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

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secreted a chosen band under the bank of the Kentucky river, and then appeared and made battle in great numbers on the opposite side; then affected to retreat in great disorder so as to induce the whites to follow. The latter, suspecting the ruse, kept close to the fort, for Boone in all his conferences with the Indians, represented the number of his men five times greater than he really had. When the Indians found their affected retreat would not do, they all returned and attempted to undermine the houses by beginning under the bank of the river and digging towards the fort. In this they had not the success they expected for a drizzling rain set in which lasted for two or three days. They mined to within fifteen or twenty steps of the house to where a large log lay, behind which they endeavored to hide. The men in the station frequently killed Indians as they came to and returned from the mine. After all, the Indians would have captured the fort, but for the constant rain for several days. The Indians took advantage of the night to make their advances. One night about the seventh after they came, they pitched several torches of cane and hickory bark against and upon the fort, which would inevitably have consumed the whole place had the fire caught readily, but the logs being wet no impression was made before it was discovered by the whites and extinguished with considerable difficulty. The night being extremely dark the Indians made every possible exertion to reduce the fort and set it on fire.

"They continued to undermine during the next day, but finding they were discovered and countermined, they gave over, and next day paraded and withdrew, having already slain all the cattle they could find and destroyed all the property they could reach. They retreated leisurely, the whites being too weak to pursue."

BOONE HIRES BLACK 1783 (LIVING IN FAYETTE CO)

"In 1783, Daniel Boone, then living in Fayette county, hired a negro man from William Hoy, then residing at 'Trading Hill', in Madison. Boone gave Hoy forty bushels of salt as hire for the negro man for one year, payable at Bullitt's lick near Louisville. The debt was satisfied by an order drawn by Daniel Boone upon his brother Squire, who then had some connection with the salt works at that lick."
leslie l hanawalt, 'henry fitzbutler,' detroit in perspective, I, winter 1973

p 127/ Henry Fitzbutler was born in 1842, and named William Henry Butler, the son of a farmer Wm Butler, a former slave coachman in Va. Henry changed his name to Fitzbutler when he was in his twenties. Born in /p 126/ Amhurstburg, Canada, which was 40% black (800 of 2,000). /p 137/ died 1901.

H. FITZBUTLER'S WIFE: SARAH MC CURDY FITZBUTLER

leslie l hanawalt, 'henry fitzbutler,' detroit in perspective, I, winter 1973

p 129/ Sarah

"For Henry Fitzbutler another source of self-assurance came with his marriage into one of the most influential families of Essex County, the McCurdys. His wife, Sarah Helen McCurdy, was a daughter of William H. McCurdy, a prominent, black, well-to-do cattle and horse farmer...." She married Henry Fitzbutler in 1866. /p 136/ In 1892, Sarah earned her M.D. at Louisville National Medical College, and became head of the nursing school Henry established. /p 137/ After Henry's death she continued "...supervising the nurses' training...."
Following graduation, Dr. Fitzbutler took his family to Louisville, Kentucky in July, 1872 and opened a practice that was to continue for the remaining twenty-nine years of his life. His reasons for choosing Louisville are not positively known. One may have been that Dr. Pearson, from his early acquaintance there, recommended it. But anyway it was a logical choice for a physician who desired to help the Southern blacks. Louisville, "gateway to the South," was, unlike most southern cities after the Civil War, prosperous and growing. It

Upon settling in Louisville, Dr. Fitzbutler "attracted much attention," being "the first regular physician of the colored race to enter upon the practice of medicine in the state of Kentucky." Further, he exhibited some daring. The only contemporary sketch of Fitzbutler's early years in Louisville says that in the Reconstruction era there was still in the Falls City an "admitted guardianship"—what we now might call an Establishment—i.e., a group of prominent 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.'" They and some Negro citizens predicted a short stay for this damn Yankee from Canada.
At some time in the 1870's, Fitzbutler entered the field of journalism by becoming the editor and financial manager of The Planet, a newspaper founded in 1872 by Alfred Froman and "devoted to the educational interests of the colored people." The Planet stopped publication after a few years, perhaps when Froman moved to Memphis. In 1879 Fitzbutler established his own weekly newspaper, the Ohio Falls Express, of which he was editor and chief financial support until his death twenty-two years later. It was, says Penn, "the first successful newspaper effort under the management of colored men in Kentucky, all other previous efforts having failed."  

One of Fitzbutler's aims in starting a paper was obviously to promote the Negro cause. The paper was "known and felt as one of the most fearless advocates of human rights," and its editor was "an unprejudiced representative of all races of men." But in addition, he printed for his black constituency not only announcements of lodge and church events, personals, etc., but national and local news. For example, after the Johnstown, Pa., flood of 1889 some Falls City people feared that pollution from corpses in the Conemaugh River might come down and make Ohio River water dangerous to use. Editorially the doctor explained in simple scientific terms why there was no cause for alarm. Again, he gave the vital statistics for Nashville for 1875, which revealed that the death-rate of the colored population was about twice that of the white. The causes, he said, were four: "poverty, ignorance of the laws of health, superstition, and lack of proper medical attention."  

Of perhaps greater magnitude and difficulty than operating a newspaper was the energetic Dr. Fitzbutler's founding in 1888 of a medical school for Negroes. About 1874, after two years in Louisville, the doctor began acting as preceptor for a few young men who might go on for M.D. degrees at Meharry Medical College in Nashville or Howard University School of Medicine in Washington, D.C. Four medical schools existed in Louisville, but they were closed to blacks. Some other Negro physicians took on apprentices, too; and in 1886 Fitzbutler with two of them drafted an act for the establishment of a medical school that could not exclude applicants on account of color. The state legislature passed this law in 1888, and the Louisville National Medical College opened that year with Fitzbutler as its top officer, the dean, and Professor of Surgery. At first it was housed in temporary quarters, but soon it had a suitable building purchased from the Louisville School of Pharmacy. Capital costs were paid by the founders and by public subscription.  

In 1889, six students who had entered with advanced standing were ready for graduation and a commencement was held. "For the first time in Kentucky the degree of M.D. was conferred on a colored man." The course of study was three years, which had become standard by that time; its content is sufficiently indicated by the list of subjects.
given earlier for the Detroit Medical College, except that some fields created by recent medical research—notably bacteriology and pathology—were given professorships. Operational expenses were moderate since, as in most medical colleges, the faculty were practitioners who did their teaching free; and occasionally the dean personally made up a deficit. The costs to students were kept low. Students came chiefly from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Indiana, with a scattering from other Southern and Northern states. Over the twenty-four-year life of the college, the faculty ranged from about 12 to 23, enrollments averaged around 30, graduates 8; graduates totalled perhaps 175. By virtue of Louisville National’s approval by the state licensing board, graduates were automatically eligible to practice.26

Like many other medical schools of the time, this college was rather small. Moreover, its standards could not have been high. For one thing, well-prepared applicants were hard to find, as is proven, if proof were needed, by the setting-up in 1891 of a short preparatory course “reviewing” Latin, medical etymology, orthography, and an outline of the curriculum. This continued a long time. A further handicap, especially...
By July 30 the initial body of settlers, numbering around 30, had taken up residence in the area. These consisted mainly of the town officers. In addition to Smith, Roundtree, and Fletcher, there were Jerry Alsp, Jeff Lindsey, and William Edmonds, all trustees of the town company. Z. T. Fletcher's wife was the first woman in the colony, and the only representative of her sex until the middle of September when a large group of colonists arrived from Kentucky under the leadership of W. R. Hill.12 Hill had apparently spent most of the month of August in Kentucky enlisting recruits for the new settlement. In close cooperation with several Negro ministers, he had traveled through Scott and Bourbon counties speaking to the congregations of the various Negro churches. By early September, Hill and a colored minister, the Rev. M. M. Bell, had enrolled nearly 300 freedmen from the vicinity of Lexington. The group arrived in the colony on September 17, 1877, a day long celebrated as the founding of Nicodemus colony.13

When the lands were surveyed and Hill had located these new settlers on their claims, they occupied approximately 70 farms.

The second large body of settlers originated near Georgetown, Ky., and arrived in the colony in the spring of 1878. It was memorable for bringing to Nicodemus two outstanding colored preachers.
we got in sight of Nicodemus," recalled Mrs. Hickman,
the men shouted, "There is Nicodemus!"

Being very sick, I hailed this news with gladness. I looked with 
all the eyes I had, I said, "Where is Nicodemus? I don't see it."

My husband pointed out various smokes coming out of the 
ground and said, "That is Nicodemus."
The families lived in droungts. We landed and once again
struck tents. The scenery to me was not at all inviting, and I 
began to cry. 16

The Hickman homestead was located 14 miles west of the town of
Nicodemus and about three miles north of Hill City.

POST CIVIL WAR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS FOR BLACKS

nat green, the silent believers, 1972

1. School for Colored Children, 1867

[St. Monica's School for Colored at Bardstown] there was no separate church at that time. It was under the administration of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth.

2. The St. Augustine parish having been started in 1868 and the church being built in 1879 St. Augustine's School for Colored started in 1871 in Louisville administered by the Sisters of Charity; this was the only church-school combination for blacks at this time.

3. St. Catherine's School for colored, 1869—two blocks from the Church in New Haven. There was no separate church. Administered by Sisters of Loretto at closed around 1935 under the Ursuline Sisters.

4. St. Augustine's School for Colored, 1876, in Lebanon Kentucky. There was no separate church at the time. Sisters of Loretto staffed it.

5. St. Dominic's School for Colored [later Holy Rosary] 1877 Springfield Kentucky. Known also as Briartown. There was no church, administered by the Sisters of Saint Dominic.

The schools had an express purpose of education for blacks and along with the one church was the base around which the black Catholic community built and practiced their faith.
nate green, the silent believers, 1972

p. 54

"In 1885, the Sisters of Loretto opened a "Public School for Colored" in Raywick where they were teaching at St. Francis Xavier School. In 1886, the sisters left St. Francis Xavier School and it is presumed that they left the public school also."

p. 55

"At Mary's, Kentucky,

Located at St. Mary's are St. Charles Parish and parochial school. Mentioned in the various sources studied is a St. Mary's School for the Colored and also a St. Charles School for the Colored. Facts seem to indicate that the places mentioned under the names above are one and the same place. With this thought in mind, the history of St. Charles School for the Colored is now summarized.

The Catholic Directory lists a St. Charles School for colored children as far back as 1881. In 1887, the Franciscan Sisters took charge of the parochial school. Connected with the school was a department for colored children. In 1892, a lay teacher took charge of the colored school. In 1912, the Ursuline Sisters of Maple Mount began teaching in the colored school and continued to do so until 1919. Since that time, a negro Catholic woman is the school teacher. She teaches religion, as nearly all the pupils are Catholic.

% of KY White--Black Population 1850-1890

us, eleventh census of the us 1890, 1895

p xcv/

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INCREASE/DECREASE IN BLACK POP IN KY 1850-1890
us, eleventh census of the US 1890, 1895

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BLACK--WHITE POP MAJOR CITIES 1870-1880
us, house, statistics of pop tenth census 1880, 1883

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### Table: BLACK--WHITE POP BY COUNTIES 1860-1880

**Us, house, statistics of pop, tenth census 1880, 1883**

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### Table: BLACK--WHITE POP BY COUNTIES 1860-1880

**Us, house, statistics of pop, tenth census 1880, 1883**
BLACK--WHITE POP BY COUNTIES 1860-1880: To Black 1880

us, house, statistics of pop tenth census 1880, 1883

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us, house, statistics of pop tenth census 1880, 1883

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us, eleventh census of the us 1890, 1895
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#### us, eleventh census of the US 1890, 1895

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#### BLACK--WHITE POP BY COUNTIES 1870-1890

#### 1870-1890

#### us, eleventh census of the US 1890, 1895

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<th>County</th>
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<th>White 1890</th>
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POPULATION CENTERS OF 2,500 OR MORE 1890

us, eleventh census of the us 1890, 1895

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REVISION IN SCHOOL LAW TO PROVIDE TAX FOR WHITE SCHOOLS ONLY
PASSED JAN 22, 1869

ky, ky documents, annual report supt of public inst, dec 1868, k\u2019law
Legis Doc No. 18, 1869

p 5/ Ky Law "An Act for the benefit of the Common School System," Chpt 1275, will, if the voters approve, increase the tax on property by fifteen cents on the one hundred dollars of taxable property. The tax is only on the property of whites and shall be used "... for the education of white children exclusively."
UNION OFFICER ALLOWS SALE OF NEGRO SLAVES WITHOUT REALIZING IT
IN NICHOLASVILLE Nov 1862

OR, ser i, vol 20, pt 2,

p 68/ Brig Gen A. Baird (Absolom Baird), commanding in Nicholasville, wrote Liut T. G. Beaham, asst adj gen, hdq Army of Ky, explaining how blacks had been sold in Nicholasville. Said he did not understand that court day meant trading in all kinds of property, including slaves. Said the sheriff asked him if there would be any Federal interference in Court Day, /p 69/ and he said no, not knowing slaves would be sold contrary to the laws of Congress. "Late in the afternoon, however, I was unofficially informed that the sheriff, with my order in his hands, had gone to the court-house, and , under the eyes of the provost guard, proposed to sell both land and negroes. The marshal prevented it. Any man will see that a sale, under such circumstances, should, in equity, be pronounced void;..." The troops apparently stopped the sale of land, hogs etc, at the same time. To complaints of blacks in his camp Baird responded: "A few negroes have found their way into the camps, but the number has been exaggerated, and had the owners been satisfied to exercise a little patience when the fugitive could not readily be found, the soldiers would soon have got tired of their new playthings and turned every black out of camp themselves. This, however, is not the policy, and whilst I and the most of my officers are unceasing in our efforts to prevent interference with what these people call their institutions, I am still constantly importuned for order to deliver up slaves, and the orders of other officers exhibited to me as a precedent, when the persons making the demand are fully cognizant of the act of Congress prohibiting such a course at my hands."

MAJOR GEN GORDON GRANGER WANTS POLICY ABOUT BLACKS IN CAMP Nov 1862

or, ser i, vol 20, pt 2 Major Gen H. G. Wright, command in Cincinnati,
to Major Gen H W. Halleck, gen in chief, dated Nov 23, 1862, 2 pm,

p 91/ Wright said that Major Gen Gordon Granger "... reports that he is 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."
GEN Q.A. GILLMORE DENIES RETURNING SLAVES TO OWNERS NEAR LEX Dec 1862

Quoting Gen. Q.A. Gillmore, commanding Near Lexington, Ky., Dec 11, 1862 to Maj Gen Gordon Granger, commanding Army of Ky. in Lexington,

p 160/ "The charges against me of 'nigger-catching,' and of returning slaves to their owners or agents, have not the slightest foundation in fact, as the writers / of a newspaper article / must, or might, have known at the time. I have never, that I know of, by any order of mine, hindred 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. I have advocated and recommended no resistance to the civil authorities in the exercise of their legitimate functions within the loyal State of Kentucky, for the reason that martial law, except in its limited application in arresting disloyal persons, does not exist here.+

'The object of my 'contraband order,' herewith inclosed, is shown upon its face. I 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 /begin p 161/ 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." Endorsed by Gordon Granger Dec 11, 1862, endorsed by H. G. Wright, Dec 12, 1862, both given full approval.

