female-headed extended families among modern lower-class black families, as described by Rainwater (1965: passim). According to the manuscript returns for the seven cities, the majority of black families (63 per cent) were nuclear, despite the presence of a large number of boarders. The average variation in the proportion of nuclear families was minimal between the cities, from 62.6 per cent in Cincinnati to 64.3 per cent in the four small cities. According to Table 9, the majority of nuclear families were two-parent families with children, representing over 40 per cent of all black families in the small cities and Pittsburgh. The lower ratio of simple nuclear families in Cincinnati and Louisville was due to the higher proportion of female-headed nuclear families. An increasing number of incipient nuclear families (husband and wife) was evident in Cincinnati, accounting for almost one-fifth of all black families in 1880. Female-headed nuclear families, on the other hand, showed an
Overall decrease in all but the small cities. Nuclear families, moreover, increased in proportion to extended-augmented families over the 30-year period.

Extended-augmented families represented about 37 per cent of all black families but showed a substantial decrease of 10 per cent during this time. However, within the declining proportion of extended-augmented families, female-headed families rose two per cent in all the cities (except Louisville), reflecting the fact that older women headed more families with few or no children.

Breaking down nuclear and extended-augmented families according to the sex of the head, two observations are evident (Table 10). First, the percentage of male-headed nuclear families rose in Cincinnati (from 74 to 82 per cent) and Pittsburgh (85 to 90 per cent). Louisville’s increase was probably caused by the passing of slavery. Secondly, male-headed extended families decreased from 82 to 73 per cent in Cincinnati and from 87 to 78 per cent in Pittsburgh. The smaller cities also experienced the same trend, but to a lesser extent. Male heads of nuclear families remained about 85 per cent, while in extended-augmented families their proportion decreased from 86 to 75 per cent. These statistics on family structure seem to indicate that there was an increasing tendency of the black nuclear household structurally to assume the form of father-mother-children, while the mother-children nuclear unit proportionally declined. On the other hand, the patriarchal structure of the black extended-augmented family was proportionally less in 1880 than in 1850. Thus, the extended-augmented family, although a smaller proportion than the nuclear family, was showing signs of resembling the twentieth century lower-class family structure with an increasing number of female-headed extended families.

The data presented here do not impart a picture of a family structure that is decaying or falling apart. Structurally, the vast majority of black families are two-parent and male-headed. Moreover, the evidence from post-war Louisville showed few effects of the slavery patriarchy on the proportion of two-parent families. Although the use of the word “stable” has been avoided because of the ambiguity of the term and the difficulty of detecting in the census the social meaning of the term, demographically and structurally, the black family appeared to be what might be termed “normal” in the urban Ohio Valley.

However, it is suggested here that the urban black family of the nineteenth century showed positive signs of being structurally patriarchal, with two-parent nuclear households the rule, not the exception. The evidence points to a black family that was more than just male-headed. The importance of an adult male present within four out of five black families cannot be underestimated in light of the number of children in such families. Moreover, over 90 per cent of these men listed an occupational activity. A job did not necessarily indicate financial security, since many of these men worked at the lowest paying service and unskilled trades. Some of them were seasonal.

On the other hand, even a seasonal job afforded some financial stability. In a word, the majority of black families appeared to be “patriarchal.” Conversely, there are increasing indications, especially during the 1870s, of what has become known as the “black matriarchy.” First, there was a slow and upward trend in female-headed families, an increasing number of female-headed extended-augmented families, and relative growth in the size of the female-headed family. Second, as the century wore on, more and more pages of the manuscript census became filled exclusively with blacks, a fact that Gutman observed in his Buffalo study (1968:11). In other words, the areas inhabited exclusively by blacks began to assume a magnitude which never existed up to that point. “Bucktown” on Cincinnati’s near east side increased in population more rapidly than the rest of the city’s blacks. In Louisville more and more alleys became all black on the near east and west sides. Why the increasing concentration of blacks in certain areas of each city took place during this period lies outside the scope of this study. Some factors which undoubtedly played an important part were the effects of the periodic economic depressions on the black community, the migration of Southern blacks who tended to settle in areas where blacks were already living, and the continuing practice of excluding blacks from the higher
The following address was delivered by Prof. J. H. Jackson, of Lexington, at the convention of the Colored State Teachers' Association in this city last week: +

Fellow-Teachers--I regret exceedingly that the duty of discussing the great educational questions that concern us at present, as colored Kentuckians, is not committed to other hands. As your committee have overlooked other gentlemen more able and better qualified, and seen fit to assign to me the task of addressing you upon the main points contained in the memorial which they have prepared for your consideration. I shall address myself at once, and as briefly as possible, to the leading thoughts contained in their admirable address to the people of Kentucky. +

Your committee take the position--first, that our per capita tax should be equal to that of white children. Without going into details to give reasons why the amount given to each child in this state should be the same, it is sufficient to say that the logic of events in this country for nearly a score of years compels your committee to come to this just conclusion, and merely content themselves, as it were, in making this bare statement, throwing the osus probandi upon those who are disposed to deny the truthfulness of the axiomatic statement that exclusive privileges belong to no class of children in the Commonwealth. The condition of colored schools, at present, does not, to our judgment warrant your committee

in asking for less than an equal pro nata division of the school fund derived from all sources as school tax paid by the people of the state for educational purposes. +

The per capita for colored children is about one-fourth that given to white children. The average salary of colored teachers in Kentucky is about fifty dollars per annum, while in the southern States the average salaries are $150 per annum. There is not a State in the Union, save Kentucky, where the amount of school funds per child is not the same for colored as for white children unless changes in this respect have occurred recently. +

Your committee take the position, second, that the school ages of the children of the Commonwealth should be the same. The school age of white children in this State is from six to twenty, while that of colored children is from six to sixteen. While the school age of children in one State may, and often does, differ from the school age of another State, there can be no good reason given why a disparity of four years between the school ages of colored and white children in Kentucky should exist. If there is any virtue in race distinctions, it seems to me that it grows out of that kind which is imaginary rather than real. +

We do not claim for our children the ability, nor will the legislators of our State argue that it is possible for them, to acquire the same amount of knowledge in only ten years as white children acquire in fourteen. If any difference should be made at all, that difference, it would seem, ought to be made in favor of that class of children whose home culture is the least efficient. +
Let us hope that these silly race distinctions, born of prejudice, may soon pass away, and justice be done each child in Kentucky regardless of race or condition. 

Your committee are of the opinion (third) that the colored people of this State need a normal school for the purpose of training and furnishing the State with colored teachers; for we believe incompetent teachers to be an incubus upon the people who pay the taxes, and expect a return for the same in a more intelligent and moral class of citizens. 

In connection with these main points in the address, the committee state these additional facts: That there are twenty-nine chartered colleges and sixty-nine normal schools for colored people in the Southern States; and that for these same people twenty millions of dollars, since the close of the war, have been expended for educational purposes, while we have not a single college or normal school supported by State aid, and scarcely a dollar of this vast amount has found the way among the colored people of Kentucky. 

The facts contained in the memorial address being true, it is quite evident that we have the worst, the most inefficient common school system for the colored people of any State in the Union. We have, as the principal elements constituting our common school system (first), lack of funds; (second), an abundance of incompetent teachers. 

Ladies and gentlemen, we are here as a local body organized by act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and it is our duty to consider tonight, dispassionately and in a non-partisan manner, the causes why we, constituting about one-fifth of the population of the State, furnish nearly two-thirds of the criminals of the Commonwealth who crowd our jails and penitentiary. You are doubtless ready to answer: "Because colored men in Kentucky are not allowed to act as jurors, and because, in some instances, before juries composed entirely of white men, many of whom have cultivated a prejudice against color, colored men are condemned for trivial offenses, for which white men are pronounced 'not guilty.'" This may account in part for the fearful criminal record that the colored race has seemingly made in Kentucky, but this does not wholly account for the species of crime that exists only among the illiterate classes of our population. I am of the opinion that the inferior educational advantages afforded by the State is the chief cause of a large class of the colored people having descended so low in the scale of being. I arrive at this conclusion not only from statistics which prove that fewer criminals come from the educated than from the ignorant class, but, from my experience as a colored teacher, I have observed that very few, if any, of the colored criminals of this State are made up of pupils from our schools. 