UNION BRIG GEN A. MCD. McCOOK DESIRES POLICY REGARDING BLACKS AT CAMP NEVIN, KY, NOV 1861


p 776/ "General: 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 for their running away that 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 and deliver them up? What effect would it have on our cause south of the 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 recreant 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."
Brig Gen W. T. Sherman in Lou, Commanding Hdq, Dept of Cumberland, to A-G Alexander McD. McCook at Camp Nevin, dated Nov 8, 1861,
OR, Ser II, vol l,

p 777/ Sherman says: "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."

D C BUELL RESPONDS TO KY HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FUGITIVES IN CAMP
Mar 1862

or, ser ii, vol l, B-g D. C. Buell, commanding Dept of Ohio, dated Nashville, Tenn., March 6, 1862, to Hon. J. R. Underwood, Chairman, Military Committee, Frankfort, Ky.

p 809/ Underwood wrote Buell on "the subject of fugitive slaves in the camps of the army."

"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 made gnifed 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." Says there may be some who refuse to obey the law, but not many.
or, ser iii, vol 3, B-G J. T. Boyle in Camp Nelson, Ky, June 23, 1863, to Col, J. B. Fry, no location given. (telegram)

p 416/
"General / John W. / Finnell has just informed me that you have ordered the enrollment of free negroes for military service in Kentucky. There are only 4,130 free male negroes in the State. One-eighth of them is a fair estimate of those between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, giving less than 700. If you gain these, you will lose more than 10,000. You will revolutionize the State and do infinite and inconceivable harm, and I am sure this is all wrong and there is not an honest, loyal man in the State in favor of it, and it will meet with decided opposition. For the peace and quiet of the country I beg you will change your order on the subject. I request that you confer with President Lincoln on the subject and show him this telegram."

or, ser iii, vol 3,

p 418/ B-G J.T.Boyle wrote Pres Lincoln from Cincinnati, June 26, 1863, asking Lincoln to look at the letter Boyle sent Fry regarding enrollment of blacks in Ky.

M-G A.E.Burnside in Cincinnati wrote Lincoln in Wash, June 26, 1863, asking that blacks (free) not be enrolled in Ky.

p 419/ Lincoln in Washington wrote M-G Burnside in Cincinnati, dated June 27: "There is nothing going on in Kentucky on the subject of which you telegraph except an enrollment. Before anything is done beyond this I will take care to understand the case better than I now do."

p 420/ Same date, Lincoln sent same telegram to J. T. Boyle, in Cincinnati.
J B FRYE EXPLAINS ENROLLMENT OF FREE BLACKS TO GEN J T BOYLE June 1863


p 418/
"General: The enrollment is simply taking the census of persons between the ages of twenty and forty-five. I don't see why infinite /begin p 419/ and inconceivable harm, as you state, should be done by my ascertaining and informing the Government how many free negroes are between those ages in the different States, and their names, and I have a better opinion of Kentucky than to think she would be revolutionized is such information is sought for by me as it has been by the Census Bureau without revolution. I shall endeavor to get this information in Kentucky, as in other States, unless the Government orders otherwise, and to use your language, I do not see how any honest loyal man in the State can oppose it. I will show your dispatch to the Government to-day."

BLACK TROOPS RAISED FOR ARTILLERY TO PROTECT PADUCAH Feb 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Adj-Gen Lorenzo Thomas to Sec of War Edwin M. Stanton, dated Louisville, Feb 1, 1864.

p 60/ Lorenzo Thomas had been in Frankfort talking with the Governor, Bramlette, and other politicians, where he found hostility to recruiting blacks. The Governor "... further said that he was receiving many complaints from the vicinity of Paducah, where it was stated that recruiting had recently commenced, and that he should call the attention of the War Department to the subject, as the excitement of the people in the First Congressional District was very great." I informed him that a regiment of heavy artillery had been authorized for the garrison of Paducah."

/p 59/ Thomas says that "slaves of Kentucky, on the borders of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Tennessee, ..." are crossing /p 60/ going to those states to enlist for distant states such as Mass & Mich. (now go on to top part of note)
By direction of the Governor I write to inform you that there are at Jeffersonville, New Albany, and Evansville a number of agents for substitute brokers from the Eastern States engaged in enticing colored men from Kentucky and Tennessee to go with them to points East to be used as substitutes. It has been complained of and our people think it should be stopped. Squads of five to ten pass through the city on the trains daily, and our police and provost-marshal are doubtful as to their duty in the premises."

"Our policemen about the depot report these abuses after the parties have taken the trains and are beyond the limits of the State."

"Colored men are brought here as contrabands and then carried off to fill the quotas of other States,..."
GEN THOMAS URGES THE RECRUITING OF COL ARTILLERY AT PADUCAH
Feb 27, 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Adj Gen U S Army, Lorenzo Thomas to H M Stanton, sec of war, dated louisville, feb 27, 1864

p 138/
"I arrived here this morning. In my letter of the 1st instant I requested instructions respecting the First Artillery Regiment Colored Troops, to be raised at Paducah, Ky. Shall I proceed with its organization? I will await your instructions here."

BURBRIDGE TELLS LINCOLN KY WILL ENROLL BLACKS Mar 16, 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, B-G S. G. Burbridge, commanding Dist of Ky, writing from Frankfort, ky, to A Lincoln, dated March 16, 1864, 3 A M (received 10.40 a m)

p 187/
"We came to Frankfort to-night in fear of trouble. We have spent the night with the Governor. Heard his proclamation, which will be published to-morrow. It has the national ring. Kentucky will do her duty in the Nation. There need be no fears about the enrollment in this State. The law will be obeyed."

p 195/

"Can you not, by sending your deputies, your assistants, and visiting yourself the different districts, hasten and secure the enrollment of slaves as required by law? I fear the provost-marshal's waste time in finding enrolling officers. The commanding generals will doubtless give you sufficient military force on application."

Don't fiddle with details?

or, ser iii, vol 4, Major and Acting Asst Prov Marshal general, W. H. Sidell in Lou to Col J. B. Fry, Prov-Marshal-General, dated March 29, 1864

p 210/

"Loyal slave-holders willing to abide by the law, or to allow their slaves to volunteer, complain that they run off in great numbers for Canada to escape military service. Can any check be applied under the law to prevent this?"
MAJ W H SIDELL TELLS JAS B FRY OF WOLFORD'S SPEECHES AGAINST
RECRUITING BLACKS IN KY Mar 13, 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Maj 15 U.S.Infty, Actg Asst Provost Marshal General
W. H. Sidell in Lou to Col J. B. Fry, Prov-War-Gen in Washington,
dated March 13, 1864

at Lexington

p 174/ Says in a speech on March 10, 1864, Col Wolford of the First
Kentucky Cavalry, had denounced recruiting blacks; that Sidell had
heard of a similar speech at Danville earlier. Sidell feared rising
sentiment, cultivated by Ky leaders, against recruiting blacks.

BLACK TROOPS TO GET ONLY THEIR FAIR SHARE OF LABOR, FATIGUE DUTY
June 14, 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Adj Gen Lorenzo Thomas in Louisville, June 14, 1864,
issuing by Order of the Sec of War, Orders No. 21.

p 431/ Black troops must be incorporated into the U.S. Army; they must
not be made to perform "... most of the labor on fortifications and
the labor and fatigue duties of permanent stations and camps ..." Such
must cease and they must "... only be required to take their fair share
of fatigue duty with the white troops. This is necessary to prepare
them for the higher duties of conflicts with the enemy."
BRUBRIDGE RAISING TROOPS IN LEX, TO BE USED FOR GARRISON DUTY

June 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, B-G S.G. Burbridge in Lex, June 23, 1864, to E.M. Stanton, Sec of War in Washington

p 451/ "I can have five regiments of colored troops ready for service in a very short time if officers are furnished. Would you like to have Lieut. Col. J. P. Wade and Lieut. Henry P. Wade to report to me. I need colored troops for garrison duty. May I use them?"

Stanton replied to Burbridge in Lex, from Washington, War Dept, June 23, 1864. Said he was glad to hear of the success in raising black troops. He was immediately assigning the officers he mentioned to him, and any others he might desire. "You may use the colored troops for whatever infantry or artillery service they are needed in garrison or in the field."

Jos Holt sent to KY to look into abuse of black recruits

July 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Asst Adj Gen E.D. Townsend in Washington, writing on July 12, 1864, to Brig Gen J. Holt, Judge-Advocate-General U.S. Army, in Washington

p 488/ Holt to go to Ky, talk with Gov Bramlette, then to Maj Gen Burbridge. Find out if there is secret opposition to enrolling blacks, on the part of disloyal people (secret or open). "You will please make diligent inquiry as to the manner in which colored persons enlisted into the service are treated, and whether any, and if so what, measures are necessary to secure to them that military justice and protection to which they are entitled from the Government." He was to do the same thing in Missouri.
"I arrived at this place yesterday, where I shall be occupied several days. Shall visit Camp Nelson with General Burbridge to-morrow. Two infantry regiments are fully organized, clothed, and armed. The heavy artillery regiment is well under way. The regiment at Covington has 500 men and will soon be completed. The second regiment raised at Louisville has been sent to Louisa. In the course of a week strong detachments will be placed at several points where regiments can soon be raised."
STANTON TELLS BURBRIDGE HE CAN RAISE 2 CAVALRY REGIMENTS OF BLACKS

July 28, 1864

dated July 28, 1864
or, ser iii, vol 4, Sec of War E.M. Stanton in Wash/to M. & S. Burbridge
in Lexington.

p 557/
"You are authorized to raise two regiments of colored cavalry, to
be mounted if you can mount them from horses procured in Kentucky by
seizure, giving certificates of payment, payable at the end of the war,
to all loyal persons who shall continue to remain loyal during the war."

BLACK TROOPS IN PADUCAH POORLY HOUSED Aug 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Adj Gen L Thomas in Cairo, Ill, Aug 4, 1864, to
Sec of War, E.M. Stanton in Washington.

p 573/
"I have just returned from a visit to Paducah, where I found every-
thing progressing satisfactorily. The colored regiments there are not
properly sheltered, as the materials for building huts cannot be obtained.
I request that as this is a permanent position large-sized tents may
be furnished them. ... General Paine, at Paducah, understands my views
in regard to the colored women and children, and will exercise a
judicious policy with them."

p 768/ "When recruiting stations were opened at Gallatin and Clarksville slaves ran away from their owners in Kentucky--some came as far as from Louisville--to enlist. Eventually the Kentuckians saw that the losing of men to their quota did not pay. In March and April last I consulted with the acting assistant provost-marshel-general of Kentucky as to enlisting slaves there openly, and suggested that if under the new enrollment act negroes were drafted or volunteered they might be organized here, inasmuch as the people of Kentucky did not seem to be willing there should be armed negroes in their State. This was acceded to, and the recruiting was begun there in April."
KY BLACK ENROLLEES AS OF OCT 15, 1864


p 921/ Says has raised 2 regiments of cavalry, 2 regiments of heavy artillery, and eleven regiments of infantry of black troops in Ky.

"In Kentucky the number on the rolls on the 15th of October was about 17,000, which number would be increased to 20,000, as other organizations had been authorized and were going forward. When this number is obtained, it is recommended that no further regiments be ordered, but that the subsequent recruits be assigned to those already in service, to keep them up to the maximum standard." Says many more troops could be raised, but a lot of blacks are being employed in labor on the Mississippi River, and with troops in the fields. "The number of blacks used in this way, including cooks and servants, must be very large. Most of the labor is done by this class of men, and the forts on the Mississippi River have been mainly thrown up by them. When white and black troops come together in the same command the latter have to do the work. At first this was always the case, and in vain did I endeavor to correct it...." He failed to get the fair share of fatigue duty, labor, etc. for blacks in relation to whites.

RECRUITING OF BLACKS SLOWED IN LOU; SOME BLACKS IN ILL AVAILABLE FOR RECRUITING SINCE THEY FLED KY (Dec 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, L. Thomas, Adj Gen in Louisville, Dec 13, 1864, to E M Stanton in Wash.

p 995/ Says he arrived today from Lex. "Recruiting has been almost suspended, owing to the presence of so many guerrilla bands, and detachments sufficiently large could not be obtained to send through the infested districts, as most of the troops have been sent into Tennessee. Major McBride, stationed at Paducah, recently recruited at Cairo some 400 negroes. They were escaped negroes from this State. Not one of them had been enrolled in Illinois. The assistant adjutant-general at Springfield, Ill., forbid their being taken to Paducah, although he ought to have known that they could have been credited to Illinois,..."
KY FURNISHED 23,709 BLACK TROOPS

or, ser iii, vol 4, from Abstract from official records showing the forces called for by the President of the United States, the quotas assigned, and the number furnished (i.e., credits allowed) for the military and naval services from 1861 to 1865.

p 1270/ "Colored troops" 23,703 from Ky

PALMER ORDERED TO CONTINUE MUSTERING BLACK TROOPS IN KY Apr 1865

or, ser iii, vol 4, sec of war stanton in washington, april 18, 1865, to maj gen palmer in louisville

p 1271/
"The provost-marshal in Kentucky are hereby authorized and directed to continue mustering in colored recruits to fill up the colored regiments to the maximum, any previous order to the contrary notwithstanding."

RECRUITING OF BLACKS IN KY TO CONTINUE May 1865


p 13/ Says Sec of War directs recruiting of blacks troops to continue until June 1, 1865, for the following regiments:

77d, 119, 120th, 121st Col Infantry,
6th col Cavalry
4th and 13 Colored Artillery

none of these regiments to be recruited beyond maximum authorized.

MARTIAL LAW, SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS IN KY REVOKED BY A JOHNSON Oct 1865

or, ser iii, vol 5, General Orders No. 149, War Depart, Adjt. General's Office, Washington, Oct 14, 1865; Proclamation of the President.

p 125/ Says on July 5, 1864, Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus in Ky, and established martial law. Johnson proclaimed Oct 14, 1865, that martial law no longer in effect in Ky.
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., December 19, 1863.

Hon. E. M. Stanton,
Secretary of War:

Sir: The following suggestions are believed to be the proper remedies for the evils complained of by the citizens of Southern Kentucky:

First. Let an order be issued removing the recruiting camps for U. S. colored troops at Clarksville and Fort Donelson, Tenn., to points farther south of the Kentucky border—say Columbia and Jackson.

Second. Or if this proposition be deemed incompatible with the interests of the service, it is suggested in lieu thereof the officers of camps in Tennessee be forbidden to receive Kentucky negroes within their lines.

Third. Order that descriptive lists or certificates be given to every citizen of Kentucky (except those in the rebel army or otherwise notoriously connected with the rebel Government) whose slave has been enlisted.

Fourth. Require all officers commanding camps and detachments in Tennessee to make restitution of all property stolen by fugitive slaves from Kentucky and brought into their lines, and the slaves themselves surrendered as fugitives from justice, upon the requisition of the proper civil authorities in Kentucky.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

B. H. BRISTOW.

We approve the foregoing suggestions and are hopeful they will accomplish the end desired, if granted by the War Department.

C. F. BURNAM.

GEO. H. YEAMAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, December 21, 1863.