Having stated the condition of the colored people of the State as fully as I am able. I conclude that Kentucky needs a good common school system for all. I mean a system for white as well as for colored people; and, in making this statement, I am conscious of the fact that the people of Kentucky pay about as much school-tax as the people of any other State, and that only about forty-two counties of the 118 pay the taxes to keep up the common school system. It is not my duty to consider the reasons why a people, who pay as high a tax as any in the Union, maintain such an inefficient common school system, but it is evident that, so long as we have such imperfect
school facilities, one-third of the counties of the State will be compelled to educate the children of the remaining two-thirds pauper counties. There is a large claim of citizens who are beginning to think that charity begins at home; and, instead of having my own county (Fayette) pay nearly $30,000 school tax, most of which goes to the pauper counties, they think this sum should remain in the county for the purpose of educating the children of the people who pay the taxes. My own opinion is that the best way to make the pauper counties self-sustaining is to educate the people of those counties, and, ( ) of the whole State, by as good a common school system as can be devised. Kentucky has yet to learn the truth: that it costs more to maintain law and good order by force than to do so by proper intellectual and moral education. It is said that there are 90,000 men, voters, in the State of Kentucky who can not read or write their names. There are, in consequence of this, I repeat, seventy-six pauper counties out of a total of 118 that do not pay a dollar to the common school fund of the State. Seventy-six pauper, I was about to say criminal, counties which are an incubus upon the tax-payers of the Commonwealth. How shall those counties be developed so as to become self-sustaining, and the ignorant colored population of the rich counties become enlightened and Christianized? These are questions that should concern those who are interested in the intellectual and moral education of the people of Kentucky, both White and colored. If I were asked what I considered to be the greatest need of Kentucky at present I would answer, unhesitatingly, "a good common school system; such a system as would ramify every county in the State, and extend to black and white children alike the means to acquire a good common school education." +

"Among a body of teachers there is no reason why I should dwell upon the advantages that would accrue to the State by reason of a good common school system, and I shall not speak upon this point further. There is among the colored people of this State a great lack of thoroughly qualified, competent teachers. No good and efficient common school system can be maintained without competent teachers. Without them the people's money for educational purposes, to any great extent, is squandered. Normal schools for the purpose of furnishing the State with competent teachers are indispensable to a good system of common schools. There are nearly 100 normal schools in the South, which, proportioned among twelve or thirteen States, will give about eight to each. These schools are especially necessary for the colored people of the South, from the fact that they are not admitted to the institutions of higher instruction that exist on Southern soil. If the people of the South will keep up distinctions on account of color, then, in the name of God, let them alone for them, in some measure, by the erection of schools in which the colored people may look for the future instructors of their sons and daughters. In Kentucky we not only have a very inferior common school system, but we have not a single normal school, for the purpose of educating colored teachers, organized and sustained by State aid. Having briefly discussed the educational condition of the colored people of this State from the facts I have been able to gather, and from my own observation, and compared it with the condition of other States, I will now, in a few words, suggest what I conceive to be some of the remedies for this state of things. +

"I believe the people of the State of Kentucky, when they properly understand our educational condition, will cause an increase of funds to be voted,
I believe they will furnish the means of educating teachers for the common schools. We must appeal to the General Assembly of our own State to grant these better facilities for education. We must make this appeal as citizens interested in the Welfare of Kentucky, as law-abiding, peaceable citizens, who, although we pay taxes upon three million dollars worth of property, are yet too poor to educate our children without aid. I believe we should appeal to our Senators and Representatives in Congress to pass the bill now pending in that body, to appropriate the proceeds from the sale of public lands to the several States for educational purposes. Should that bill pass, I have no doubt that the per capita for colored children in this State will be increased four-fold, and a new era in the educational history of Kentucky will have begun.

"In conclusion, fellow-teachers, I pay you the highest possible compliment when I say that you are, financially speaking, martyrs engaged in a great cause. No hope of future wealth or emolument induces you to toil and struggle at an average salary of fifty dollars per annum, when mere farm hands, the most illiterate class in the Commonwealth, are paid three times as much as you."

"Nothing but a love of race as miraculous as it is mysterious could lead you to seek the paths of unrequited toil, while those much your inferiors, both mentally and morally, obtain a much better living without years of previous preparation and without the least mental anxiety."

"Could I pay you a higher compliment than to say that, in my judgment, neither were Luther, Knox or Rogers engaged in a greater cause than in that of the amelioration of their race. Even they were rewarded at the close of lives by the applause and approbation of the people whose condition they had sought to improve, while some of you are destined to pass off the state of action "unwept, unhonored and unsung." Yet, should Kentucky grant us adequate educational advantages, many of you may, as colored sons of our grand old State--mother of greatness and renown--make your mark as educators and scholars of whom even the State of Clay, Breckinridge, Crittenden, Marshall and Prentice may not be ashamed."
"The Colored Schools."

Mr. Middleton, Chairman of the Colored Public School Committee, submitted the following report from the Colored Board of Visitors.

Louisville, Ky. Nov. 27, 1873.

Dr. D. P. Middleton Chairman Committee on Colored Public Schools.

Sir—The following is a report of the condition and progress of the colored public schools.

The Eastern, Western and Portland schools were opened in September with ten teachers, the total enrollment for the being 790, with an average daily attendance of 691. On the 9th of October the beautiful central school was opened and at the close of the month the total enrollment for all the schools was 1,847, with an average daily attendance of 1,163 fourteen teachers being employed. For the month of November the total enrollment was 1,393, with an average daily attendance of 1154, and nineteen teachers employed, distributed as follows:


The following teachers have been elected by the Board of Visitors and have been at work some time, but have not been confirmed by the Board of Trustees Elvira G. Green, Clarence M. Miller, Mary C. Baker, Florence Morrow. P. M. Haring (principal), Mary A. Johnson. Maime L. Poote. Maria F. Cox, Julia Arthur, Ela B. Lee, Charles B. Preston.

We respectfully ask that the election of the above teachers be confirmed.

By order of the Board of Visitors.

Horace Morris, Secretary.

The report was received and adopted.

"Communication."

Mr. Middleton also submitted the following communication from the same source.

Louisville, Ky., Dec. 1, 1873.

GENTLEMEN—The members of the Board of Visitors decree through the Committee on Colored Public Schools to return their sincere thanks for the uniform courtesy and consideration shown them and the earnest, honest cooperation extended in all measures advocated for the advancement of the colored school interest.

Permit us to say that we are not unmindful of the numerous drawbacks under the present school law, that we are fully aware of what has been done and how it has been accomplished, and that more has been done for our little fellows than we had reason to expect. In view of all the facts, with grateful hearts we return to you, to the name of the colored people, our sincere thanks and will ever remember with gratitude all the members of the present Board of Trustees, who have so nobly reconded our efforts for the education of the colored youth.

"By order of Board of Visitors.

HORACE MORRIS"
BLACK-WHITE TOTAL POP STATISTICS IN KY 1840 (40 CENSUS)

us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841
p 288/
Total
Free blacks
7,317
3,761 free black males
3,556 free black females
Total Slaves
182,258
91,004 male slaves
91,254 female slaves

SUMMARY STATISTICS ON BLACKS IN CENSUS OF 1840: Deaf, Mute, Insane, etc
us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841
p 288/
Slaves and colored persons deaf and dumb
77
Blind
141
16.1
13.6
398
Blacks etc
400
236
490
305
477
377
622
353
21.8
78.2
1,431
824

Blacks
Blacks
White pop
White pop
Total pop
Total pop

1840 (with 8122)
Free blacks
7,317
Slaves
182,258
Whites
590,253
Total
1779,828

189,575 Blacks
## FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1840 (90 c.2)

### us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total Co. Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co. Whites</th>
<th>Total Co. Population</th>
<th>% Block</th>
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<tbody>
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## FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1840 (90 c.2)

### us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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<th>Town</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total Co. Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co. Whites</th>
<th>Total Co. Population</th>
<th>% Block</th>
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<td>970</td>
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### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1840

#### us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total Co Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co Whites</th>
<th>Total Co Pop.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1840</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOWN</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOWN</strong></td>
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<td>Total Co. Whites</td>
<td>Total Co. Pop.</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<th>Town</th>
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<th>Total Co. Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co. Whites</th>
<th>Total Co. Pop.</th>
<th>% Black</th>
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<tr>
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<td>33.6</td>
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### Free Black--Slave--White Pop Statistics by Counties 1840

#### Table 6124-F

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total Co Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co Whites</th>
<th>Total Co Pop.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marion</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>754</td>
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<td>3888</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>38/97</td>
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<td>223</td>
<td>4806</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>27/88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meade</td>
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<td>Mercer</td>
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<td>1736</td>
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<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>34/88</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>34/88</td>
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<td>170</td>
<td>2524</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>17/81</td>
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### Table 6124-G