In order to secure to each State and district its just credit for colored troops furnished, and to secure compensation to the owners of enlisted slaves, it is ordered:

First. That officers engaged in recruiting colored troops in any State, upon any colored recruit being brought by his owner, shall, upon such recruit being accepted, give to such owner a certificate of the fact, together with a descriptive list of the recruit so received, in order that the owner may receive a compensation as hereafter provided.

Second. That recruiting officers be required to give to every person claiming a colored recruit as his or her slave, that has offered himself
and been accepted, a descriptive list, describing the recruit with sufficient certainty to identify him, in order that the owner may receive compensation; provided, that this shall not extend to any claimant who is in the rebel army, or otherwise notoriously connected with the rebels, or has furnished aid and comfort to the rebellion.

Third. That officers commanding recruiting camps and stations shall make restitution to the owners of any property stolen by slaves and taken into camp, and upon satisfactory proof of ownership being furnished by the claimant; and provided further, that such claimant shall not have been engaged in the rebellion or furnished aid and comfort to the rebels.

Fourth. That the slaves enlisted into the service of the United States shall be credited to the quota of the State, district, and county to which they belong; and loyal owners shall be entitled to compensation for their slaves, to be ascertained in the manner provided for by the regulations of this Department in respect to slaves enlisted into the service from the States of Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant-General.
subject was officially brought to your notice you directed that slaves should not be enrolled, considering, I suppose, that the law did not intend to include slaves among the persons to be enrolled. Difficulty and bloodshed attended the enrollment of white men in some of the free States, and the enrollment of free negroes in the border (slave) States was conducted in some instances at the imminent risk of local civil war. To have attempted the enrollment of slaves under a law which did not authorize it would, at the time when it must have been done, probably have produced evils which cannot now be calculated, and could not under any circumstances have added materially to the strength of the Army.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES B. FRY,
Provost-Marshal-General.

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CIRCULAR.

WAR DEPT., PROV. MAR. GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, March 1, 1864.

No. 8.

1. Pursuant to section 24 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.

2. 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 States may give.

3. 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.

4. 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 for transmission to the Provost-Marshal-General. Copies of the list will be kept in the offices of the district provost-marshal. Those lists by sub-districts will not be consolidated.

5. The provost-marshal will furnish each person to whom the persons owe service a list of those owing service to him who have been enrolled, specifying their names, ages, and date of enrollment.

6. 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.

JAMES B. FRY,
Provost-Marshal-General.

NOTE.—Amended circular—The one of the same number previously
or, ser iii, vol 4, Maj, 15th US Inf, A·A·P·M·G for Ky, W·H·Sidell in lou, march 14, 1864, to Col James B. Fry, Pro-Mar-Gen, in Washington at Hdq.

**HDQRS. ACTG. ASST. PROV. MAR. GEN., STATE OF KENTUCKY,**  
**Louisville, Ky., March 14, 1864.**

Col. JAMES B. FRY,  
Provoost-Marshal-General, Washington, D. C.:  

**COLONEL:** In obedience to your telegraphic order of the 9th instant directing me to report on the 14th, 20th, and 25th of this month the progress and completion of the enrollment of slaves in this State, I have the honor to state that circulars were addressed promptly to the several provost-marshal of districts to report to me the necessary information. In the cases of the most distant districts there has not been sufficient time for replies from them, and I make up the information from the general returns.

**First District.**—Captain Hall, of First District, reports, under date of the 10th instant, referring also to his of the 8th, that, his district being in the Department of the Tennessee, a regiment of blacks has been organizing for the last two months, and that the feeling against it is very strong, so that he had at that date found it very difficult to get enrolling officers. Also that the district is overrun with guerrillas, which increases the difficulty of obtaining these officers. He asks a strong cavalry force to aid him. He states that all necessary orders have been issued to his deputies, and that the Board of this district will not shrink from doing their utmost to carry out their orders; nevertheless, it is his opinion, and that of all the best Union men, that the enrollment cannot be carried out (in time).

**Second District.**—No report whatever on the subject of the enrollment has come in from Captain Grissom, provost-marshal of this district.

**Third District.**—Captain Hobson reports March 10 that he is making every effort to enroll the blacks, but fears it cannot be done in the time specified. New officers will have to be obtained in many cases to replace the old, who, either from fear or dissent, will not undertake the work. In the first sub-district, Warren County, it was not until the 9th instant that he could get an enrolling officer. In second sub-district, Logan County, three enrolling officers decline, and others to supply their places must yet be sought and a military force sent to protect them. In third sub-district, Todd County, two have declined, and the others not reported. In the fourth sub-district, Simpson County, one declined, but his place is filled. A military force has been detailed for this county. In the fifth, Allen County, new appointments have been made. Guerrillas interrupt operations. In the sixth, Hart County, one declined, and his place will be filled. The seventh, Metcalfe County, has not been heard from, and the eighth, Russell County, the same. In the ninth, Barren County, one only is known to have declined, but it is supposed this will be general and new appointments will have to be made. In the tenth sub-district, Monroe County, the eleventh, Cumberland, and the twelfth, Clinton, the officers will all serve, but nothing is known as yet of their operations. Force will be necessary in these last-named sub-districts. This was the condition of things in the Third District on 10th instant, since which nothing has been reported, excepting in general the opposition of opinion to the measure of enrolling the blacks.

**Fourth District.**—Captain Fidler, provost-marshal, Fourth District, reports to-day, 14th instant, enrolling officers are at work in the counties of Shelby, Meade, and Anderson. No official report has been received from the deputies in the other counties (eleven) of the district, but have reason to believe that in most of them enrolling officers are at work. In Marion, Nelson, and Spencer Counties, however,
SURVEY OF PROGRESS OF ENROLLING KY BLACKS, MARCH 1864

Nelson County is peculiarly difficult, and force will be required even to serve notices after the draft independently of any consideration of the negroes.

Pent District.—Report of Capt. G. W. Womack, provost-marshal, Fifth District, this date, 14th instant, states that no progress in actual enrollment has been made. It is very difficult to procure the proper persons to make the enrollment, and the Board determined to be very careful in these selections and get the most suitable men and those least objectionable to the people. Every effort is being made to forward the business.

Sixth District.—Capt. G. W. Berry, provost-marshal, Sixth District, reports that he has appointed enrolling officers for all the counties of his district, excepting Trimble and part of Kenton, but finds it very difficult to get persons to accept.

Seventh District.—Capt. T. H. Moore, provost-marshal, Seventh District, writes under dates of 8th, 10th, and 11th instant of the difficulty of procuring enrolling officers. The enrollment has begun in Bourbon, Jessamine, Fayette, and Scott Counties. Nothing further is known.

Eighth and Ninth Districts.—From these no reports have been received, the headquarters being too distant for reply to my circular letter up to this time. It will be seen that all the provost-marshal and almost all the deputies are well disposed to the work, while objection is made by such as are to do the enrolling, for very evident reasons:

All the provost-marshal speak of the necessity for military force, and the measures taken in this matter are as follows:

Immediately after receipt of your telegram of the 3d instant, directing me to inform General Schofield of the time and places of the draft, I wrote him, giving this information in detail and asking for the necessary force, to which I have as yet received no response, perhaps by reason of the time for the draft being deferred. I observe here that a portion of Kentucky east of the Tennessee River, being a part of the First District in the Department of the Tennessee, and therefore beyond General Schofield's command. But before your order to write to General Schofield I had already written to General Burbridge, commanding District of Kentucky, to the same effect; also to Brig. Gen. Hugh T. Reid, in command at Columbus, Ky., of District of Cairo. General Burbridge has accordingly placed one company of mounted infantry at headquarters of each provost-marshal, to be under their orders, excepting the First District, Paducah being in Department of the Tennessee. General Reid replies, indicating willingness, but states that the troops at his disposal are hardly of fit character. I answered, asking him to do his best. The First District is unfortunately divided between the Department of the Ohio and Tennessee. But previously to all this correspondence, and as far back as last November, General Boyle, then commanding District of Kentucky, issued his Order No. 62 (copy inclosed) at my solicitation, which order is still in force and gives provost-marshal and deputies a right to call for the services of any troops of his command. I inclosed a copy of this order when first issued to each provost-marshal, as General Boyle did to his officers, but I doubt if it was of much effect, and therefore I count but little on it now.

I have the honor to be, colonel, your obedient servant,

W. H. SIDELL,
Major Fifteenth U. S. Infty., A. A. P. M. G. for Kentucky.
SIDELL COMMENTS ON TROUBLESOME LOCALITIES IN RECRUITING BLACKS;
HAS NOT AUTHORIZED ROMAING SQUADS OF RECRUITERS MAR 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Maj. 15th us inf, a.a.p.m.g W. H. Sidell, in Lou, dated Mar 24, 1864, to Col. J. B. Frye, p.m.g-in Wash.

HDQRS. ACTG. ASST. Prov. Mar. Gen., State of Kentucky,
Louisville, Ky., March 24, 1864.

Col. J. E. Fry,
Provost-Marshall-General, Washington, D. C.:  

Colonel: Touching your telegram of yesterday on the trouble in enrolling negroes, I have to state that I have no fear, and never have had, of the completion of the enrollment; the only question was in regard to the time set. This short limit of time encouraged such as were inclined to the work to assume that they could stop it entirely, but they have gotten over that feeling pretty generally by this time, being well assured that with time the work could and would be done peacefully or forcibly. I think that things are now in fair progress, though of course difficulties occasionally occur as in every other business.

The general sense of the State is opposed to Colonel Wolford's course, and the unwilling, including rebels concealed or open and other mischief-makers, begin to find that they can make no head against the execution of the law. Yesterday I received a report that a deputy and two enrolling officers were threatened and put to flight in Cumberland County by drunken (and other) citizens and soldiers of a regiment stationed there, and the colonel of the regiment refused to give the necessary aid. I conferred with General Burbridge, who promptly brought the colonel to terms, and to-day informs me he will do his whole duty, and the provost-marshal of Third District telegraphs me to the same effect. Other circumstances of like nature occur from time to time and involve some little delay, but that is all.

I think that the dismissal of Colonel Wolford would serve a good purpose in tranquilizing the State as indicating to others that they would not be sustained in resistance and as showing that the General Government is omnipotent in enforcing its laws.

The provost-marshal and deputies do visit the troublesome localities and provide against contingencies, and I cannot doubt that the work will be soon completed.

SIDELL COMMENTS ON TROUBLESOME LOCALITIES IN RECRUITING BLACKS;
HAS NOT AUTHORIZED ROMAING SQUADS OF RECRUITERS MAR 1864

or, ser iii, vol 4, Maj. 15th us inf, a.a.p.m.g W. H. Sidell, in Lou, dated Mar 24, 1864, to Col. J. B. Frye, prov-mar-gen in Wash

In the First District, a part of which is in the Department of the Tennessee, there is some difficulty in getting the necessary force of the proper kind, viz., mounted men. As this part of the district is also subject to guerrilla interference, the force is more than usually necessary. General Reid, commanding District of Cairo, in that department, writes me that he has no proper force, and I think that the commanding general of the department should be directed from Washington to provide the force for him, say two companies of good mounted men. Each of the other provost-marshals has or should have, as the order has been issued, a mounted company at his disposal.

I have in some cases been asked by the provost-marshals if they would use the military directly in enrolling. I have considered it inexpedient and have not sanctioned it on the ground that small squads roaming from house to house would induce collisions which might grow and enlarge to be conflicts. I consider that the moral effect of a knowledge that a sufficient force is close at hand to aid an officer when he calls for aid is more potent than the exhibition of squads.

I doubt if anything more can be done than is now doing to insure or to expedite the completion of the work.

I am, colonel, respectfully,

W. H. SIDELL,
FREE BLACKS, SLAVES TO BE RECRUITED IN KY; FORWARDED OUTSIDE OF KY, 6211
THEN ARMED (Apr 18, 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, Thos. B. Fairleigh, Lieut-Col and Act Asst Adj Gen, dated Hdqrs. Dist of Kentucky, Louisville, Ky, April 18, 1864, General Orders No. 34.

GENERAL ORDERS. No. 34.

HDQRS. DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY,
Louisville, Ky., April 18, 1864.

I. In obedience to orders from the War Department the general commanding, in addition to the duties incumbent upon him as commander of this district, assumes, under direction of the proper bureaus of the War Department, a general superintendence of the execution of the acts of Congress for raising troops in Kentucky by voluntary enlistments and by drafting.

II. The assistant to the Provost-Marshal-General of the State is not relieved from any of the duties heretofore assigned him, but will receive from the general commanding such orders as he may deem necessary to secure the most prompt and faithful execution of the laws in question. All reports and returns heretofore required will be made to him by his subordinates, and not to these headquarters.

III. The recruiting of able-bodied slaves and free colored persons will be conducted within the limits of this State, under the following restrictions:

1. The assistant to the provost-marshal-general of the State, the provost-marshal of districts, and the deputy provost-marshal in each county are directed to receive and regularly enlist as soldiers in the service of the United States all able-bodied negro slaves and free colored persons of lawful age who may apply to them to be enlisted, and in case of slaves whose owners may request the enlistment; and no one will be permitted to recruit or enlist such slaves or free colored persons save such provost-marshal, deputy provost-marshal, and authorized agents.

2. As soon as enlisted the recruit will be at once forwarded to the provost-marshal of the district for muster into the service of the United States; and as soon as mustered and squads of such recruits are collected they will be at once forwarded to the general rendezvous at Louisville; thence forwarded by the commandant of the rendezvous to the nearest rendezvous or camp of instruction outside of the State, for the purpose of being equipped and assigned to companies and regiments.

3. It shall be the duty of the provost-marshal, whenever he accepts and musters into the U.S. service a slave belonging to a citizen of the State, to give the citizen such certificate of the fact, in duplicate, as will enable him to receive from the Government the compensation authorized by law for such recruits.

IV. Any person who may be found recruiting, enlisting, or attempting to recruit any negro slave or free colored person in this State who is not, under the provisions of this order, authorized to do so, will be arrested and forwarded to these headquarters; and all officers serving in this district are charged with the enforcement of this order.

V. Camps for instruction and drill of colored volunteers within this district are interdicted, and recruits will, in all cases, be forwarded as herein directed with all practicable dispatch.

By command of Brigadier-General Burbidge:

THOS. B. FAIRLEIGH,
Lieutenant-Colonel and Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

[Indorsement.]

The first four paragraphs of the within order are approved, and as the recruits are to be removed from Kentucky the fifth paragraph is superfluous.

EDWIN M. SPANJER,
WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., April 28, 1864.

Brig. Gen. S. G. BURBRIDGE, U. S. Volunteers,
Commanding District of Kentucky, Louisville:

GENERAL: By direction of the Secretary of War I have respectfully to inform you that the first four paragraphs of General Orders, No. 34, current series, from your headquarters, establishing regulations for the enlistment of colored men in the State of Kentucky, are approved. The fifth paragraph is regarded as superfluous.

I am further directed to instruct you to cause the recruits enlisted in pursuance of said order to be sent to Capt. R. D. Mussey, Nineteenth U. S. Infantry, acting commissioner for organization of colored troops, at Gallatin, Tenn., or Nashville, Tenn., as may be determined between yourself and Captain Mussey, who will organize the recruits and assign them to regiments.