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<th>Total Co Blacks</th>
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<th>Total Co Pop.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhlenberg</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>12/96</td>
<td>5,755</td>
<td>6,964</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>183</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>12/96</td>
<td>12,145</td>
<td>14,492</td>
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<tr>
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<td>366</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>12/96</td>
<td>19,146</td>
<td>19,456</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>13/96</td>
<td>4,366</td>
<td>4,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13/96</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Nelson county</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>13/96</td>
<td>5,774</td>
<td>6,348</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>13/96</td>
<td>8,489</td>
<td>8,745</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>187</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>13/96</td>
<td>2,564</td>
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<td>1320</td>
<td>13/96</td>
<td>11,035</td>
<td>11,299</td>
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<td>Ohio</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>24/96</td>
<td>6,283</td>
<td>6,542</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>723</td>
<td>24/96</td>
<td>7,065</td>
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<td>1423</td>
<td>24/96</td>
<td>13,348</td>
<td>13,662</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oldham</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>2287</td>
<td>24/96</td>
<td>7,147</td>
<td>7,380</td>
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<td></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>2287</td>
<td>24/96</td>
<td>7,147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Total Oldham county</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>4574</td>
<td>24/96</td>
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<td>14,760</td>
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<td>Owen</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>13/96</td>
<td>8,005</td>
<td>8,232</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>13/96</td>
<td>8,005</td>
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<td>2516</td>
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<td>16,337</td>
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### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1840

#### us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total Co. Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co. Whites</th>
<th>Total Co. Pоп.</th>
<th>% Black</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pendleton</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>541</td>
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<td>3,567</td>
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<td>Pike</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>167</td>
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<td>2,084</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Pike county</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>3,469</td>
<td>2,567</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>9,382</td>
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<td>9.2</td>
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<td>Bonner’s (C.T.)</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td>117</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9.2</td>
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<td>Rockcastle</td>
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<td>316</td>
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<td>3,200</td>
<td>2,099</td>
<td>9.7</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>209</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9.7</td>
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<td>406</td>
<td>410</td>
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<td>4,238</td>
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<td>4506</td>
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<td>12,157</td>
<td>39.9</td>
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<td>1,511</td>
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<td>13,668</td>
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<td>Shelby</td>
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<td>6026</td>
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<td>16,433</td>
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<td>478</td>
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<td>6512</td>
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<td>17,768</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP STATISTICS BY COUNTIES 1840

#### us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total Co. Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co. Whites</th>
<th>Total Co. Pоп.</th>
<th>% Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simpson</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1493</td>
<td>1533</td>
<td>6,537</td>
<td>6,537</td>
<td>23.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td>6,187</td>
<td>6,187</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylorsville (C.T.)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>798</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Spencer county</td>
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<td>5725</td>
<td>5764</td>
<td>9,517</td>
<td>9,517</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3715</td>
<td>3741</td>
<td>4,650</td>
<td>4,650</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elkton (C.T.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Todd county</td>
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<td>3879</td>
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<td>6,070</td>
<td>32.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trigg</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2057</td>
<td>2107</td>
<td>5,659</td>
<td>5,659</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimble</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>164</td>
<td>4,332</td>
<td>4,332</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bedford (C.T.)</td>
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<td>148</td>
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<td>1764</td>
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<td>6,673</td>
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<td>Warren</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2428</td>
<td>2464</td>
<td>15,446</td>
<td>15,446</td>
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<td>Washington</td>
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<td>232</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>28.3</td>
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<td>Total Washington county</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>18601</td>
<td>19008</td>
<td>62,983</td>
<td>62,983</td>
<td>28.3</td>
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MILITARY CELEBRATION IN LEX; BLACKS ENCROACH ON DANCE, ROB TABLES OF FOOD (May 1863)

Frances Dallam Peter Diary, entry for Fri. May 22, 1863 (both ms and partial typescript) in Catherine and Howard Evans Papers, Ms Div, Sp. Col, King Lib, UK

Mrs Peter described an elaborate ball: "General Wilcox's Hop" which had elaborate decorations. Flags, stands of guns, cannon balls, chalked floors, etc.

"I am ashamed to say that as soon as it began to get dark last evening / during the dance/ the negroes, as is their usual impertinent custom began to assemble in crowds about Headquarters. The guard dispersed them for a while when the guests began to arrive (9 P.M.) but they returned afterward and were a considerable annoyance to persons promenading in the gallery and when supper was over, came into the supper room and robbed the table of everything that remained. Which remains the General had intended to have sent to the hospital. No doubt the hotel waiters hired for the occasion thought they had a perfect right to invite all their colored friends to a share of the feast."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Total Co Blacks</th>
<th>Total Co Whites</th>
<th>Total Co Pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>6754</td>
<td>7,257</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Wayne county</td>
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<td>583</td>
<td>6754</td>
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<td>87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whitley</td>
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<td>165</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Total Woodford county</td>
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<td>189579</td>
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### FREE BLACKS BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840

#### US, sixth census of the US 1840, 1841

#### Adair County

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<th>Age</th>
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<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Total Adair County

- Male: 71
- Female: 30
- Total: 101

#### Allen County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Total Allen County

- Male: 14
- Female: 6
- Total: 20

#### Anderson County

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
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<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
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</table>

#### Total Anderson County

- Male: 14
- Female: 12
- Total: 26

#### Barren County

<table>
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<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>1-5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
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#### Total Barren County

- Male: 37
- Female: 15
- Total: 52

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#### Total Bath County

- Male: 13
- Female: 7
- Total: 20

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#### Total Boone County

- Male: 10
- Female: 6
- Total: 16

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#### Total Bracken County

- Male: 72
- Female: 37
- Total: 109

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#### Total Bullitt County

- Male: 12
- Female: 7
- Total: 19

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#### Total Caldwell County

- Male: 5
- Female: 3
- Total: 8

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#### Total Calloway County

- Male: 12
- Female: 6
- Total: 18

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#### Total Campbell County

- Male: 6
- Female: 3
- Total: 9

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#### Total Christian County

- Male: 52
- Female: 33
- Total: 85

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#### Total Hopkinsville (C. T.)

- Male: 15
- Female: 6
- Total: 21

#### Total fries County

- Male: 322
- Female: 185
- Total: 507
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us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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FREE BLACKS BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (90.CE)

us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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**FREE BLACKS BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840**

us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841
### Free Blacks by Age, Sex, County 1840

#### Us, Sixth Census of the Us 1840, 1841

![Table of Free Blacks by Age, Sex, County 1840](image)

### Slaves by Age, Sex, County 1840

#### Us, Sixth Census of the Us 1840, 1841

![Table of Slaves by Age, Sex, County 1840](image)
### SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (6C cen.

#### To: us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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### SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (6C cen.

#### To: us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (60+ yrs)
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**SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (90 CR.)**

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SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (50 Ctl)

us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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|----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| Mayfield city (C. T.)| 673| 676| 248| 246| 454| 447| 296| 290| 62 | 62 | 1,078 |
| Total Marion county | 741| 749| 341| 335| 61 | 61 | 355| 355| 15 | 15 | 15,710 |
| McCracken             | 109| 100| 39 | 37 | 51 | 47 | 29 | 23 | 11 | 11 | 4,745  |
| Meade                | 241| 251| 101| 101| 66 | 57 | 109| 109| 29 | 29 | 7,280  |
| Mercer               | 872| 757| 246| 246| 65 | 59 | 36 | 36 | 18 | 18 | 16,243 |
| Danville             | 66 | 61 | 40 | 37 | 7  | 7  | 12 | 12 | 6  | 6  | 1,231  |
| Hamiltonburg (C. T.) | 69 | 73 | 49 | 54 | 4  | 9  | 13 | 13 | 9  | 9  | 1,954  |
| Total Mercer county  | 1,007| 1,091| 413| 413| 88 | 88 | 402| 402| 63 | 63 | 18,720 |
| Monroe               | 120| 123| 51 | 51 | 6  | 6  | 21 | 21 | 18 | 18 | 6,332  |
| Tompkinsville (C. T.)| 11 | 8  | 2  | 2  | 5  | 5  | 3  | 3  | 1  | 1  | 108    |
| Total Monroe county  | 131| 135| 53 | 53 | 6  | 6  | 22 | 22 | 19 | 19 | 6,546  |
| Montgomery           | 471| 458| 198| 198| 38 | 38 | 141| 141| 48 | 48 | 8,747  |
| Mount Sterling (C. T.)| 36 | 39 | 18 | 18 | 2  | 2  | 24 | 24 | 3  | 3  | 585    |
| Total Montgomery county | 507 | 497 | 211 | 211 | 43 | 43 | 144 | 144 | 51 | 51 | 9,332  |
| Morgan               | 8  | 10 | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 4,003  |

SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (go Ctl)

us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

<p>| County               | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | M  | F  | Total |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| Muhlenberg           | 926| 915| 63 | 63 | 60 | 60 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 6,964  |
| Nelson               | 730| 799| 318| 318| 230| 230| 57 | 57 | 48 | 48 | 18,145 |
| Bardstown (C. T.)    | 73 | 79 | 34 | 34 | 30 | 30 | 6  | 6  | 7  | 7  | 1,499  |
| Total Nelson county  | 803| 823| 352| 352| 260| 260| 63 | 63 | 55 | 55 | 13,637 |
| Nicholas             | 925| 910| 69 | 69 | 49 | 49 | 18 | 18 | 26 | 26 | 8,489  |
| Carlisle (C. T.)     | 11 | 10 | 3  | 3  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 256    |
| Total Nicholas county | 936 | 920 | 72 | 72 | 50 | 50 | 22 | 22 | 28 | 28 | 8,745  |
| Ohio                 | 185| 183| 53 | 53 | 23 | 23 | 7  | 7  | 13 | 13 | 6,033  |
| Hartford (C. T.)     | 97 | 97 | 9  | 9  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  | 339    |
| Total Ohio county    | 183| 183| 62 | 62 | 27 | 27 | 7  | 7  | 13 | 13 | 6,593  |
| Oldham               | 418| 415| 292| 292| 102| 102| 28 | 28 | 34 | 34 | 7,147  |
| La Grange (C. T.)    | 13 | 13 | 9  | 9  | 2  | 2  | 1  | 1  | 2  | 2  | 233    |
| Total Oldham county  | 431| 438| 302| 302| 104| 104| 30 | 30 | 36 | 36 | 7,375  |
| Owen                 | 208| 208| 78 | 78 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 21 | 21 | 8,005  |
| New Liberty (C. T.)  | 16 | 16 | 8  | 8  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 247    |
| Total Owen county    | 224| 224| 86 | 86 | 48 | 48 | 11 | 11 | 24 | 24 | 8,252  |</p>
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SLAVES BY AGE, SEX, COUNTY 1840 (90 Census)

us, sixth census of the us 1840, 1841

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<th>M 4</th>
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<th>M 6</th>
<th>F 1</th>
<th>F 2</th>
<th>F 3</th>
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### Slaves by Age, Sex, County 1840

By age, sex, county, 1840.

#### US, Sixth Census of the US 1840, 1841

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<th>M</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>390</td>
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<td>141</td>
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<td>9,054</td>
<td>9,657</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>30,818</td>
<td>15,098</td>
<td>9,645</td>
<td>9,998</td>
<td>92</td>
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---

### No. Slaves Fugitive, Manumitted in KY 1849-1850

US, Statistical view of the US in 1850, 1854

p 64/

96 blacks fugitive during the year 1849-50

152 blacks manumitted during the year 1849-50

1,011 blacks fugitive from the entire slave states 1849-50

1,467 " manumitted " " " " " " "

/p 65 note/

"The number of fugitive slaves or those who had absconded during the year 1849-1850, and had not been heard from, was 1,011, by the reports. As might be supposed, the border states, Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky, show the largest proportion, being respectively one in 320, one in 1,450, and one in 2,100. In Georgia and Louisiana the proportion was one in 2,700, and in 4,000, respectively."
## Increase in the % of Free Blacks in KY 1800-1850

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1800</th>
<th>1810</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
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<td>61.06</td>
<td>78.21</td>
<td>48.81</td>
<td>36.81</td>
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</table>

## % of Free Blacks in KY to Total Population 1790-1850

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>1790</th>
<th>1800</th>
<th>1810</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ky.</td>
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<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>1.02</td>
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### Ratio Per Cent of Ages of Free Blacks in KY 1850

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<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Free Black Ratio</th>
<th>Total Black Ratio</th>
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<tr>
<td>under 1</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>13.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>10.74</td>
<td>10.39</td>
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<td>5-9</td>
<td>13.81</td>
<td>9.48</td>
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<td>10-14</td>
<td>10.45</td>
<td>8.97</td>
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<td>15-19</td>
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<td>20-29</td>
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### Deaf, Mute, Blind Free Blacks 1850; Statistics

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<th>Free (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
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<td>d &amp; d blind</td>
<td>.049%</td>
<td>.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colored</td>
<td>20 (.19 % of fc)</td>
<td>2 (.0019 % of fc)</td>
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<tr>
<td>slaves</td>
<td>51 (.024 % of slaves)</td>
<td>113 (.053 % of slaves)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Group</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>56 (.204 %)</td>
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<tr>
<td>free &amp; slaves</td>
<td>133 (.060 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaves</td>
<td>25 (.011 %)</td>
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<tr>
<td>whites</td>
<td>111 (.050 %)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>whites</td>
<td>507 (.066 %)</td>
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<tr>
<td>total</td>
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Pop 1850: 210,981 slaves 10,011 free colored 220,992 whites

1850: 220,992 total blacks

761,413 total whites

982,405 total population
TABLE V.—PROGRESS OF POPULATION FROM 1790 TO 1850.

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<th>Slaves.</th>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>Increase per cent.</td>
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TABLE VI.—DEAF AND DUMB, BLIND, INSANE, AND IDIOTIC.

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<td>Deaf and dumb</td>
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<td>2,314</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The returns show 112 “deaf,” (101 whites and 11 slaves,) which are not included in this table.
DEAF, MUTE, BLIND, INSANE, IDIOTIC 1850

us, seventh census of the us 1850, 1853

p 615/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>deaf + d + blind - white, FC slave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC + slave 1840</td>
<td>16.95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RATIO OF SLAVE, FREE BLACKS TO TOTAL POPULATION 1790-1850

us, statistical view of the us in 1850, 1854

p 85/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Slave 1790</th>
<th>Slave 1800</th>
<th>Slave 1810</th>
<th>Slave 1820</th>
<th>Slave 1830</th>
<th>Slave 1840</th>
<th>Slave 1850</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free &amp; slave</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>22.5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
KY'S RANKING WITH STATES, TERRITORIES IN SLAVE HOLDING, FREE BLACKS 1790-1850

us, statistical view of the us in 1850, 1854

p 85/ 1790 1800 1810 1820 1830 1840 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ky</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Md.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

us, seventh census of the us 1850, 1853

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>M 1850</th>
<th>F 1850</th>
<th>Total 1850</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adair</td>
<td>4,690</td>
<td>2,939</td>
<td>7,629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>3,341</td>
<td>2,644</td>
<td>5,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>2,338</td>
<td>4,157</td>
<td>6,495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>M 1850</th>
<th>F 1850</th>
<th>Total 1850</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bourbon</td>
<td>3,760</td>
<td>3,905</td>
<td>7,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyle</td>
<td>2,777</td>
<td>2,505</td>
<td>5,282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracken</td>
<td>1,153</td>
<td>3,794</td>
<td>4,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathitt</td>
<td>1,880</td>
<td>1,723</td>
<td>3,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breckinridge</td>
<td>4,462</td>
<td>4,154</td>
<td>8,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullitt</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>2,555</td>
<td>5,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>2,573</td>
<td>2,492</td>
<td>5,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>5,082</td>
<td>4,770</td>
<td>9,852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callaway</td>
<td>3,569</td>
<td>3,520</td>
<td>7,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>6,787</td>
<td>6,974</td>
<td>13,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrol</td>
<td>4,384</td>
<td>1,185</td>
<td>5,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>3,322</td>
<td>2,838</td>
<td>6,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casey</td>
<td>2,052</td>
<td>2,911</td>
<td>5,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>5,958</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>8,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>5,928</td>
<td>3,723</td>
<td>9,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>2,410</td>
<td>2,624</td>
<td>5,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>2,479</td>
<td>2,410</td>
<td>4,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crittenden</td>
<td>2,765</td>
<td>2,707</td>
<td>5,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>2,778</td>
<td>2,698</td>
<td>5,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daviess</td>
<td>4,852</td>
<td>3,419</td>
<td>8,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonson</td>
<td>1,858</td>
<td>3,783</td>
<td>5,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estill</td>
<td>2,993</td>
<td>2,919</td>
<td>5,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>5,747</td>
<td>5,433</td>
<td>11,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleming</td>
<td>5,916</td>
<td>5,701</td>
<td>11,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd</td>
<td>2,236</td>
<td>2,677</td>
<td>5,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>4,770</td>
<td>3,970</td>
<td>8,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>5,216</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>6,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>2,333</td>
<td>2,096</td>
<td>4,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garrard</td>
<td>3,677</td>
<td>3,422</td>
<td>7,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>3,856</td>
<td>2,987</td>
<td>6,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graves</td>
<td>5,063</td>
<td>4,867</td>
<td>9,930</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## WHITE--FREE BLACK--SLAVE POPULATION BY COUNTIES, SEX, TOTALS 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Total Whites</th>
<th>Total Free Colored</th>
<th>Total Slaves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen</td>
<td>4,636</td>
<td>4,246</td>
<td>8,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>1,946</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>3,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pendleton</td>
<td>3,238</td>
<td>2,602</td>
<td>6,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry</td>
<td>1,578</td>
<td>1,394</td>
<td>3,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pike</td>
<td>2,706</td>
<td>2,544</td>
<td>5,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingston</td>
<td>6,533</td>
<td>5,338</td>
<td>12,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockcastle</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>2,010</td>
<td>6,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,401</td>
<td>5,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>4,654</td>
<td>4,237</td>
<td>7,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelby</td>
<td>6,337</td>
<td>4,992</td>
<td>12,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson</td>
<td>2,933</td>
<td>2,863</td>
<td>6,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>2,422</td>
<td>2,327</td>
<td>7,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>2,713</td>
<td>2,749</td>
<td>6,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigg</td>
<td>3,761</td>
<td>3,491</td>
<td>10,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimble</td>
<td>2,527</td>
<td>2,406</td>
<td>6,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>3,451</td>
<td>3,033</td>
<td>6,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>5,385</td>
<td>5,120</td>
<td>14,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>4,839</td>
<td>4,453</td>
<td>9,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>3,914</td>
<td>3,841</td>
<td>7,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitley</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>3,432</td>
<td>7,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodford</td>
<td>2,604</td>
<td>2,378</td>
<td>6,882</td>
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</table>