In all cases where a recruit has been held to service under a master or owner the name of such owner will be entered on the muster in roll opposite the name of the recruit. Duplicate muster and descriptive rolls of the detachments will in all cases be forwarded with such detachments to Captain Mussey, one of which he will forward to this office after having entered upon the roll opposite the names of each of the recruits the designations of the regiments to which they have been assigned. These measures are necessary for ready reference at this office in cases where claims for payment are made by owners in consequence of the enlistment of their slaves.

Certificates of enlistment and descriptive lists will be furnished to loyal owners whose slaves are enlisted. A supply of the former, as per inclosed copy, will be forwarded to you from this office.

I have the honor, &c.,

C. W. FOSTER,
Assistant Adjutant-General of Volunteers.

HARSH TREATMENT OF REJECTED SLAVES BY MILITARY ENROLLEES LED TO ENROLLMENT OF ALL BLACKS IN "INVALID" REGTS (June 1864)

O.R., ser iii, vol 4, C.W. Foster, Asst Adj-Gen of Volunteers, at War

Dept, Adj-Gen's Office, Washington, dated Apr 28, 1864, to B-G S.G.

Burbridge, U.S. Volunteers, commanding District of Kentucky, Louisville

ORDERS:

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War:

SIR: In view of the cruelties practiced in the State of Kentucky by owners of slaves toward recruits rejected by recruiting officers for physical disability, it is respectfully recommended that Brig. Gen. L. Thomas, Adjutant-General U. S. Army, be instructed in effect as follows, viz:

You will please instruct the superintendent volunteer recruiting service for the State of Kentucky to accept and enlist any slave who may present himself for enlistment, provided such slave is fit for any military service or duty in the engineer, quartermaster's, or commissary departments. Such men will be assigned to any "invalid" colored regiment in process of organization at the time of their enlistment. These instructions will not be construed as authorizing the enlistment of free colored men, or of slaves physically disqualified, who may be presented by their owners for enlistment.

Respectfully submitted.

C. W. FOSTER,
Assistant Adjutant-General of Volunteers.

[Endorsement.]

Approved.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.
Capt. R. D. Mussey desires to set up camps in Ky; recruit blacks by sending troops throughout state (June 7, 1864)

Maj. C. W. Foster,
Assistant Adjutant-General:

Have received so far 340 men from Kentucky. Am convinced from representations of loyal Kentuckians and from the papers that with my system I can recruit ten men to one, as now recruited, by forming regiments in the State and sending out my recruiting agents. The enlistments could be made by provost-marshal, so as to afford all necessary security that owners be compensated.

If you will let me establish camp at five places in State and give me one company of troops raised here to form nucleus at each camp, I will agree to fill five regiments in six weeks.

General Webster, General Sherman's chief of staff, unofficially approves my proposition. Can't I do it? Please answer.

R. D. Mussey.

War Department, Adjutant-General's Office,
June 8, 1864.

Capt. R. D. Mussey, U. S. Army,
Nashville, Tenn.:

Your dispatch of yesterday regarding recruiting in Kentucky is received. You will confer with the Adjutant-General of the Army on the subject. He will be at Louisville by Saturday next.

By order:

C. W. Foster,
Assistant Adjutant-General of Volunteers.

Complaints of blacks in Henderson area being forced into army against their will (June 13, 1864)

Washington, D. C., June 13, 1864—10.45 a.m.

Brigadier-General Thomas,
Louisville, Ky.:

Complaint is made to me that in the vicinity of Henderson our military are seizing negroes and carrying them off without their own consent, and according to no rules whatever except those of absolute violence. I wish you would look into this and inform me, and see that the making soldiers of negroes is done according to the rules you are acting upon, so that unnecessary provocation and irritation be avoided.

A. Lincoln.

Louisville, Ky., June 13, 1864.

His Excellency Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States:

Telegram of this date received. I have no doubt there has been ground for complaint in the vicinity of Henderson, Ky., but I will take immediate measures to prevent a recurrence of any acts of violence on the part of officers engaged in recruiting colored troops in Kentucky.

L. Thomas,
Adjutant-General.
Camps established in 9 Cong dists to enroll slaves, free blacks

(June 13, 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, L. Thomas, Adj-Gen, Dated Louisville, June 13, 1864, General Orders No. 20.

The superintendent of volunteer recruiting service for the State of Kentucky is instructed to accept and enlist any slave who may present himself for enlistment, provided such a slave is fit for any military service or duty in the engineer, quartermaster's, or commissary departments. Such men will be assigned to any invalid regiment in process of organization at the time of their enlistment. These instructions, however, will not be construed as authorizing the enlistment of free colored men or of slaves physically disqualified who may be presented by their owners for enlistment.

Brig. Gen. A. L. Chetlain, U. S. Volunteers, is charged with the immediate supervision of the organization of colored troops in Kentucky, as authorized herein, subject to such instructions as he may receive from Brig. Gen. L. Thomas, Adjutant-General U. S. Army.

The assignment of Brigadier-General Chetlain to this duty will in no way interfere with his present position as commander of the colored troops in West Tennessee.

General Chetlain will establish his headquarters without delay at Louisville, Ky.

All commanders in Kentucky will afford General Chetlain every facility for carrying out the instructions contained in this order.

As early as possible colored troops will be used by General Chetlain for recruiting purposes, and will be distributed among the different camps of reception.

By order of the Secretary of War:

L. Thomas,
Adjutant-General.
RECRUITING GOING WELL; L. THOMAS WANTS A MUSIC SCHOOL AT C NELSON
(June 29, 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4

P. 459

LOUISVILLE, KY., June 29, 1864.

Hon. K. M. Stanton,
Secretary of War:

General Chetlain and myself arrived here yesterday. I leave to-morrow for Lexington to see General Burbridge and shall proceed to Camp Nelson, where the negroes are coming in rapidly. As soon as I can station detachments at the places indicated in my order to protect the negroes and afford them facilities for coming to these camps recruiting will go forward rapidly. The artillery regiment at Paducah is entirely full. A regiment of 1,000 has just been organized here, and there are 300 men for a second. Some 1,500 men are said to be at Camp Nelson. I wish to have at this place a school for field music. Am I authorized to employ a suitable teacher for the drum, fife, and bugle, to be paid from the appropriation for collecting, organizing, and drilling recruits? Such music is very necessary.

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

P. 460

BLACKS ENTERING C. NELSON; SLAVERY APPARENTLY DEAD IN KY July 1864

LEXINGTON, KY., July 3, 1864.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War:

There are at Camp Nelson 3,000 negroes, and they will be organized as soon as I can get officers, which is now my great want. I obtained officers for about three regiments from my officers, but these will be required at Louisville. Candidates are being examined here, and General Burbridge expects to give me officers for three regiments. I ought to have immediately officers for six other regiments. General Schofield has ordered several regiments of white troops to the front, and the employment of colored troops in this State will thus become a necessity. Indeed, General Burbridge desires to use them. As soon as I get officers recruiting will go on rapidly. The people of the State seem to realize the fact that slavery has almost entirely ceased to exist, and the true Union men are perfectly satisfied that the able-bodied men should be enlisted; and whilst the Southern sympathizers see the same fact, and know that they cannot prevent their enlistment, they keep quiet on the subject. Taking the negroes just now will interfere with saving the crops, but I have stated that the women and children shall be required to remain at home and be cared for by their owners. They can be made useful in securing the grain. It will not answer to take this class of slaves, as employment could not be obtained for them, and they would only be an expense to the Government. In this State, where slavery exists, I conceive I have only to do with those who can be put into the army. The railroad terminus is at Nicholasville, six miles from Camp Nelson. From the
BLACKS ENTERING C. NELSON: SLAVERY APPARENTLY DEAD IN KY JULY 1864 6218-A
or, ser, iii, vol 4, L Thomas, Adj Gen in Lex, dated July 3, 1864, to sec of war stanton

former point to the camp all supplies—and they are very numerous—have to be transported by wagons. If this large intrenched camp of 4,000 acres is to be continued—and I suppose such will be the case, as it is a good central point, and important as a base of supplies for Tennessee—it would be economy to construct a railroad over these six miles. It could be mainly constructed by the troops at comparatively little cost. General Burbridge gives me every assistance, and is fully impressed with the necessity of arming the negroes. He makes a good commander, and I hope will be continued in his present position. My presence will be necessary here to-morrow and perhaps the next day. I will return to Louisville.

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

GEN BURBRIDGE NOT TO BE SUPERSEDED IN KY RECRUITING JULY 1864 6219
or, ser iii, vol 4

WAR DEPT., PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., July 3, 1864.

General L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General, Louisville, Ky.:

Your General Order No. 20* has been presented to the Secretary of War. He directs me to say that on account of the peculiar condition of things in Kentucky he some time since gave to General Burbridge the chief control of the recruiting service for both white and colored troops in that State.

General Burbridge, assisted by Major Sidell, superintendent of recruiting service, has been for several weeks enlisting negroes in Kentucky, and the Secretary does not wish you to supersede or disturb the arrangements made by General Burbridge. On the contrary, he desires you to give any aid in your power to carry out the plans General Burbridge is acting on, and to put under General Burbridge's control all the officers whom you deem it best to connect with recruiting and organization in Kentucky.

J. B. FRY,
Brig. Gen. L. THOMAS,

Adjutant-General, U.S. Army,

GENERAL: I desire to call your attention to the following facts in regard to the recruiting and organization of colored troops in this district. Special Orders, No. 140, current series, from the War Department, directs that I, in addition to the duties already devolving upon me as commander of the District of Kentucky, shall be charged with the "general superintendence of the execution of the acts of Congress for raising troops in Kentucky by volunteer enlistment and by draft." This order contemplated the enlistment and organization of colored troops, and I immediately adopted measures which I deemed most prudent, in view of the general sentiment of Kentucky, to assure a thorough organization of colored troops in this State, with the least possible feeling upon the subject by the people. In view of the hostility toward the recruiting of colored troops in Kentucky by a very considerable part of our population (including all rebels and many Unionists), and to bring the Union party, if possible, up to the true standard of loyalty, I regarded it as eminently necessary to proceed with some caution in the matter. The objects of my first caution being removed, several days ago I gave directions for organizing colored troops in this State, and was assured by the War Department that I should be sustained in the matter. My purposes were to organize colored troops in this State and officer them, as far as possible, with

I am, very respectfully,

S. G. BURBRIDGE,

Brigadier-General.
Orders No. 24.

LOUISVILLE, KY., July 6, 1864.

I. Brig. Gen. A. L. Chetlain, U. S. Volunteers, is relieved from the operation of so much of Orders No. 20, of June 13, 1864, as relates to the organization of colored troops in the State of Kentucky, and Byt. Maj. Gen. S. G. Burbridge, U. S. Volunteers, is charged with that duty. Before returning to Memphis, Tenn., General Chetlain will make a minute inspection of the colored regiments in the State of Tennessee.

II. The law authorizing the enlistment of colored troops has only reference to the able-bodied negroes capable of bearing arms, and not to old men, the infirm, or women and children. Accordingly, none but able-bodied men will be received at the various camps designated for their reception. All others will be encouraged to remain at their respective homes, where, under the State laws, their masters are bound to take care of them, and those who may have been received at Camp Nelson will be sent to their homes. This latter is necessary, as many cases of disease have made their appearance among both sexes of such a nature as to require their removal beyond the limits of the camp. Furthermore, all of this class of persons are required to assist in securing the crops, now suffering in many cases for the want of labor.

III. The place of reception for colored men in the Ninth District is changed from Louisana to Ashland.

By order of the Secretary of War:

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

TROOPS BEING RAISED LOU, C.N.; COL. BARRY NOT FORCING OUT FAMILIES (July 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, A-J-Lorenzo Thomas in Lou, dated July 16, 1864; to Sec of War Stanton in Wash.

Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON,

Secretary of War:

SIR: I returned to this place this morning, having visited Cincinnati, Saint Louis, and Paducah. Finding General Ewing authorized to raise a colored regiment in Saint Louis, I transferred the few men of the Seventy-second to Colonel Ewing's regiment and ordered the officers to Covington, there to raise a regiment. Two or perhaps three regiments may yet be raised in Missouri, but not without strong armed parties to pass through the country to give protection. For this purpose General Rosser's urges me to send him a colored regiment from Kentucky, which I propose doing as soon as General Burbridge can spare one. The latter officer requires 10,000 colored troops in the State. At Paducah I found but about 1,800 men, and that nothing had recently been done in the way of recruiting because arms could not be obtained. I was surprised at this, for this position is liable to attack at any time. It seems the Ordnance Department will not issue arms until a regiment is entirely organized and the colonel makes a requisition. This will not answer here, for recruiting, to be fully successful, must be done with strong armed parties passing through the counties containing the most negroes. The negroes, seeing that protection will be offered then, will rapidly join the troops. I have taken measures to at once furnish this regiment (a very fine one) with Enfield rifles from Saint Louis. As soon as they are received 500 men will be sent through the entire First Congressional District.

I found at this place, as at Camp Nelson, a number of old men, women, and children, which I decided should be sent to their homes, as in this State, where slavery exists, I am only authorized under the law to take the able-bodied men for soldiers. They, too, are needed.
TROOPS BEING RAISED IN LOU, C N; COL. BARRY NOT FORCING OUT FAMILIES 6222-A
(July 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, a-g l. thomas in lou, dated july 16, 1864, to sec
of war stanton in washington

[Page 502]

...to secure the crops, which we shall certainly require for the army. Colonel Barry, I have just learned, refuses to send off the negroes—I suppose under the idea that by so doing he would be violating the Articles of War prohibiting the rendition of fugitives. If he was in any other State he could not give Kentucky negroes up, but here in this State I conceive we should not take any but the able-bodied men. I would like to be informed if I am right in the position I have taken. Two regiments have been fully organized here—one General Burbridge has sent to Louisville; the second was completed today; a third has been commenced. We ought to get from 18,000 to 20,000 men in this State. I shall proceed to Lexington on Monday, the 18th instant.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

From General Orders No. 126.

V. The officers already appointed in the Seventy-second Regiment U. S. Colored Infantry will proceed without delay to Covington, Ky., for the purpose of organizing the regiment. The senior officer will report in person to the commanding officer at that post, and in writing to Bvt. Maj. Gen. S. G. Burbridge, at Lexington, Ky.

By order of the Secretary of War:

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

COL S M BOWMAN ARRIVES LOU; THINKING HE WILL TAKE OVER RECRUITING 6223 BLACKS (July 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, col s m. bowman, at galt house in lou, dated jul 23, 1864, to b-g l. thomas.

[Page 540]

GALT HOUSE, Louisville, Ky., July 23, 1864.

Brig. Gen. L. THOMAS,
Louisville, Ky.:

GENERAL: I have the honor to state that on the 16th instant I received an order from the War Department to report to you for the purpose of consultation in regard to colored troops to be raised in this State. This was at my own request, for the reason that the Secretary of War expressed his purpose of sending me here as a chief superintendent under you to manage the whole business of colored recruits as I had been doing in Maryland. I thought it would be better for me to acquaint myself with the whole subject beforehand, and especially to see you. I find, however, you are absent from the State, and I must return without seeing you. Please, on receipt of this, write me at No. 24 Holliday street, Baltimore, giving me your views. From what I can see and learn here, I have concluded the best interests of the service require:

1. A bureau for colored troops for Kentucky independent of the provost-marshal's department, with one superintendent, who shall have entire control of colored men and the officers who command them until they are organized and sent to the field.