### COUNTYs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>302,565</td>
<td>165,801</td>
<td>14,121</td>
<td>320,923</td>
<td>173,687</td>
<td>16,773</td>
<td>320,460</td>
<td>174,467</td>
<td>17,773</td>
<td>320,067</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TOTALS 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22,006,252</td>
<td>9,902,158</td>
<td>11,104,094</td>
<td>34,660,396</td>
<td>11,831,390</td>
<td>11,104,094</td>
<td>34,660,396</td>
<td>11,831,390</td>
<td>11,104,094</td>
<td>34,660,396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### FREE BLACK--WHITE--SLAVE POPULATIONS OF LEADING KY CITIES, TOWNS 1850

#### us, seventh census of the us 1850, 1853

#### FREE BLACK--WHITE--SLAVE POPULATION OF LEADING KY CITIES, TOWNS 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITIES AND TOWNS</th>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
<th>WHITES</th>
<th>FREE COLORED</th>
<th>SLAVES</th>
<th>AGGREGATE POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>Bracken</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbourville</td>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>Trimble</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blandville</td>
<td>Ballard</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barhamville</td>
<td>Mercer</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardstown</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbellsville</td>
<td>Kenton</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covington</td>
<td></td>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>554</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>646</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>1,301</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>467</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>815</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>1,582</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>960</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>1,888</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>337</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>474</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,558</td>
<td>4,533</td>
<td>9,091</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crittenden</td>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Fleming</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flemingsburg</td>
<td>Fleming</td>
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<td>214</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfort</td>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>1,197</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>2,079</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germantown</td>
<td>Bracken</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Barren</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrodsburg</td>
<td>Magoffin</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>1,304</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td>Henderson</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hickman</td>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodgenville</td>
<td>Linn</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>Kenton</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>1,468</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>2,544</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayfield</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>1,680</td>
<td>1,547</td>
<td>3,227</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Mayfield</td>
<td></td>
<td>203</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Note:** The table above and the one following provide statistical data on the population of various Kentucky cities and towns during the 1850 census, including the number of whites, free colored, and slaves. The populations are categorized by city, town, or county, and the data includes totals and specific breakdowns for each category. The table is designed to show the proportional distribution of population by race and provide insights into the demographic landscape of Kentucky during that period.

---

**Note:** The table on the right side follows a similar format, detailing populations for different regions and cities in the US in 1850, focusing on the free black, white, and slave populations. It extends the same kind of analysis and categorization seen in the Kentucky table, offering comparable data for a broader geographical scope.
1850 (U.S. 7th Cen. 1850 (1853) p. xlivii

Free Col. 5-14 = 2,361 (p. xlivii)

Free Col. in Sch 288

approximately 12.2% in Sch in 1850

1860 (1860 Census p. 174)

(p. 174) Free Col age 5-14 = 2,611

(p. 174) Free Col in Sch 209

approximately 8.00% in Sch in 1860
### Free Blacks Attending School 1850 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bourbon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyle</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owsley</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelby</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimble</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Free Blacks in School:** 288

*16 Co2 130,917 White attending sch.*

### Notes
- 45% of free adult blacks could read and write.
- Big Co2: Boyle, Fayette, Jefferson.
1850

White age 5-14 =

59,604 ✓
57,315 ✓
51,610 ✓
49,454 ✓

217,983

1860

White age 5-14

67,727 ✓
65,444 ✓
59,951 ✓
58,107 ✓

251,229

Free Colored age 20 or older (adult pop)

<p>| | |</p>
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5,619 free col age 20 and over 1860

2,463 can't read age 20 and over

3,156 free col. age 20 and over in 1860

Can Read & Write

56.166% free col age 20

Can Read & Write

5,619 free col age 20 and over 1860
White population 1860: Pp. 170-171

1860

Total free Whites

Can't read

919,517

67,577

7.3% can't read total white pop

(adult) 1860 Census pp 170-171

Age 20 and older

83,064

77,680

57,014

49,896

37,033

32,024

22,523

18,450

11,479

10,881

4,673

4,595

1,249

1,299

1,247

1,67

20

18

35

11

97

413,541

Male + female 20 and over

White attending school

182,450

White age 5-14

251,229

72.62% white 5-14 attending school
White 1850

Total free white 761,413 Total white pop

Con't read 66,687 " con't read

8.75% of Total white pop con't read

(adults) 1850 Census

age 20 and older

69,671 ✓
64,586 ✓
45,345 ✓
38,672 ✓
28,587 ✓
25,376 ✓
16,995 ✓
15,142 ✓
8,904 ✓
8,696 ✓
3,994 ✓
3,620 ✓
1,188 ✓
1,156 ✓
177 ✓
180 ✓
28 ✓
31 ✓
108 ✓
72 ✓

332,368 20 + older

Adults 20+ 332,368 age 20 + old (adults)

20.06% age 20 + old can't read.

White att. school

130,917

White age 5-14

217,983

60.05% white

5-14 att. school
FREE BLACKS REPORTED UNABLE TO READ, WRITE 1850 CENSUS
us, seventh census of the us 1850, 1853

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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
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Grant | 3 | 2 | 5 |

Graves | 1 | 1 | 2 |

Grayson |      |    |   |

Greene | 12 | 13 | 25 |

Greenup |      |    |   |

Hancock |  3 |  3 |  6 |

Hardin |  2 |  2 |  4 |

Harlan |  2 |  1 |  3 |

Harrison |      |    |   |

Hart |      |    |   |

Henderson |  3 |  3 |  6 |

Henry | 13 |  7 | 20 |

Hickman | 10 |  5 | 15 |

Hodgson |  1 |  3 |  4 |

Jefferson | 251 | 316 | 567 |

Jessamine | 32 | 32 | 64 |

Johnson |      |    |   |

Kentucky | 29 | 20 | 49 |

Knox |      |    |   |

La Rane |      |    |   |

Laurel |      |    |   |

Lawrence |      |    |   |

Leitcher |  4 |  1 |  5 |

Lewis |  3 |  4 |  7 |

Lincoln |      |    |   |

Livingston |  3 |  3 |  6 |

Logan | 12 | 23 | 35 |

McCraney |  5 |  3 |  8 |

McCracken |      |    |   |

Madison | 12 | 13 | 25 |

Marion | 11 | 11 | 22 |

Marshall |  5 |  6 | 11 |

Mason | 60 | 85 | 145 |

Mercer |  9 |  9 | 18 |

Monroe |      |    |   |

Montgomery |      |    |   |

Morgan |  5 |  4 |  9 |

Muhlenburg |  5 |  4 |  9 |

Total | 1,431 | 1,588 | 3,019

FREE BLACKS REPORTED UNABLE TO READ, WRITE 1850 CENSUS
us, seventh census of the us 1850, 1853

Nelson | 18 | 22 | 40 |

Nicholas | 16 | 21 | 37 |

Ohio |  3 |  9 | 12 |

Oldham |      |    |   |

Trigg |  7 | 17 | 24 |

Warren | 25 | 21 | 46 |

Washington |  8 |  9 | 17 |

Wayne |  2 |  3 |  5 |

White |  3 |  3 |  6 |

Woodford |  2 |  2 |  4 |

Total | 1,431 | 1,588 | 3,019
1860 Census - Free Colored 20 or older

1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1350</td>
<td>2463</td>
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1860 Free Colored attending school Jan 1, 1860

<table>
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<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>269</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

---

1850 Census - Free Colored 20 or older

1850

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<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<td>749</td>
<td>1383</td>
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<tr>
<td>492</td>
<td>559</td>
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<td>460</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>878</td>
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1850 Can't read + write

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<th>Female</th>
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<tr>
<td>5478</td>
<td>3019</td>
<td>8497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Can't read + write in 1850

20,000 + 44,888 = 64,888

Can read + write

24,859 + 44,888 = 69,747

Total = 61,839
CLASSIFICATION OF AGES.

TABLE XXII.—CLASSIFICATION OF AGES OF THE FREE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1850.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES, TERRITORIES, &amp;C.</th>
<th>Under 1.</th>
<th>1 and under 5.</th>
<th>5 and under 10.</th>
<th>10 and under 15.</th>
<th>15 and under 20.</th>
<th>20 and under 30.</th>
<th>30 and under 40.</th>
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<td>292</td>
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<td>181</td>
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CLASSIFICATION OF AGES OF THE FREE COLORED POPULATION—Continued.

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CLASSIFICATION OF AGES OF THE FREE COLORED POPULATION—Continued.
TABLE XXX.--AGGREGATES OF THE DEAF AND DUMB, BLIND, INSANE, AND DISEASED, IN THE UNITED STATES.

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<th>STATE AND TERRITORIES</th>
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<th>Insane</th>
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TABLE XXXI.--PERSONS IN SEVERAL OF THE STATES, AFFECTED WITH THE LOSS OF UPPER LIMBS IN ONE OR MORE.

<table>
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<th>CLASS</th>
<th>Number of Blind</th>
<th>Number of Deaf and Dumb</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

TABLE XXXII.--NUMBER OF DEAF AND DUMB, BLIND, AND INSANE, OF THE WHITE AND COLOURED RACES, IN THE UNITED STATES, 1830 AND 1840.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES AND TERRITORIES</th>
<th>White Persons</th>
<th>Colored Persons</th>
<th>Total Persons</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
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<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>North Carolina</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ohio</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>Rhode Island</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
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</table>

TOTAL ----------------- 720 | 720 | 1440
FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE TOTALS, POPULATION, 1860

us, eighth census of the US 1860, 1864

p 171/ 919,484 white

474,193 male
445,291 female

p 175/ 10,684 free blacks

5,101 male
5,583 female

p 197/ 225,483 slaves

113,009 male
112,474 female

225,483 Total

Total wht. 919,484
Total pop. 1,155,651

Total Black 236,167

Total Black 20.4%

1830-1860 all blacks averaged 22.98% of total pop

HOW SLAVES GOT TO NAZRETH COLLEGE EARLY 1800s

Nat. Green, the silent believers, 1972

p 21/ Green says that the first records mention slaves in the Bardstown area before 1792. /p 23/

Such was the case at Nazareth College, in the development of the college and program of training for the Sisters of Charity that began in 1812. The novices coming to the school for training to become nuns brought with them a dowry (as required) to help take care of the expenses and upkeep in that day. For many of the girls the medium of exchange in meeting that requirement was black slaves. Slaves were brought from their farms and turned over to the school as their dowries or as part of their dowry requirement.

The first group of slaves provided the school with a continuous line of free labor through their children and their children's children until the school set its last thirty slaves free on January 1, 1864. The following statement reflected the master's pride, hurt, and fears at the loss of this free labor. "We have given thirty counting the children; namely, all were born and raised here; they are devoted to Nazareth and the news for them of their joy has caused quite a lamentation to arise among them." They say, "Mr. Government set me free. I don't know him. I've lived here all my life and I'm too old now to go about the wide world with nobody and nothing. If I know Mr. Government, I'd..."
go to him and say 'you give me a house and everything I want in it.' Aunt Jane, there is a comfortable home for you where you shall want nothing as long as you live. I'd say 'much obliged to you sir.' I have a good home and you turn me out to do for myself, perhaps to die with nobody to care for me and you call that setting me free.' Such seems to be the sentiment of many good and faithful servants. Others eager for liberty and novelty seem to be filled with bright anticipation that they are an ideal and arrogant set who it is feared will give much to suffer to the white population."29
nat green, the silent believers, 1972

p 25/ "... for the black slave of Catholics, life as a Catholic did not mean much. As property they were traded and handed down from one Catholic to another as the system required. Catholics were however willing to baptize their slaves and allow some to marry, though many did not live together." /p 26/ Slaves were frequently willed to church leaders such as Rev. Steven Theodore Badin, Rev. Charles Nerinckx, etc. /p 27/ "Some of the missionaries owned a negro boy, or a negro family /sic for negro/ and these were made use of in the domestic care of the priest's house. ... Father Badin had several slaves, ... His farm at St. Stephen's required their labor, ..." /p 38/ "Slave baptism was to help establish the Catholic community and identify its human property as part of the community and separate them from others. This did not make the slave a Church member with /begin p 39/ rights, but identified him as a Catholic."

---

p 35/

Another example is,

THE GILLES - A LIKELY NEGRO WOMAN.

They are Catholics. I would prefer selling them in person.

Apply to: Rev. Sanderson.

Another is this one from the Catholic Advocate, Jan 8, 1836:

"Nowhere For Sale. I HAVE for sale a very fine FEMALE SLAVE WITH 3 MALE CHILDREN. I wish to sell her to some person living near Bardstown, as the residence must then be there. I am about to remove to Louisville and unwilling to separate her from her husband. I will prefer selling them to a Catholic.

Apply at my residence in Fairfield, Nelson Co., Ky. Jan. 8, 1836."

---
CATHOLIC ADVOCATE ADVERTISED FOR RUNAWYS 1837-39

nat green, the silent believers, 1972

p. 34

Another advertisement taken from the Catholic Advocate, Volume II, April 1, 1837, No. 8:

STOP THE RUNAWAY. [this is the title] AB-CONCEIVED from my house, in Marion County Ky. on Saturday the 29th inst., a bright mulatto boy named TOM, of an unknown age, with perfect teeth, 3 feet 6 or 8 inches high, pretty well named and by a careless observer might be mistaken for any person. His hair pretty straight, skin quite soft, a prominent reddish mark on his cheek, which one not recollected; has no beard; a consequence, do not recollect that he ever shaved; has rather a snubbed nose when spoken to. He had on a black fur hat, grey coat, a pair of black corded cotton pantaloons, and either a blue or brown stock cap which is not definitely recollected, and had no other clothing of any kind with him, as I believe he was last seen riding an escape probably by Louisville or at some point on the Ohio River in Indiana, or he may have gone to the neighborhood of Mumfordsville, as he was raised there. Everything taken in Marion County. $50 if taken in Kentucky or $100 if taken out of the State, will be given for his apprehension if confined in any jail so that I get him again.

JOHN LANCASTER, Jr.
April 1st, 1837.
jacob d green, narrative of life of j d green, a runaway from ky, 1864

p 5/ Born Aug 24, 1813, Queen Anne's County, Md., his entire early life until about 1847 spent in Maryland except for periods of freedom during escapes. (in 1839, 1846; finally in 1848). /p 32/ The second escape he was captured in Utica, N.Y. His master was on a trip. /p 33/ He escaped from his master who had taken him to Ohio (on the way home). Green went to Oberlin for a week, then to Zanesville, Ohio, "where I stopped for four months, when I was taken up on suspicion of breaking the windows of a store, and while in prison I was seen by a Mr. Donelson, who declared to the keeper that I belonged to him. I knew him well as the father-in-law of Mr. Steel, with whom I travelled to New Orleans. He was also a methodist minister. He had me discharged by paying the damage, and making affidavit that I was his slave, I was placed in prison, and kept in two weeks, when I was brought before the court for trial and Mr. Donelson procured papers showing that he had purchased me as a runaway. I therefore saw it was of no use prolonging the matter, and I acknowledged myself. I was then taken and put into the stage and taken to Cincinnati, Ohio, where I was placed upon the steamboat Pike No. 3 to be taken to Louisville, Kentucky, and there placed in prison a week, and on Tuesday brought out to auction and sold to Mr. Silas Wheelbanks for 1,050 dollars, with whom I remain about twelve months, and acted as coachman and waiting in the house."
night she opened the cellar door gently, and called me to come out, and introduced me to Mr. Nickins and two others, who took me to a house in Sixth street, where I remained until the next night, when they dressed me in female's clothes, and I was taken to the railway depot in a carriage—was put in the car, and sent to Cleveland, Ohio where I was placed on board a steam boat called the Indiana, and carried down Lake Erie to the city of Buffalo, New York, and the next day placed on the car for the Niagara Falls, and received by a gentleman named Jones, who took me in his carriage to a place called Lewiston, where I was placed on board a steamboat called Chief Justice Robinson. I was furnished with a ticket and twelve dollars. Three hours after starting I was in Toronto, Upper Canada, where I lived for three years and sang my song of deliverance,
### Free Black--Slave--White Pop by Counties, Sex 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M F</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>518</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Free Colored--Mulatto--Slave

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M F</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>442</td>
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</table>

#### Primary Counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M F</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
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<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>199</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>442</td>
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#### Secondary Counties

<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>438</td>
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</table>

#### Tertiary Counties

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Female</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
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<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
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<td>218</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>442</td>
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</tbody>
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### Free Black--Slave--White Pop by Counties, Sex 1860

<table>
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<tr>
<th>M F</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>518</td>
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### Free Colored--Mulatto--Slave

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M F</th>
<th>Male</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
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#### Primary Counties

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<td>225</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>119</td>
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<tr>
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<td>243</td>
<td>442</td>
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</table>

#### Secondary Counties

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
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<td>223</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>438</td>
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</table>