2. Deputy provost-marshal should act as now, so far as possible, in obtaining recruits, but when mustered in, should be sent, together with drafted and substitute colored men, to rendezvous, to be organized into companies and regiments by superintendent.
COL S. M. BOWMAN ARRIVES LOU; THINKING HE WILL TAKE OVER RECRUITING BLACKS (July 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, col s. m. bowman, at galt house in lou, dated july 23, 1864, to b-g l. thomas

3. Large parties of colored troops, under discreet officers, should be sent out with rations, &c., to recruit in different localities, affording protection to recruits who now have to run away and are in danger of capture and violence.

This was my plan in Maryland and we had surprising success. We did more; we had speakers who held public meetings, and we revolutionized the State. I find great hostility here to colored troops. It was thus in Maryland, but not so now. My greatest trouble there was the prejudice of U. S. officers and white Maryland troops, and it was not until I got rid of their interference that I had any success. And I think this is a capital difficulty here.

At all events, I should like to know, before undertaking a matter so delicate and difficult, that I may expect your hearty support, because I would not undertake it against your better judgment, although I know Mr. Stanton desires me to come here in some such capacity.

I regret exceedingly not being able to see and confer with you, but I have not been idle, and believe I understand the subject and its difficulties to some extent.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. M. BOWMAN,
Colonel, &c.

ASSIGNING OF BLACK TROOPS IN KY (July 1864)

or, ser, iii, vol 4, adj gen l. thomas in lex, dated july 24, 1864, to Bvt. Maj-Gen Burbridge, Commanding District of Kentucky, Lexington

LEXINGTON, KY., July 24, 1864.

Brevet Major-General BURBRIDGE,
Commanding District of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.:

GENERAL: I have received your request of this date,* but it is absolutely necessary that I should organize the officers into regiments. This has now been done in the case of fifteen regiments, exclusive of the heavy artillery regiment at Paducah, Ky. In regard to the places where the regiments are to be organized, I leave that entirely with you. You will find on some of the rosters that no places have been designated, and these officers are ordered to report to you. In the organization of these regiments I have taken all the officers reported to me from the boards at Washington, Cincinnati, Saint Louis, Davenport, and Lexington, and a few from Nashville. I have no personal acquaintance with these officers, but have taken them as they have been sent to me, and although you may not know them I think you can depend upon them, especially those from the Army of the Potomac, as I know they have to pass through a most rigid examination, occupying sometimes from one to three days. You will find by an examination of the rosters that there are required to complete them six colonels, fifty captains, about forty first lieutenants, and seven second lieutenants. If you will nominate officers to fill these positions and they pass the Board I will cheerfully appoint them. So, likewise, for two regiments of cavalry, if the Secretary of War will authorize their being raised. These regiments I suppose you would especially desire to officer. Having given rosters for so many regiments, my presence in Kentucky can be spared for a time, and as

*Desiring authority to assign officers to colored regiments.
ASSIGNING OF BLACK TROOPS IN KY (July 1864)
or, ser iii, vol 4, adj gen l. thomas in lex, dated july 24, 1864
to Bvt Maj-Gen Burbridge, commanding dist of ky, lexington

I have important duties to perform on the Mississippi River I shall proceed tothither. During my absence I request that you will take the organization of the colored troops into your hands and fill them up as rapidly as possible, and will of course, station them at such places as you may think best. I of course include the regiments to be organized at Paducah and Covington, although these places are not within your command. After these regiments are completed I further desire you to organize any additional negroes into companies and regiments, and furnish me with a roster of the officers you may recommend for them, and in all cases where they have passed a satisfactory examination I will give the appointments. General Sherman has desired me to place colored troops at Bowling Green, Clarksville, and on the Tennessee River, say at the terminus of the Northwestern Railroad. Please do this when you can spare the troops. General Rosecrans also desires a regiment at Saint Louis, which would be very useful for recruiting purposes. Should you have a regiment to spare for this purpose, please communicate with that general on the subject.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,
L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

BLACK TROOPS TO BE RAISED BY PLACING CAMPS ABOUT STATE; PROTECTING TROOPS & FAMILIES (July 1864)
or, ser iii, vol 4, adj gen l. thomas in lou, july 26, 1864, to col. e. d. townsend, asst adj-gen, washington d c

Louisville, Ky., July 26, 1864.

Col. E. D. Townsend,
Assistant Adjutant-General, Washington, D. C.:

Sir: I have now made the arrangements for the enlistment of colored troops in this State. The plan, as may be seen by my order No. 20, is to station troops at prominent places in the State to afford protection to the negroes when they come to the camps of instruction, and in addition large detachments will be marched through the several counties to give protection to those who desire to leave their homes and join the army. In this way the negroes will be saved from maltreatment by their masters and others when they attempt to reach a recruiting station, as has too often been the case. I have, exclusive of the regiment of heavy artillery at Paducah, given organizations for two regiments of heavy artillery and thirteen of infantry, some of which are already filled up, and others nearly so. The number of officers is not complete in several cases, because I had not the officers for assignment, but they are sufficiently so for all practical purposes. I think this will be sufficient for the present, and I can safely proceed down the Mississippi River to attend to necessary business, see General Canby, and return to Kentucky before additional organizations may be required. I have, however, provided for this, should I be detained below longer than I anticipate, by授权ing Major-General Burbridge to fill the vacancies as fast as officers who pass the necessary examination are reported to him, and also to make new regiments if required. It will still take a little time to post troops at all the necessary recruiting places, as this must be done by colored troops, and those first raised are required at exposed places—as, for example, on the head of the levee at Memphis. Many negroes at this place have been
BLACks Troops to Be Raised by Placing Camps about State; Protecting 6225-a
Enrollees & Families (July 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, adj gen l. thomas in lou, july 26, 1864, to col. e.d.
townsend, asst adj-gen, wash, d c

/ p. 548 cont'd /

sent to an extreme point of the State to guard a gap through the
mountains from Virginia (Louisa), situated in a portion of the State
where there are very few negroes. My estimate of the number of col-
ored troops that could be raised is 20,000. General Burbridge thinks
25,000.

A copy of my letter of instructions to General Burbridge of the
24th instant is inclosed.† Please inform the Secretary of War of
these measures.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your
obedient servant,

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

* See p. 429.
† See p. 542.

Col S.M. Bowman Told Gen Burbridge to Handle Black Recruiting in Ky 6226

or, ser iii, vol 4, adj gen l. thomas to col s.m. bowman in baltimore,
dated from louisville, july 27, 1864

p 55/ Thomas told Bowman that friends in Washington had recommended
Bowman to help recruit blacks in Ky. Thomas mentioned Bowman's name
to Stanton, but understood Bowman couldn't be spared. Thomas found
Brig. Gen. Chetlain, therefore, in charge of recruiting blacks. Then
Thomas learned that Gen. Burbridge was already eagerly engaged in
recruiting blacks and desired to remain in that position. Burbridge
had support from Stanton, so Burbridge stayed and retained other duties
he had. /p 555/ Therefore, Thomas will not need Bowman's services.
Louisville, Ky., September 19, 1864.

Hon. E. M. Stanton,

Secretary of War:

There has been enlisted in Kentucky to this date 14,000 colored men, including 1,000 Kentucky negroes recruited at Evansville, for which Kentucky is to receive credit, and 900 sent to Gallatin, Tenn. We now average from 100 to 200 recruits a day. By the end of October the whole number will be 20,000. One of the cavalry regiments has been fully organized and mustered. I saw it in Lexington two days since. The men are all selected with reference to weight and riding qualities. This will make one of the very best regiments in the service. I have given it to Colonel Brishbin, who has been most active in its organization. The other cavalry regiment I will give to Colonel Wade. A regiment organizing at Saint Louis has eight companies. It will be full to the minimum the end of this week. This regiment had better remain in Missouri to facilitate recruiting. I do not propose to organize another regiment in Missouri, but will send the recruits down the Mississippi to fill up the regiments raised in that State. I shall be able to get from the Eastern States all the medical officers needed. Quite a number have already been reported to me by Surgeon Sargent, whom I sent North on this duty. I expect to proceed in a day or two to examine into the state of the recruiting service.

I. Thomas,

Adjutant-General U. S. Army.

KY BLACK UNITS THAT HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED; DISPOSITION OF; RECRUITING PROBLEMS; WOMEN, CHILDREN HOUSE AT C.N. (Dec 1864)

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton,

Secretary of War:

Sir: I have the honor to make the following report of the state of the recruiting service of colored troops in Kentucky, together with the regiments fully organized on duty in the State:

- 5th Cavalry (one battalion with General Burbridge, two battalions operating against guerrillas) - 1,200
- 6th Cavalry (one battalion with General Burbridge) organizing at Camp Nelson - 437
- 4th Heavy Artillery, at Columbus - 963
- 8th Heavy Artillery, at Paducah - 1,360
- 12th Heavy Artillery, at Munfordville - 1,543
- 15th Heavy Artillery, at Smithland - 153
- 72d Infantry, at Louisville and Covington - 80
- 119th Infantry, at Louisville - 1,000
- 130th Infantry, at Camp Nelson - 27
- 131st Infantry, at Henderson - 980
- 132d Infantry, at Maysvile - 180
- 133d Infantry, at Louisville - 980
- 134th Infantry, at Camp Nelson (second class) - 500
- 135th Infantry, at Louisville - 9

Total enlisted men - 9,623

The One hundred and fourteenth Regiment, at Louisville, is under orders for the Army of the James. It was retained by Major-General Burbridge in consequence of the threatened invasion of the State by Breckinridge. The One hundred and twenty-second has just been completed, and I have directed its concentration at Louisville in order
K Y BLACK UNITES THAT HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED; DISPOSITION OF; RECRUITING 6228-A
PROBLEMS; WOMEN, CHILDREN HOUSED AT C. N. (Dec 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, adj gen l thomas in lex, dec 27, 1864, to sec of
war stanton

vious orders. The regiment will descend the Big Sandy, take
steam-boat to Parkersburg, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to
Baltimore. Recruiting continues dull. Most of the able-bodied negroes
in the cities and large towns, and the country adjacent thereto, have
been enlisted, but we require mounted troops to penetrate the interior
counties, which abound with Southern sympathizers, and who adopt
every means possible to prevent the negroes from proceeding to the
camps of reception. When General Burbridge returns from his
expedition the mounted colored force with him can be used for this
purpose. The incomplete regiments will then soon be filled. I do
not propose to organize any additional regiments in Kentucky, but
take the recruits to keep up the standard of those already organized.

I request permission to send recruiting officers to Cairo and Mound
City to enlist Kentucky negroes who have escaped from bondage. I
understand nearly 1,000 such negroes could be enlisted with their
consent. They have not been enrolled in Illinois, but the State could
receive credit for them on their quota when enlisted. The major
of the regiment at Paducah recruited some 300 of these men, but the
assistant adjutant-general at the headquarters in Illinois forbade
them being taken from the State, and they were in consequence lost
to the service. From this source I could keep the heavy artillery
regiments at Columbus and Paducah entirely full.

I found it necessary to order shelter for the helpless women and
children at Camp Nelson, where there is quite a number, and that
number constantly increasing. On Christmas day a large number
arrived, stating they were driven from their homes, and in some
instances they stated their masters had their cabins pulled down
der their heads. I have no reason to suppose that the thorough

K Y BLACK UNITS THAT HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED; DISPOSITION OF; RECRUITING 6228-B
PROBLEMS; WOMEN & CHILDREN HOUSED AT C. N. (Dec 1864)

or, ser iii, vol 4, adj gen l thomas in lex, dec 27, 1864, to sec of
war stanton

Union men treat their helpless slaves with any inhumanity, but it is
the Southern sympathizers, who are opposed to the policy of arming
the blacks. Such of them as have lost their able-bodied men are
anxious to get rid of those who are an expense to them, and in many
cases drive them off to seek shelter where they best can. I feel
bound to take charge of all such, and afford them food and shelter
until other provision can be made for them. I learn that a number
of women can be profitably employed at Camp Nelson.

I shall go from this place to Nashville, where my presence is neces-
sary. Governor Johnson also wishes to see me.

When there I will make a report of the condition of affairs respect-
ing the colored troops in East and Middle Tennessee.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.
ESCAPED SLAVE WRITES MASTER IN LEX 1844 FROM CANADA

Lewis Grant to Mr. Baxter, dated from Amhurstburgh, Ontario, Canada, Oct 27, 1844, photostat of original, in J. W. Coleman Collection on Slavery in mss div, sp. coll, W. I King Library, UK

"Amhurstburgh, Oct 27th 1844

"Mr. Baxter,

"Sir you have already discovered my absence this will give notice where and why. I never was a great Friend to the Institution of robbing crushing Slavery have finally become sick of the whole concern & I have concluded for the present to try freedom & how it seem to be my own Master & Manage my own Matters & Crack my own ship. *

"I once heard of a poor slave who in passing by the Swines residence, wished himself a hog, because, said he, he eat he drink, he walk about like a gentleman. 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 also desirous to act the Gentleman, with all the important mien that attaches to a Man, who is indeed & truth, himself, the self, identical I, the very living Being of whom Locke wrote in his essays. *

"I should not have left so soon had I not expected my sail might possibly be on hand, which I expected soon to take place in consequence of the Death of one of my Joint Owners, you Colleague who already Like many other poor wretched slave became tired of wallowing in Sin & concluded to throw off the burden by dashing into the presence of the Omniscient Judge.

"I may not, even though a Freeman, expect at this late date, to become familiar with the other Sciences as if I had never been robbed, & even now I have to get Amanuensis to penn down my broken, irregular, & thoughts but I am now setting with writing Implements in my hand & have been already at School & mean to go more & my little Son is going to school & I intend..."
Lewis Grant to Mr. Baxter, dated Amhurstburgh, Ontario, Canada, Oct 27, 1844, photostat of original, in J. W. Coleman Collection on Slavery in mss div, sp. coll, M I King Library, UK

ESCAPED SLAVE WRITES MASTER IN LEX 1844 FROM CANADA

Lewis Grant to Mr. Baxter, dated Amhurstburgh, Ontario, Canada, Oct 27, 1844, photostat of original, in J. W. Coleman Collection on Slavery in mss div, sp. coll, M I King Library, UK

shall be able to with his own pen at the instance & impulse of his own swelling Soul. Myself & Family are all safe & well that too beyond the bombshells of the Old Lightening-Southee Institution of Slavery.

"And here I ought probably to say that in my leisure walks I have had occasion to inspect the solid, regular-angled piles of Canon Balls & I thought Old John Bulls blue Pills, would be rather severe even for a well man, & if one dread sickness, like the Grecian Youth who refused to meet a Physician lest he should get Sick, they must Shear off, and should John Bull not be able to do sufficient execution, we can run round the & file in with Mexico to oppose the Texion annexation. This will perhaps be the only way I can ever avenge my wrongs & then I should perhaps meet with Cap't Postlewait, for whom I worked & who was so very full of grace & Method as to come & open our poor Peoples Meeting by singing & Prayer, but yet forbid me going to meeting & declared if I did, he would make me feel the power of the wrath & so for going & trying to serve my God, that old blue Methodist Professor was either about to flog me or take from me my head, I thought if that was Religion I would offer more than this I think such an one better prepared to fight than pray & so am I & I could fight him with a good stomach till I teach him manners if nomore. And now my Friend so your own Boart(?) for all me, for you see I am off--so farewell-- Any Communication after this had best be sent to the British North American Institute on Ri Sydden home the colored peoples College.

Perhaps I ought to say in taking leave of My Brother Whig, the Edition of the Observer & Reporter, that I started legioneering for the honorable Mr. Clay, in my jolting & as I crossed the Old Bridge & came into the before, Invisible state of Freedom, the Battery was so heavy charged with my excit to Freedom as to shake all my whigism out of me & I immediately came into a Birney State & thought I care not for the change on my own account yet am sorry for my Whig Brother, since being in as Birney State all in the Whig State is perfect invisibility, so that my Brother Whig Editor is perfectly lost in the distance & the Fogs of that envelop that whole system so farewell to you, but yet still remain Your affectionate Friend

Lewis Grant"

Lewis Postlewait Esq.
Lexington
Kentucky
REVOLT OF BOAT LOAD OF SLAVES, HARDENSBURG AREA, 1826

The Western Luminary (Lexington), Oct 4, 1826, p. 108.

"To Correspondents--An Essay on the subject of keeping holy the Sabbath, has been received, and will be inserted in our next paper."

"Awful Judgment of Heaven upon Slave Traders--The statement in our last paper, respecting the massacre of four slave traders and a passenger, descending the Ohio river with a cargo of Slaves, is now fully confirmed, except that the name of the passenger was Gray instead of Davis. The following letter we take from the last No. of the North American."

"Extract of a letter from Joseph Allen, Esq. to Joseph Picklin, P. M. at Lexington, dated: Hardinsburg, KY. Sept. 19, 1826."

"Sir, On Sunday last, between the mouth of Sinking creek and Clover creek, a flat boat, loaded with negroes, was descending the Ohio. The negroes murdered their master and white men on board, and made their escape into Indiana. Fifty-six of them were taken in that state and brought to this place, and the magistrates are at this time committing them to jail. It appears by the confessions of the negroes that only two that were concerned in the murder are apprehended and here. About 18 others are at large in Indiana; and are the negroes that committed the murder. The negroes here, say that the men who were killed, are, a man by the name of Edward Stone and his nephew Howard Stone, both of Bourbon County near Paris, David Cobb of Lexington, a Mr. Davis who steered the boat, and a Mr. Gray of Natchez, a passenger."

"A yellow boy (Lewis) who says that Edward Stone, his master, bought him in Maryland, gives this information. It is said by the other negroes that this boy fought for his master to the last."
in chains. I perhaps have mistaken some punctilios of the arrangement, for 'my soul was sick,' my feelings were mingled and pungent. As a man I sympathised with suffering humanity, as a Christian I mourned over the transgressions of God's holy law, and as a republican I felt indignant, to see the flag of my beloved country, thus insulted. I could not forbear exclaiming to the lordly driver, who rode at his ease along side, "Heaven will curse that man who engages in such traffic, and the government that protects him in it." I pursued my journey till evening, and put up for the night; when I mentioned the scene I had witnessed, "Ah!" (cried my land lady) "That is my brother." From her I learned that his name is Stone, of Bourbon county, Kentucky, and that a few days before he had purchased a Negro woman from a man in Nicholas county, she refused to go with him; he attempted to compel her, but she defended herself. Without further ceremony he stepped back, and by a blow on the side of her head with the butt of his whip, brought her to the ground; he tied her, and drove her off. I learned farther that besides the drove I had seen, there were about thirty shut up in the Paris prison for safe keeping, to be added to the company, and that they were designed for the Orlean market. And to this they are doomed for no other crime, than that of a black skin and curled locks."

"Ah me, what wish can prosper or what prayer,
For merchants rich in cargoes of despair!
Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span
And buy the muscles, and the bones of man."

COWPER

"Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord! shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this!"

But I forbear, and subscribe myself yours.

James H. Dickey,

Sept. 30, 1824."
p 116/ "Further particulars of the late massacre.

"We have conversed with Mr. Thomas Crosthwait, of this neighborhood, who went in company with Mr. Kin- /begin p 117/ Stope to Hardinsburgh, since the news of the murder of the Messrs. Stones Gray, Cobb and Davis, arrived here; and have returned home. Mr. Crosthwait gives in substance the following statement with respect to that shocking massacre, which may be depended on as correct, and which will serve to contradict a great many false statements that have got into circulation for want of proper information.

Between the hours of nine and ten on the morning of the 17th of September, as the boat of Edward Stone, with a cargo of 77 negroes, was going down the Ohio about 90 miles below Louisville, James M. Gray was sitting near the bow of the boat reading a newspaper--Edward Stone, Howard Stone, and David Cobb, were engaged in some business at the other end of the boat, and Humphrey Davis was above, acting as steersman. At this time, the negroes who committed the murder, being provided with hatchets and brick bats instantly killed Gray and threw him overboard. As he fell into the water, the spectators raised the alarm, which drew the attention of the Stones and Cobb who started from the other end of the boat, and met the murders about the middle, where the engagement took place. Edward Stone disengaged himself from their grasp twice then called for his pistol, which was handed him by one of the women present. He presented it at one of his assailants, and when in the act of firing, another one threw up the pistol with his hand, and the ball, in a slanting direction, grazed the right eye of Mr. Stone, and put it out. The three above mentioned, were then killed, weights tied to their necks, and thrown overboard. The boat was then rowed ashore, on the Indiana side, where Humphrey Davis was also killed, and thrown into the river.

"All the five men who were murdered, have since been found and decently interred at an old grave yard, near the mouth of Sinking creek, in Breckinridge county, Ky.

"After plundering the boat, burning notes of hand to the amount of four or five thousand dollars, and taking what money they could find, they sunk her, and marched through the country until they were taken. Fifty-six of them were taken at one time, and sixteen at another, making in all seventy-two, and brought to Hardinsburgh, where an examining Court committed ten of them to jail, for further trial.

The Circuit Court for Breckinridge County will meet at Hardinsburgh, on the 16th of this month, at which time the ten negroes committed will be tried. Five of the negroes had not been apprehended, all of whom are supposed to have been engaged in the murder.

A yellow boy of Edward Stone's fought for him to the last, and narrowly, and with great injury, escaped the fate of his master. The woman that handed him the pistol, had like to have shared the same fate.

James M. Gray had been on a visit to his Father's in this county, and was returning to his residence at Woodville, Mississippi--Western Citizen."
"What the Colored People of Louisville Are Doing For Themselves.--
As Much Progress Made By the Race Here as Anywhere Else In the World.--
Schools Which Are Sending To All Parts of the Country Educated Men and Women.--
Churches and Benevolent Institutions Whose Purifying Influence Aids In the
Great Task.--

MANY INSTANCES CITED

"No account of the growth and prosperity of this city, however limited,
could be complete without at least a condensed review of the extraordinary
progress and development of the colored people, who are identified with its
interests. About one-fifth of the entire population of the city is colored,
and the condition of that proportion of its residents, of whatever race, must,
of necessity, cut a material figure in the welfare of the city as a whole.
Whatever the condition of the colored race elsewhere, the city of Louisville
has cause to feel gratified at its progress here."

"Since the middle of the sixteenth century, when Sir John Hawkins, the
first English commander of a slave-trader, was said to have divided the pro-
fits of his trade in human beings with Queen Elizabeth, the negro race has,
probably, in no locality in the world made greater strides than have been
made in the past fifteen or twenty years in Louisville. Taken as a whole,
it is probable that nowhere in the world can be found the same number of
colored people, who are in better material and moral condition than those of
Kentucky's metropolis. The individuality of the race is rapidly changing here,
and the change is one that can not fail to redound to the credit not only of
the colored people themselves, but also of the city as a city."

"There was a time when the condition of the colored people of this section
was like that of nearly all other sections where slavery existed, one of the
densest ignorance and the most extreme degradation. That was at the time when
forty years ago, or less, the miserable creatures were publicly auctioned
from the pens by brutal slave traders. But with the passing away of the
conditions which bound him with stronger than iron fetters to his imprisonment
within dungeons of ignorance and depravity, a change began in their lives.
For a few years succeeding the closing of the great internal struggle, all
was chaos in the colored ranks. The colored population here, as compared
with that of today, was very small at the time of the emancipation proclama-
tion. At the close of hostilities there began an exodus of the race that
brought about great changes in the condition of its members. As soon as they
found themselves free to go wherever their fancy might dictate, and their mone
would take them, the negroes began to gravitate towards the towns and cities.
Many of them had borne what seemed to be a yoke of iron on the farms and
plantations, where they had so long been compelled to labor. They imagined
that if they could only reach a town or city their hard labor would be over.
They had heard wondrous things of cities, and in their ignorance they believed
that if they could only reach a town or city their hard labor would be over.
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her lords of the manor lived, was the Arcadia of their dreams, or at least such was the case with the most of the race who lived in the country throughout the State. Louisville, then, became the objective point of most of the race who were seeking a place to make an easy living. +

FROM COUNTRY TO CITY

The exodus from the country to this city continued for several years after the war was over. As long as this continued things were unsettled with the colored people. The thousands that came did not find what they fancied they would. On the contrary, they found that the avenues that were open to them were limited. The advantages were very meager in all ways. There were comparatively few churches; there were no public schools, and the occupations by which they might preserve a bare existence were overcrowded. For a time this resulted in many unthought of hardships. It had a bad effect on the race in the beginning. It was the idea of many of the former slaves that they had been robbed of their life's work up to that time by their former masters, and that they ought to make a living with but little exertion. +

They seemed to think, and in a degree inculcated this upon their progeny, that the white people as a body owed them a living, and that any way they could get it was fair. This was the cause of many petty thefts and consequently much suffering from the punishment of the law. But not all, or even a majority, of the colored people held these views, and their example and arguments, together with the rough usage and hard experience, had their effect upon those who did. Slowly at first, but surely, a change began to be wrought in their ideas of things and of the rights of property. Then, as they became more intelligent, by mingling daily with a mass of intelligent people, they began to somewhat appreciate the demands of society upon all its members, and what was absolutely necessary for them to do to live at all, much less to prosper. +

In the meantime the white people, who had been formerly slaveholders, began to appreciate the plight of their colored brethren. With the generosity that distinguished them in the days when the name of Louisville was a synonym for hospitality and kindness, they began to interest themselves in some manner to solve the problem of what the colored people should do. +

Avenues for gaining a livelihood were opened up to them that they had but little before pursued. It was not always, either, in a spirit of generosity or desire for the good of the colored people that these avenues were opened, but from a sense of personal gain at times. There was a large amount of labor that might be had cheap, and those who had use for it employed it. Thus, in dozens of avocations the colored man began to wedge his way, and today he is, in hundreds of occupations, the rival of his white brother. In the meantime the growing up of the younger generation and the dying off of the older ones had its effect in changing the general character of the race. Through the foresight and public spirit of some of the leading men, there were advantages, educational, religious and business, opened to them, that their parents had not known. +

NOT SLOW TO GRASP OPPORTUNITIES

The colored people themselves were not slow to grasp all the means for improvement opened up to them and some of them, in fact, a great many, were indefatigable in their efforts to raise their race out of the slough of despond into which it seemed to have fallen. The colored people are nothing if not imitative, and they were not slow, once the means were partly given them, in
enlarging those means so that in nearly all things they might reap the same
benefits the white people were reaping. +

"Louisville is the farthest north of any of the great cities that have
as large percentage of colored population as she has, and the difference in
the climate and its influences may have something to do with the comparatively
greater progress of the colored people here than elsewhere. But whatever the
secret spring from which the stream of progress and improvement has flown, that
progress and improvement can not be disputed, and the colored race in this
city has before it, if it manifests the same spirit of development in the
future that has characterized it in the past fifteen years, a future which will
be a standing monument to its credit and a source of self congratulation to
the city. +

THEIR EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

"Since the establishment of public schools for the education of the colored
youth of this city in 1872, an experiment looked upon by some with many doubts
and misgivings, they have steadily increased in efficiency and consequent
popularity, until now these schools are looked upon by both races as among
the best, if not the best, colored schools to be found anywhere in the United
States. In the Eastern district of the city there are two large buildings
containing twenty-two class rooms and affording accommodations for 1,200
children. One of these was just completed the present year at a cost of
$15,000. It is situated on Main street, between Floyd and Preston, and, at
present, is used only for the accommodation of the primary grades. Mr.
Samuel B. Taylor, an energetic and promising young man--educated in the public
schools of the city--is the principal. +

The other building--erected in 1872--the first built for the colored
youth--stands on the corner of Jackson and Breckinridge streets, and contains
ten rooms. This building, with two cottages contiguous thereto, is under the
supervision of Mr. W. H. Perry, as Principal, who is a gentleman of exception-
ally fine parts. Then quite a lad he came to this city from Terre Haute, Ind.,
and entered the highest class then taught in the colored schools of this city,
and, having completed the course known as the "A" grade, he was employed for
three years as a subordinate laborer, from which, in 1881, he was advanced
to the Principalship, which he now holds. His school is denominated a secon-
dary school, and contains both primary and secondary departments. Efficient
in its management and near to the homes of most of its patrons, this school
is deservedly popular. +

"In the extreme outer part of the city, on what is known as the "Point"
is a small building containing two rooms, which affords accommodations for
over 100 pupils of the primary grades. Of this school Miss Julia Arthur, a
teacher of long experience and marked success is at the head. +

LARGEST IN THE WORLD

"In the extreme eastern part of the large building--said to be the largest
colored school building in the world--containing twenty-two rooms. This also
contains primary and secondary departments, and furnishes accommodations for
about 1,300 children. This building, with the improvements recently made, cost
in the neighborhood of $25,000. Mr. W. T. Peyton, a graduate of the Gaines
High School, Cincinnati, O., and for four years principal of the colored
schools of Madison, Ind., and subsequently Principal of the colored schools of
Keokuk, Iowa, was, in 1876, appointed Principal of this building, a position
he has since ably filled, and which he now holds. He is in the prime of a vigorous manhood; and, devoted to the work of teaching, he gives the best energies of his life to the duties of his office.

In what is known as California, on Sixteenth and Harney streets stands a two-story, four-room brick building, which accommodates 300 pupils. This is a primary school and is under the Principalship of Mr. W. L. Gibson, who was educated in the private schools of this city, and in what were known as the Freedmen's schools, opened here prior to the establishment of the colored public schools. He deserves great credit for the advancement made under adverse circumstances, having several years ago, obtained a principal's certificate from the City Board of Examiners.

In Portland is a two-room brick building which accommodates over one hundred pupils of the primary grade. Mrs. M. P. Peyton, a classmate of Principal Perry, of the Eastern district, and wife of Principal Peyton, of the Western, is head teacher in this school.

In the Central district, on the corner of Sixth and Kentucky streets, is one of the handsomest and most substantial school buildings in the city, designated as the Central Colored Intermediate and High School. This building was erected in 1873, at a cost of $25,000. In 1875 the present principal, Mr. J. M. Maxwell, was appointed. In June of the following year a number of pupils having passed the examination required for admission to the High School, there was formed of these pupils a class known as the "A" grade, and a course of study formulated embracing the elements of some of the higher branches, to be completed in one year. Quite a number of young ladies and gentlemen completed this course—the majority of whom were appointed to positions as teachers in the city, and are now engaged in teaching in the schools in which, a few years ago, they were pupils. In 1882 the present Colored High School was organized, embracing a three years' course of study. In this department are taught rhetoric, English and American literature, general history, physiology, natural philosophy, zoology, geology, elements of astronomy, algebra, geometry, plain trigonometry, and Latin, Roman history, Caesar, and Virgil.