#### Tertiary Counties

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<thead>
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<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
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<td>124</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>442</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### FREE BLACK—SLAVE—WHITE POP BY COUNTIES, SEX 1860

#### US, EIGHTH CENSUS OF THE US 1860, 1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>Total Free.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>Total Free.</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>7,235</td>
<td>3,539</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>2,697</td>
<td>1,326</td>
<td>1,361</td>
<td>1,380</td>
<td>4,042</td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>706</td>
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<td>5,124</td>
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<td>F.</td>
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<td>3,030</td>
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<td>1,546</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>1,594</td>
<td>2,988</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>1,076</td>
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#### FREE BLACK—SLAVE—WHITE POP BY COUNTIES, SEX 1860

#### US, EIGHTH CENSUS OF THE US 1860, 1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>Total Free.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F. Total</th>
<th>Total Free.</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>M.</td>
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<td>1,700</td>
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<td>1,350</td>
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<td>525</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,175</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.</td>
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<td>1,750</td>
<td>1,050</td>
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<td>1,050</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>2,160</td>
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**Note:** 35 Indians included in white population.
## Free Black--Slave--White Pop for Major Towns 1860

### Eighth Census of the US 1860, 1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Appr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Coventry
- First ward: M 1,123, F 940, Total 2,063
- Second ward: M 611, F 626, Total 1,237
- Third ward: M 528, F 621, Total 1,149
- Fourth ward: M 276, F 322, Total 604

### Total Coventry
- M 3,719, F 3,600, Total 7,319
- Free Closed: 2,063
- Total: 7,319

### Free Black--Slave--White Pop for Major Towns 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Appr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Harrodsburg
- M 561, F 478, Total 1,039
- Free Closed: 561
- Total: 1,039

### Hopkinsville
- M 550, F 478, Total 1,028
- Free Closed: 550
- Total: 1,028

### Manyville
- M 9,787, F 9,876, Total 19,663
- Free Closed: 9,787
- Total: 19,663

### Madisonville
- M 1,414, F 224, Total 1,638
- Free Closed: 1,414
- Total: 1,638

### Nicholasville
- M 2,323, F 226, Total 2,549
- Free Closed: 2,323
- Total: 2,549

### Greenbrier
- M 208, F 313, Total 521
- Free Closed: 208
- Total: 521
FREE BLACK--SLAVE--WHITE POP FOR MAJOR TOWNS 1860

us, eighth census of the us 1860, 1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITIES, TOWNS, &amp;C.</th>
<th>WHITE.</th>
<th>FREE COLORED.</th>
<th>SLAVE.</th>
<th>Aggregate.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>1,735</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mendon</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelby</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palisad</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodford</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galena</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscatine</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—In many of the subdivisions of counties and parishes of several States no slave population appears, from the fact of the marshals having failed to subdivide the slave population according to the subdivisions as the white and free colored population were returned. The number of slaves must therefore be left to inferiors, where none are specified in minor divisions, and this applies to nearly all the slave States, and it will be seen that the aggregate of slave population, as returned in the minor subdivisions, falls considerably short of the number returned in the population by counties and parishes.

STATISTICS FOR 1860 ON DEAF MUTES, BLIND, INSANE, IDIOTS

us, eighth census of the us 1860, 1864

Deaf Mutes
- White 574 total
  - M 285
  - F 289

Free Blacks
- 1 total
  - a female
    - M 1
    - F 1

Slaves
- 75 total
  - M 34
  - F 41

Blind
- White 76.5% total 516
  - M 261
  - F 255

Free Black
- M 7
  - F 4
  - total 11

Free Mulatto
- M 3
  - F 0
  - total 3

Slave
- M 15
  - F 18
  - total 33
SLAVE DEAF, MUTE, BLIND, INSANE

us, 8th census. 1860, 1864

- Slave deaf, mute, blind, insane

1860:
- White: 919,425
- Black: 574,600
- Total: 1,494,025

- White deaf, mute, blind, insane:
  - 1,069
- Black deaf, mute, blind, insane:
  - 186
- Total deaf, mute, blind, insane:
  - 1,255

HEALTH STATISTICS 1830-1860

See notes 6100-6100-B; 6132; 6133; 6134; 6150-6150-B

| Year | Total d+d+blind
|------|------------------|
| 1830 | 601
| White, FC, Slaves |
| 1840 | 854
| White, FC, Slaves |
| 1850 | 1115
| White, FC, Slaves |
| 1860 | 11326
| White, FC, Slaves |

| Year | Total d+d+blind
|------|------------------|
| 1830 | 601
| White: 472 = 78.53%
| Black: 129 = 21.46%
| FC+slaves: 218 = 25.52%
| 1840 | 854
| White: 636 = 74.47%
| Black: 218 = 25.52%
| FC+slaves: 189 = 16.95%
| 1850 | 1115
| White: 926 = 83.04%
| Black: 218 = 25.52%
| FC+slaves: 189 = 16.95%
| 1860 | 11326
| White: 1,090 = 82.20%
| Black: 236 = 17.79%
TOTAL: BLACK--WHITE POPULATION IN KY 1870
us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872

p 31/
Total pop 1870
1,321,011

White pop 1870
1,098,692

"Colored" pop 1870
222,210

BLACK--WHITE--TOTAL POP BY COUNTIES 1870
us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872

p 31-32/
## BLACK--WHITE POP TOWNS, PRECINCTS 1870

**us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BREATHIT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Jackson</td>
<td>1026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. George's Branch</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fronthouse</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Hardtys</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Elliston</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Faw</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Crawford's</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Crockett's</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHELBURNE</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berelely</td>
<td>1524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berelely</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLINTON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Marion</td>
<td>1026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Piney Woods</td>
<td>1361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Union</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Hill's Mills</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hay's</td>
<td>1024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CUMBERLAND</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barkville</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carver</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elliott</td>
<td>928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kettle Creek</td>
<td>919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morrohows</td>
<td>1414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitsonton</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DAVIES</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>1472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteville</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheatsillet</td>
<td>2154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knotville</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowercreek, No. 1</td>
<td>1361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>1024</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oldtown</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owenbough</td>
<td>2475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ward</td>
<td>1414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upton, Upper</td>
<td>2057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanover</td>
<td>1414</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**BLACK--WHITE POP TOWNS, PRECINCTS 1870**

**us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1870</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOURBON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Castileville</td>
<td>1117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Flat Rock</td>
<td>1018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hutchison</td>
<td>686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Middletown</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Millbrook</td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. North Middleton</td>
<td>1468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Paris</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Paris</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rood's Mills</td>
<td>1119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOYD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Parksville</td>
<td>2120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (4)</td>
<td>1720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (4)</td>
<td>2820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (4)</td>
<td>2820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (4)</td>
<td>3420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (4)</td>
<td>3420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**CLAY**

| 1. Manchester | 2526 | 2499 | 8 | 295 |
| 2. Carlin's | 806 | 769 | 7 | 159 |
| 3. Allen's | 913 | 913 | 7 | 159 |
| 4. Hig Creek | 450 | 450 | 7 | 159 |
| 5. Rose | 450 | 450 | 7 | 159 |
| 6. Jessup | 450 | 450 | 7 | 159 |
| 7. Rose | 450 | 450 | 7 | 159 |
| 8. Bulkin | 450 | 450 | 7 | 159 |

---

**COCONUT**

<p>| 1. Gravely | 1407 | 1401 | 6 | 1241 |
| 2. Grayson | 152 | 152 | 14 | 102 |
| 3. buffalo | 213 | 213 | 1 | 124 |
| 4. olive Trees | 163 | 163 | 1 | 124 |
| 5. Coppin | 217 | 217 | 1 | 124 |
| 6. Morgan | 649 | 649 | 1 | 124 |
| 7. Star Furnace | 726 | 726 | 1 | 124 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Colored</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Natural</th>
<th>Precincts 1870</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FULTON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H. L. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Lodgton</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>250</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jackson</td>
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<td>306</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Hickman</td>
<td>1570</td>
<td>1506</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Muid Held</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fulton Station</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
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</table>

BLACK--WHITE POP OF TOWNS, PRECINCTS 1870

us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Colored</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Natural</th>
<th>Precincts 1870</th>
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<tr>
<td>GRAYSON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>H. L. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Casey</td>
<td>9312</td>
<td>8748</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>564</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Harrods</td>
<td>2110</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>114</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Clayhouse</td>
<td>2195</td>
<td>2071</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Wills</td>
<td>1458</td>
<td>1404</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Lamer Cave</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>124</td>
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<td>124</td>
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<th>Natural</th>
<th>Precincts 1870</th>
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<td>HARDIN</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Allens</td>
<td>1001</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>74</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>8. Upper Burn Creek</td>
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<td>2094</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>71</td>
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<th>Black</th>
<th>Colored</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Natural</th>
<th>Precincts 1870</th>
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<tr>
<td>HENRY</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>H. L. 1870</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Bethleh</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bluefield</td>
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<td>1156</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Campbellbell</td>
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<td>755</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>4. Delwood</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Granville</td>
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<td>6. Lockport</td>
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<td>7. New Castle</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Port Royal</td>
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<td>1029</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BLACK--WHITE POP OF TOWNS,PRECINCTS 1870

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us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872

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95......

1. Curtail
Court Honso .. _
3. l'r"thor8,iIle
4. :Koho
5. CIJ;Irh,~ton. _

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BLACK--WHITE POP OF TOWNS, PRECINCTS 1870

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us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRIES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASON</td>
<td>1336</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEVER</td>
<td>1332</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dicey</td>
<td>1243</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blass</td>
<td>1051</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Ashley(5)</td>
<td>1117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cedar Branch</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Coward(5)</td>
<td>1243</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Court House(5)</td>
<td>1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Grain Mill</td>
<td>997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Big Spring</td>
<td>861</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Wolf Creek</td>
<td>963</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Castle(5)</td>
<td>1243</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Bennett's</td>
<td>663</td>
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<tr>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
<th>1870</th>
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<tr>
<td>MEADS</td>
<td>1117</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Dickville</td>
<td>1120</td>
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<td>2. Beaver</td>
<td>230</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Frankfort</td>
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<td>4. State</td>
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<th>COUNTIES</th>
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<td>MERCER</td>
<td>1572</td>
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<td>1. Burlington</td>
<td>1686</td>
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<td>2. Columbus</td>
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<td>3. La Grange</td>
<td>1501</td>
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<td>4. Elkhorn</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. (Others)</td>
<td>527</td>
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<tr>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
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<td>NEWCASTLE</td>
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<td>1. Liberty</td>
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<td>2. Lexington</td>
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<td>3. Kesta</td>
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<td>4. Lincoln</td>
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<td>5. (Others)</td>
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<td>1. Louisville</td>
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<td>2. Bardstown</td>
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<td>4. New Albany</td>
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<td>2. Shadyside</td>
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<td>2. Falmouth</td>
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<td>3. Southport</td>
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## BLACK--WHITE POP. OF TOWNS, PRECINCTS 1870

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<table>
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<tr>
<th>COUNTRIES</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Colored</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Chicago</td>
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<td>Los Angeles</td>
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<th>White</th>
<th>Colored</th>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>Columbus</td>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
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### WASHINGTON

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<td>Portland</td>
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<td>Albany</td>
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## BLACK--WHITE POP. OF TOWNS, PRECINCTS 1870

us, ninth census of the us 1870, 1872

### 1870

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<tr>
<td>Boise</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>250</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

### WATERTOWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRIES</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Colored</th>
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<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2500</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Albany</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1000</td>
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</table>
While Miss Webster and Reverend Fairbank were awaiting trial in Megowan's slave jail in Lexington, the runaway Lewis reached the northern terminus of the Underground Railroad in Canada. Shortly after arriving at this well-known receiving station for fugitives at the mouth of the Detroit River, he wrote back to his old master in the Bluegrass:

"Amherstburgh [Ontario], Oct. 27, 1844

"Sir:---

"You have already discovered me absent, this will give notice where & why . . . I have concluded for the present to try Freedom & how it will seem to be my own Master & Manage my own matters & crack my own whip . . . I also have at length concluded to try how it will seem to walk about like a Gentleman my share of the time. I am willing to labour, but am desirous to act the Gentleman . . .

"I should not have left so soon had I not expected my sail [sale] might possibly be at hand, which I expected soon to take place in consequence of the death of one of my joint owners, your colleague. I have to get an amanuensis to Penn down my broken, irregular & incoherent thoughts, but I am now setting with writing implements in my hand & have already been at school & mean to go more . . .

"And now my Friend, farewell, for you can see I am off—

"Lewis Grant."
Upon his arrival in Canada, Lewis called himself Lewis Grant, adopting the surname of his old master in Kentucky. Shortly afterwards, however, he changed it to Lewis Hayden, by which name he became widely known for many years among abolitionists and others as an active agent of the Underground Railroad in Massachusetts and other Northern states. While living in Boston, he made a practice of harboring runaway slaves in his home at 66 Phillips Street, and upon one occasion, when his house contained several fugitives whom slave-catchers were seeking, he "placed two kegs of gunpowder on the premises and resolved to blow up his house rather than surrender the fugitives."* Hayden became a prominent citizen of Boston and later served a term in the Massachusetts legislature.*

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The capture of Boone, Stephen Hancock, Rev. Benjamin Kelly, Joseph Coffee and others whilst making salt at lower Blue licks occurred early in 1778. The two months captivity of Boone, his trip to Detroit, his adoption by the Shawnee tribe at Chillicothe, his escape to Boonesboro in the following June, are matters fully set forth in all the current histories of Kentucky. The great assault of the Indians upon Boonesboro in August, 1778, and the incidents by which it was accompanied, are graphically described by Robert B. McAfee in the following extract from his manuscript history:11

"Accordingly, as expected, on Monday morning, August 8th, by sunrise about four hundred and forty-four Indians appeared on the hill facing the fort, commanded by Capt. Duquesne, a Frenchman. They paraded with colors flying in two lines—so as to show their whole strength and terrify the fort into submission. The Indians were at particular pains to appear in as frightful a manner as possible—as they had all painted themselves in various colors streaked with red. After showing themselves for some time, they set up a most hideous yell and brandished their guns. Only twenty-nine men were in the station, who, though fine soldiers, felt a chill of horror at the sight of an enemy so numerous and so powerful.

"Soon after a large negro man, who could speak English, stepped about forty yards in front of the Indian line towards the fort and called three times as loudly as he could for 'Capt. Boone'—to which no answer was given. He then returned and called again, and said that he wanted to see 'Capt. Boone', and if he would come out they would not hurt him. The men in the fort held themselves in readiness to fire at the negro man, while the Indians took aim with their guns. The negro man then called to Capt. Boone and informed him that he was his friend and that they would not hurt him if he would come out.

"Boone was at first loath to believe this, but finding that the negro man was the only one who knew how to speak English, he came out, followed by his companions. The negro man then led the way to the fort, where the Indians met them, and gave them a present of a large quantity of powder and shot, with which they were greatly surprised. The negro man then informed them that he was a free negro, and that he had been sent by the Indians to persuade Capt. Boone to come out, and that he would be a guide to them if they would let him. The Indians then gave him a couple of scalplocks, and he returned to his friends, with whom he was rejoined by Capt. Boone and his companions.

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to the debate by determining to go, prepared himself with a pipe and flag, went out alone, leaving directions that if they saw the Indians imprison him they should shut the fort and defend it to the utmost. For a sign to his men he would strike his flag if danger presented itself. After a conference of an hour, he returned safely to the fort, and related to his men the result and their imminent danger. The Indians wished him to surrender the fort, and they would permit him and his connexion to escape unhurt. To this proposition he seemed to assent in order to amuse the Indians—well knowing that, in the then situation of the fort, they could easily take it by storm. Boone, pretending to accede to their terms, promised to return next day and inform them of the result of the conference, saying he had no doubt the fort would be given up.

"During the night the men spent their time in fortifying the place, by fastening the gate with bars, but for which the Indians might easily have forced the gate. Next day Boone returned to the Indian camp and informed them that all his men but a few were willing to surrender and that he believed they would soon assent, seeing they had no means of escape; but that if they would not give up, he himself would provide for its surrender. He left them promising to return next day, first agreeing to have a feast next day at which the Indian Chiefs were to be present and most of the principal men of the fort. The time thus gained was diligently improved in the fort by making every preparation possible.

"Things were made ready for the feast in a hollow in sight of the fort, whither both parties were to repair. Accordingly, Boone and five or six of his men went out. After eating the Indians began the conference for a surrender which Boone seemed to agree to; but, either suspecting his sincerity, or desirous of drawing the men out of the fort, in order to massacre them, as soon as the conference was over it was proposed and agreed that two Indians would shake hands with one man. They accordingly arose up and one Indian took hold of the hand on one side and another on the other side. The first that got hold, being impatient, tried to throw Boone down, but the whites, suspecting all things were not right, broke their hold, threw down some of the Indians and ran towards the fort; while they were fired upon by a party of Indians in ambush, who killed one white man and wounded two others. The balance of the whites got safely into fort, having considerable difficulty to run through the Indians in several places, they having planted themselves all around, and as soon as the first gun fired, came pouring in from all directions with the most hideous yells. Of the two wounded men, one was supposed to be killed, but he laid still until dark and then made out to crawl to the gate and get in. The Indians kept up a constant fire until night, firing sometimes after dark. Next morning they began again, using every plan to capture the place. The whites kept up a steady and well directed fire, proving unusually fatal.

"When the Indians found they could not take the fort by storm, they