At the last commencement there were eighteen graduates. The genteel, well-behaved and attentive audiences which annually attend the public exercises of the graduates of this school never fails to excite the admiration of all well-wishers of the race, indicating, as it does, the refining influences which education is exerting over them. The essays read and the orations delivered at the commencements of the Colored High School are said to be fully up to the average of such exercises, the country over; and in a few instances they have been of a decidedly superior character. There will be during the present year about one hundred pupils in this department of the colored schools.

THE FACULTY

The faculty consists of the principal, Prof. J. M. Maxwell, a graduate of the Xenia (O.) High School, and subsequently a student at Howard University, Washington, D. C., a man who has spent twenty years of his life in the school-room as instructor, and who, in the language of an official of the School Board, "studies his work from end to end;" Mr. C. W. Houser, a graduate of the State Normal School at Winona, Minn., and subsequently a student at Oberlin College, Ohio, a good disciplinarian, an apt teacher, and well-fitted for his work as instructor in natural science and mathematics; and Mr. James E.
Simpson, of the University of Pennsylvania, who is instructor in rhetoric, Latin and history. He is a gentleman of sound judgment, accurate scholarship, and broad culture. It is the purpose of the Board of Trustees to add to the faculty as the number of pupils in attendance increases. * In all the departments of the colored schools below the High School the same course of study is prescribed for the pupils, and the same salary paid to the teachers, as in the white schools. * Two night schools have been established—one in the Eastern and one in the Western district—for the benefit of the boys and girls whose daily employment prevents them from attending the day schools. The course of study in these schools is practical in its character, and the instruction given is especially designed to fit the students for the intelligent discharge of the business relations of life. To pupils under twenty-five years of age tuition is free; from those over that age a nominal fee of a few cents per week is required. *

To stimulate the students, and encourage attendance upon these schools, there are delivered from time to time, during the session, free popular lectures upon vital and interesting subjects, such as civil government, rights of citizenship, history of important discoveries in science, and inventions in art, etc. During the last session there were enrolled 328, and the average number belonging was 208. To conduct these schools it is always the purpose of the Board to select the very best teachers in their employ.

The exhibits from the colored schools of this city at the New Orleans Exposition a few years ago was the subject of much favorable comment by

visitors from all sections of the country. Especially was the exhibit representing the work done in the Colored High School a source of surprise and pleasure to those who had hitherto entertained honest doubts as to the negro's capacity to receive in equal measure with other races that higher culture which adorns the civilization of the present age. Being asked by a gentleman interested in the progress of the race if such work was really done in the schools of Louisville by colored children, the gentleman in charge of the exhibits replied with emphasis: *

"Yes, sir, and greater works than these can they do, because each to­morrow finds them farther than today." *

"How is it," said the observer, "that you can have such schools in Louisville so soon after freedom?"

To this important query the ready manager of the exhibits replied in his apt and forcible way: "Sir, in order to have good schools of any kind we must first have the children, and then we must have the money to educate them. The people of the North can not have good colored schools, because, while they have the money, they haven't got the 'darkies.' The people of the South can not, as yet, have good colored schools, because, while they have the 'darkies' they haven't got the money. But in Louisville, situated on the border-line, we have the 'darkies' and we have the money; and hence, we have the schools—schools that produce from the 'raw material' such scholars as did the work which excites your admiration and wonder." *

"This is true. With her 13,000 colored children showing equally with the whites the benefits of her school fund, Louisville, now holding a high place, is destined ere long to stand in the fore front of those cities in
which colored children are educated in colored schools taught by colored teachers. Beginning in 1872 with an attendance of 400, their patronage has steadily grown with the increased facilities, until now the attendance is more than 4,000. No advancement in the city's progress if pointed to with greater pride and pleasure by the best citizens than that of the Louisville Colored Schools.

"In addition to these educational and religious institutions, there are numerous others that reflect credit upon the race and the city. The Colored Orphans Home, at Eighteenth and Duncanil streets, is a large and commodious building with ample grounds attached. It is in a flourishing condition and has about a half hundred inmates. The gardens attached to it are large and are well cultivated by the inmates and attendants, producing a yield sufficient every year to supply the institution with vegetables. The institution is under the charge of Mrs. Artesia G. Gilbert, an intelligent, hardworking and painstaking woman. The children are being prepared under excellent instruction to go out into the world educated men and women, with a proper sense of their duties to their Maker and to their fellow beings.

A COLORED BRANCH

The Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind, at Frankfort and Haldeman avenues, has within the past year added a magnificent three-story building within its spacious grounds, which will be devoted exclusively to colored blind children. The colored department will be under the supervision of Prof. B. B. Huntoon, Superintendent of the institution for the education of the white blind, a gentleman who has no superior in that branch of educational instruction. The colored children will receive the same ad-

vantages the white children do, and in all things their opportunities will be better than those afforded colored blind people anywhere else in the world. It is expected that the institution will become national in its character. The institution is situated in one of the highest and healthiest parts of the city. The ablest instructors in musical, educational and industrial branches are employed for both sexes.

The white Industrial School of Reform also has a separate building for colored boys under the supervision of Superintendent Caldwell. The building is a large one, with the best appointment throughout and the grounds include several acres, which are cultivated every year, the garden produce being more than sufficient for the needs of the inmates. The colored department is south of the white department, on Third street beyond Shipp. The boys who are sent to this institution remain there until they are of age. They are given a good ordinary education and taught thoroughly some useful trade, so that when they go out in the world they are fit to become useful citizens. Their moral training is strictly looked after, and the best means of inculcating morality into their characters are pursued.

The colored State University, on Kentucky street, between Seventh and Eighth, is one of the noted institutions of the city. Rev. Dr. W. J. Simmons, an able educator, a learned theologian, and an accomplished colored man, is President of the University; Rev. Charles F. Sneed, dean, and Rev. Charles H. Parrish, Secretary and Treasurer. At this theological seminary young colored men are thoroughly instructed in theology, and each year it furnishes the South its quota of enlightened propounders of the Gospel. Young colored men and women are at it given a thorough normal education and it is said that
no better educators are to be found among the colored people anywhere, than those who graduate from this university. "

"Last spring the first national convention of the Y.M.C.A. was held in this city. Rev. Dr. W. J. Simmons, of this city, was chosen President, three Louisville young colored men being elected to the three highest offices. Charles S. Morris, National President; Albert White, National Secretary and George W. Talbott, Treasurer. They are all accomplished young men, with collegiate educations, and their efforts in behalf of the colored Y.M.C.A. are meeting with success. This city was one of the first, If not the first, to organize a colored Y.M.C.A."

ACCOMPLISHES MUCH GOOD

"There are a large number of church societies in the city which accomplish much good in the elevation of the colored people. Some of these societies give all of their attention to church welfare in the city and to such questions of Scriptural and doctrinal concern as may be brought to their notice. These associations have been formed to be of good service and advantage to the colored ministry of the city and has done more toward breaking down denominational prejudice and jealousy than anything else. So much so that at the present time there is but little denominational bickering among the colored ministers, and consequently none among their several churches. It is only on special occasions that the colored minister, of the larger churches, preaches to his congregation from a full written manuscript. Nearly all of them content themselves with head notes and abstracts and deliver their sermons off-hand. The average colored church-goer does not take kindly to a manuscript sermon. While the colored ministry does not today wield the power and influence over the entire colored population that it did before and immediately after the war, yet the more intelligent masses of the colored citizens can only be reached through this body of men. As a rule the colored people will take no action in any matter against which their ministers advise, and the influence of a colored pastor over his congregation is as strong as the most exacting leader could wish. The effort on the part of many of these men to improve themselves is very great. In two of the leading churches the minister has a short hand reporter (there are four or five colored short hand writers in the city) stationed in hearing of his sermon who takes it down verbatim as delivered, writes it out and gives it to him. The minister then revises it, corrects his errors, and is better prepared to talk upon the subject at another time."

"Occasionally as a matter of investigation a white person may be seen in many of the colored congregations, sometimes several, and such as go are nearly always convinced of the rapid and indisputable advancement of the colored ministers of the city and their congregations, as compared with twenty years ago."

"Twenty years ago there was no such person known in Louisville as a duly accredited and graduated colored physician. Since that time she has had five or six. The ability of these men is generally recognized by the colored people, and there is no complaint of a lack of patronage from their own people."

PREJUDICE OVERCOME

"These men started here with the prejudice of their own race against them and at a time when very few of their race were willing to trust their
lou courier journal, sept 6, 1888

lives in their hands when in need of a physician's services, but with the growing intelligence of the race their views are quite different today, and the colored physicians' services are constantly in demand by their own people, who are building them up with credit to themselves. *

"In the legal profession there is one representative of the colored race who has won honor and position for himself and who now has a good practice, which is constantly on the increase. *

"A charter was obtained from the last Legislature by Drs. Conrad, Fitzbutler and Burney, of New Albany, for the establishment here of a medical college for training the colored men in the science of medicine and surgery. This institution will open some time in October. Dr. E. S. Porter, Dr. Rufus Conrad and Dr. H. Fitzbutler are the faculty.

"There are ten colored salesmen and two colored saleswomen in different business establishments in this city. *

"There are fifty-seven business establishments, including groceries, tin-shops, blacksmith shops, and not including the restaurants, barber shops and saloons, which would swell the list of business ventures in this direction by colored people to over two hundred and fifty. *

"There is a large number of incorporated companies for various purposes, the leading object being the purchase of property for the benefit of the members of the various corporations. The purchase by the colored Odd Fellows of the old Eclipse Hall at Thirteenth and Walnut streets was a venture of one of their companies, also the old Cunningham property at Ninth and Magazine streets, to be used as a hall for the United Brethren of Friendship. The Louisville Colored Cemetery Company, which has purchased and put in

operation a burying ground of thirty-three acres on the Shelby street road, is one of these companies. It was incorporated by the Legislature a little over two years ago. *

The Daisy Park Association, which purchased the ground formerly used by the colored base hall club at Fifteenth street and Magnolia avenue, has made a fine pleasure resort of that spot, having erected buildings, planted trees and made other improvements. The place was in constant use all the past summer, notwithstanding the association is scarcely a year old. *

"The Ohio Falls Express Printing Company is perhaps the oldest active business corporation. It was organized in 1876. *

CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

The colored people have built up and improved many new and growing church organizations since the war. There are in all twenty-four Baptist churches in this city of which fourteen are colored, and thirty Methodist churches, of which thirteen are colored. There is one colored Episcopal church, one Christian, and one Presbyterian and one Roman Catholic. In addition to these churches there are other places of regular worship which are not enumerated in this recapitulation.

The following are the most prominent colored churches and their pastors:

ACTIVITIES OF BLACKS IN KY: SUMMARY 1888

lou courier journal, sept 6, 1888


The Asbury chapel has a more extensive record in the courts than any other colored church in the city. It was totally destroyed by fire in 1877, and was but recently rebuilt. The older churches, established before the war, and from which the others have sprung, are the Jackson-street, Methodist Episcopal, Center-street Methodist and the Fifth-street Baptist churches. Center-street church is claimed by the colored people as being the mother of all the colored Methodist churches in the city, although the branches have organized under various denominations. The great number of churches which have been organized and built since the war have been established chiefly by the younger class of the colored people. The older churches show great improvement, and have very intelligent pastors.  

While nearly all of the colored church buildings are comfortable and substantial edifices none are elaborate or specially attractive in exterior finish. But many of them are quite artistic and neatly finished throughout the interior with all the modern church improvements. This is notably true of all the larger colored churches, which always present a neat and tidy appearance for the Sunday services, and one is often fully repaid for a visit on Sunday morning. One feature about the colored churches of Louisville is that every one of them outside of the missions, has its choir and organ to accompany the singing for public worship. All the choirs are voluntary, but the chorister and organist are generally paid for their services by the month. The choirs are well-trained, and the singing for Sunday services is generally good. The old-time hymns and
plantive ditties of fifty years ago are rarely heard, except on revival occasions among the older people and at the weekly prayer meeting services. Music and good singing forms a very important part of the colored people's church worship, and many of their churches have large and expensive instruments. The growth of the city has enhanced the value of their church property, most of which is centrally located, and a wonderful improvement has been made in the last twenty years in the religious welfare and in the financial condition of the churches.

Berlinda Sidener to "Dr. Father-in-law and family," dated from Fayette County, Dec 5, 1857, mss letter in Sidener Family Papers, MSS Div, Sp. Coll, MI King Lib, UK

"Father's black man Manuel shot one of Tom Stamps boys or men named Harry who has a wife at Bro Martins with a pistol last Saturday night about 6 1/2 P.M. and killed him immediately. He is committed to jail for further trial bailable in the sum of $1000. We thought best to send him to jail, lest he should be frightened so as to be made run away. Our lawyer advised us to do so. From the evidence, It is probable, he will be run hard, but yet we dont think he can be hung. The evidence against him seems to show that it was an accident and yet he had no business with the pistol. 

"There can no threats be proven, and the two negroes were on good terms up to that time, and there were no words of an ill-nature passed between them before the pistol went off, but enough. He will be tried next February circuit court. The evidence goes to show that it was an accident from every witness I heard examined."
Frances Dallam Peter Diary, entry for Sat., Oct 10, 1863 (both ms and typescript) in Catherine and Howard Evans Papers, ms div, sp co, king lib, uk

"Saturday, Oct. 10, 1863+

All the unmarried free negro men between the ages of 16 and 30 as well as those having slave women for wives are to be impressed to work on the military railroads in Ky. by an order of Gen. Boyle. The impressment will be made only in those counties specified in the original order"

---

Frances Dallam Peter Diary, entry for Wed., June 17, 1863 (both ms and typescript) in Catherine and Howard Evans Papers, Ms div, Sp Col, king lib, uk

"Wed. June 17, 1863+

A few days ago the 1st Mass. Negro regiment was to pass through Cincinnati. The free colored people there made great preparation to receive them and had a very handsome flag ready to present to them on their arrival. A large number of the citizens determined to put a stop to these proceedings. A large crowd went to the store of Shillito and Co. in which front window the flag was hanging and threatened to demolish his store if the flag was not taken away.

They also went to the market house where the supper for the regiment was to be set out, and declared if the supper was set out, it should be the last that that regiment would ever eat. So the negroes gave up the idea of receiving their friends and the officers of the black regiment smuggled it through during the night. About that time a good many negroes from here ran off to join that regiment."
LEX FREE BLACKS SEEK FREE PAPERS TO ESCAPE AT APPROACH OF CONFED
FORCES FEB 1863

Frances Dallam Peter Diary, entry for Monday, Feb 23, 1863 (both
Mss & typescript) in Catherine and Howard Evans Papers, Ms Div,
Sp Col, King Lib, UK, box 7, folder 86.

"Mon. Feb. 23, 1863:

The free negroes here or rather those who have lived to them-
selves, for negroes cant be free in Kentucky, were very much frightened
when they heard of the rebels coming and crowded to Judge Carr's
office to get possession of their free papers so they could go North
if there was danger as the rebels said if they came here they would
take all the free negroes and take them South for slaves."

1798 LETTER ON SLAVE HIRING

John Lee to George Lewis, dated from Woodford Co., Ky., March 25, 1798,
(a single letter, not a collection), in mss div, sp coll, M I King
library, UK

"Kentucky Woodford 25th March, 1798:

Dear Sir

"As Mr. Dangerfield let this state for Virginia at a time I did not
expect I had not an opportunity of informing you how his accounts to
you stood in Kentucky, under cover your will find a state of the Business
since I have had the management (?) which I suspect will enable you to
settle with Mr. Dangerfield, I have hired your Negroes for the past
year total amount Le 111.10.0 I have not yet collected the whole of the
last years hire as soon as this is accomplished I shall remit the money
to you by the first safe conveyance together with a full statement of
what money has been apprriated heare for your use, your corn yet remains
unsold I have offered it for 416 per Barrell have not been able to sell
one Barrell even at that low price, I will write you fully by Mr. Hugh.
Merur who probably will have this on May sixth my Best wishes.+ 
attten Mr Lewis G. Farnsly

I am Dear Sir with Respect
Your Obstsvt
John Lee"
SLAVE PURCHASE AGREEMENT MAY 1850


"In consideration of Five Hundred Dollars to me in hand paid the weight whereof is hereby acknowledged as well as many moral considerations moving one thereto I have this day emancipated, manumitted and set-free and do by this emancipate, manumit and set-free Margaret Graham a Mulatto woman from Eighteen to Twenty-two years of age and to this day my slave and the said Margaret I do henceforth and forever exempt and enfranchise from all and every species and description of Servitude to me, my Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and representatives, hereby making and declaring her to all intents and purpose a free Woman. In witness whereof I have hereunto let my hand and seal this the Twenty fifth day of May in the year of the Lord Eighteen Hundred and Fifty. Geo W. Sutton+

Testi
George R. Trotter
J. Robbins May 25, 1850"

FREE PAPERS OF A FORMER SLAVE IN FAYETTE CO DEC 1851

Misc. Miss in "Documents and Letters, 1780-1860," in J W Coleman Papers on Slavery, 1780-1940, in Ms Div, Sp Col, King Lib, UK

"The Commonwealth of Kentucky+
Fayette County Sct.+
I James A. Grinstead Clerk of the County Court for the county aforesaid do certify that Henry Nutter who is Thirty four years of age; five feet six inches high dark complexion and has a large scar on his right jaw near the ear; is a free man of color, proved to the satisfaction of the Court to be such, at its August term 1851; and upon which this certificate was ordered to be issued by the said Court.+

In Testimony whereof I have+ hereunto set my hand and + offered the seal of said+ at Lexington this+
1 day December 1851 &+
in the 60 year of the+ Commonwealth+
Att James A. Grinstead"

FRONT
FREE PAPERS OF A FORMER SLAVE IN FAYETTE CO DEC 1851

Commonwealth of Kentucky+
Fayette County Sct+
I Benjamin F. Graves presiding Judge of the County Court for the County aforesaid do certify that James A. Grinstead whose name is signed to the certificate on the preceding page is the Clerk of our said Court duly elected Commissioned and qualified as such. I further certify that his said signature is genuine, and, that his certificate is in due form of the Law.+
Given under my hand this 1st day of December 1851+
J J Flele"

FREE PAPERS OF FORMER SLAVE REUBEN 1846

Commonwealth of Kentucky+
Fayette County Sct+
I James A. Grinstead, Clerk of the County Court for the County aforesaid, do certify that the foregoing order of Court is truly and accurately transcribed from the record of the same in any office.+
In testimony whereof I have hereunto+
let my hand and affixed the+
seal of said Court, this 30th+
day of December 1846, and in+
the 55th year of the Common+-
wealth.+
Att. James A. Grinstead,cfcc+
"Fayette County Sct.+
I James L. Hickman, Presiding Judge and Justice of the County Court in and for said County, do certify that James A. Grinstead, whose name is signed to the foregoing certificate, is and was at the date thereof, the Clerk of our said Court, duly appointed and qualified according to law; that full faith and credit are due his official acts as such, that his said signature is genuine and his said certificate in due form.+
Given under my hand this 30th day of December 1846.+
Att. James L. Hickman  P.J.F.C.C."

ON OTHER SIDE:
"Reuben Free Papers"
Tax Fee $1. 63/100"

"Doctor James Fishback of Lexington, Ky, having purchased me from R. Raindle and set me free by executing a deed of emancipation in the C.C. Clerk's office of Fayette County this day, I acknowledge my indebted to him and bound to pay him three hundred dollard, the amt. he has paid for me, with interest from this date as fast as I make it or receive it.+
In witness whereof I have hereunto set my mark this 28th Sept 1840+
His+
Richard X Hawes+
James Veach (Witness) Mark"

"Cincinnati, August 20th, 1846+

Respected Friend,

It is with pleasure that I address to you the following lines to inform you that I am well at present hoping that they may find you enjoying undisturbed health, I landed in this country the last of May & ever since that I have been laboring to get money to pay my family's way back to where I shall set sail for my own country - that country where I am known as a man & the only country in which the collered man can enjoy undisturbed liberty. I would therefore have you inform all who may be interested White or Collered that I am a Collonial man from the crown of my head to the Soal of my foot.+

Suffice it to say instead of doing the Collany an injury as I have been informed you have remarked i can & will do her more good than all of you agents put together - and I am certain that all who will leave Kentucky for Liberia in the future will be better prepared to meet the change. I have lectured the free people of the north & have made a considerable impression & trust I may be as fortunate in the South.+

I have letters to several Gentlemen in Kentucky from their servants thats doing well in the Collony [of Liberia.] Mrs. Robert Wickliffe's those thats liveing is doing well. Those from Webb's estate do do. Letters to Shelbyville, Frankfort & Louisville.+

I must now close by remaining

Respectfully+
Robt. Johnson"
The case of Kentucky clearly reveals that one of Lincoln's most intricate problems was to prosecute the war successfully without alienating Union sentiment in the indispensable border states. The chief executive hesitated to order the recruitment of Negroes in his native state because of the stubborn tenacity of slavery and the possibility of rebellion over the issue. Although he was in dire need of soldiers, Lincoln could not afford to antagonize Kentuckians. As he had stated early in the war, he "hoped to have God on his side, but he must have Kentucky." On another occasion the President declared gravely, "To lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland." Without a preponderance of military strength in the state, Lincoln had to respect the wishes of Kentuckians. For example, late in 1863 Governor Thomas E. Bramlette extracted promises from Lincoln that slaves would not be recruited in Kentucky.

Several Northern senators, led by Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, refused to accept the Bramlette-Lincoln détente and demanded (December, 1863) to know why Lincoln and Stanton had not enrolled Kentucky slaves for the draft. Failing to receive an answer, they pushed a law through Congress on February 24, 1864 providing for the enlistment of slaves with their owners' consent. The owners would receive a maximum of $300 compensation for each slave.

Six days earlier the Kentucky legislature had shown its opposition to the position being taken in Congress by resolving: "We regard as impolitic the enlistment of Negroes as soldiers into the armies of the United States..." When military authorities disregarded this sentiment and began recruiting Negroes in February, Bramlette reacted quickly. On March 12 the Governor informed Lincoln that he would execute the laws of his state against anyone who attempted to take slaves without their owners' consent. Three days later Bramlette notified the people of Kentucky that the
power of the state would be employed, if necessary, to prevent the recruitment of slaves. Faced with this dilemma, Lincoln and Stanton began to bargain with the Governor. After conferring with the President and the Secretary of War on March 26-28, Bramlette agreed to the recruitment of slaves. In return, Lincoln and Stanton promised that provost marshals would be solely responsible for recruitment, that the recruitment of slaves would be discontinued when Kentucky's draft quota was filled, and that Lincoln would explain the necessity for the measure to the people of Kentucky. 16

Most recruiters felt that the greatest obstacle to the enlistment of Negroes was the legality of slavery. Negroes were reluctant to run away to recruiting camps when they learned that they might be rejected as unfit for military service and then be returned to their masters. Maryland and Kentucky recruiters solved this problem by enlisting those unfit for military duty into labor and garrison regiments. While this practice freed all slaves who volunteered, it still left their families in bondage. Realizing that this dampened the slave's enthusiasm for army service, radicals pushed an act through Congress on March 3, 1865 which emancipated the families of all slaves who enlisted. Recruiters and military officials zealously enforced the act. 3

For instance, General John M. Palmer took the emphatic position that as a result of the act slavery had ceased to exist in Kentucky and used the military railroads to remove slaves from the jurisdiction of their masters. Palmer's enforcement of the act had freed more than 165,000 Kentucky slaves by the end of the war. 22
In contrast to the desire for the enlistment of Negroes in Maryland and Missouri, Kentuckians were staunch defenders of slavery and obstructed the recruitment of slaves. One of the most vociferous obstructionists of Lincoln's policy was Colonel Frank L. Wolford, 1st Kentucky Cavalry. On March 10, 1864 at Lexington, he accused the President of being a traitor and urged the people of Kentucky to resist by force the drafting of Negroes. In an address at Lebanon in May Wolford expressed the belief that Lincoln's policy of enlisting Negroes had prevented 200,000 white men from enlisting in the Union army. Lieutenant Governor R. B. Jacobs added his voice to Wolford's tirades on April 4 when he exhorted his fellow citizens to resist the recruitment of slaves. Lincoln ordered Jacobs and Wolford exiled to the Confederacy for their "seditious" speeches but later pardoned them because of their political prestige. Senator Garrett Davis declared that the Union was robbing the people of Kentucky of ninety-nine million dollars in slave property and deserved "nothing but condemnation, opposition, curses, and the most strenuous and unceasing efforts for its overthrow." The Kentucky slaveholders responded with alacrity to the call to defend slavery. Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt declared that slaves were waylaid, beaten, maimed, and often murdered when they attempted to enlist. One Provost Marshal reported that in Green County they were knocked down when they spoke of enlisting and "in Larue County a special agent was caught, stripped, tied to a tree and cowhided for enlisting slaves... in Spencer County [a recruiting agent] was severely beaten with clubbed guns and chased from his home... Negro men were chased and killed in Nelson County for attempting to enlist." Slaveholders caught two slaves who were attempting to enlist in Marion County and cut off their left ears. In Lebanon, Kentucky four owners whipped fifteen slaves because they
TREMENDOUS HOSTILITY TO RECRUITING BLACKS BY WHITES IN KY

j w blassingame, 'recruitment of col troops in ky, md, mo,' historian
xxix, may 1967

wanted to enlist. As further evidence of the slaveholders' violent defense of the institution, W. H. Sidell, Provost Marshal General of Kentucky, stated that from November, 1863 to February, 1865, "no less than seven recruiting officers were slain . . . [one being] murdered in his own house." Despite repeated efforts to discourage the slaves, they expressed great interest in military service. For example, one hundred slaves were enlisting per day in Kentucky by July 31, 1864.

SOME REASONS WHY BLACKS ENLISTED IN FED ARMY

j w blassingame, 'recruitment of col troops in ky, md, mo,' historian
xxix, may 1967

Many slaves donned the accouterments of war because they viewed army service as an avenue to immediate emancipation and their contribution to the destruction of the manacles that had held them in bondage for so long. On the other hand, many left their owners with the intention of touring the state or of obtaining work in the staff departments of the army.
Chief Supt Schs in Ky, T.K.Noble in Louisville, dated Feb 1, 1868, to Rev J W Alvord, gen supt in Washington, found in BFRAL, Ky Monthly School Reports, Roll 20, M-803

6 schools suspended in Jan. Currently 127 schs with 6648 students.

School expenses for these schools are:
1. Rent of 81 bldgs $7,812
2. Tuition pd by Freedmen 1,737
3. Remodeling 720
4. Const & Repair 2,767.55

47 total school houses for freedmen in ky, ranging in value from $50 to $15000.

DEDICATION OF ELY NORMAL SCH IN LOU APR 6, 1868

"On the 6th of the month the Ely Normal School located in this city on the corner of Broadway and 14th St was formally dedicated. It was a day long to be remembered by the freedmen of Louisville. At an early hour they began to gather from all parts of the city. The house was soon filled to its utmost capacity and hundreds were compelled to go reluctantly away. A Colored brass band and a choir of fifty colored children led by a colored organist furnished excellent music. +

"Addresses were then made by Col Ben. P. Runkle, Col J. S. Catlin, Rev M Cravath Secy of A. M. A. and W.F.A.C., Rev Mr. Heywood Pastor of the Unitarian Church of this city, Rt Rev B. B. Smith Bishop of Kentucky - Hon Bland Ballard Judge of the U. S. Court, Hon James Speed and others. Rev Dr Humphrey Pastor of Presbyterian church in this city offered the dedicating prayer and then the freedmen returned to their homes, saying that they thanked God and took fresh courage. +

"No School in the city has a more delightful Situation. The lot, purchased by the A.M.A & W.F.A. Society, has a front of 100 feet on Broadway - the finest Street in the city and another front of 220 feet on 14th Street. A home for the teachers can be built upon it and still the play ground for the pupils will be ample. The building in point of convenience and comfort, simplicity of design, and beauty of proportion, has no superior in the city. Its dimensions 50 x 70, its walls high and two storied, its material pressed brick of the best quality. Located upon a corner lot its seven rooms are sure of fresh air and good light. It has accommodations for 500
chief supt of sch in ky t k noble, in lou, dated may 1, 1868, to rev j w
alvord, gen supt sch in wash, brfsl, ky mo repts of schs, roll 20,
M-803  (35 rolle)
pupils. In addition to the seven rooms first mentioned there are two
teachers rooms which can be used as class rooms if necessary - +
"The entire cost of the institution has been as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expense of lot</td>
<td>$ 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction of building</td>
<td>13,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School furniture</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this amount $12,406.25 were appropriated by the Bureau - +
"The school is now in successful operation under the immediate
direction of the A. M. A. and W.F.A.C. Its principal Mr. John Hamilton is
a graduate of Oberlin and has already shown himself an efficient instructor.
His seven assistants are all teachers of experience and devoted to their
work. As you will observe by the report there are in actual attendance 396
pupils. A Normal department has been organized and some forty pupils are
receiving from the principal such Special instruction as will qualify them
to teach others."

SCHOOL REPORT JUNE 1868: BOWLING GREEN:
t k noble, chief supt schs for ky, dated July 1868, from louisville to
rev j w alvord, genl supt freedmen's schools in washington, brfsl,
Ky Sch Report, roll 20, M-803  (35 rolle)

contains the location, dimensions, value of schools around the state. "In
the city of Bowling Green a school was opened by a Mrs Baldwin of Cincinnati
She was a christian lady of agreeable manners and unusual culture, but not one
of the twenty seven loyal families of the place dared incur the odium of giving
her a home. +
"Men professing to be gentlemen insulted her upon the streets. Obscene books
and pictures were sent to her by mail. As a last resort she was threatened
with assassination if she was found in the city at the expiration of five
days. But the Sub Asst Comm gave her protection and her school did a good
work."
FB MONTHLY SCH REPORT (May 1867)


95 schs in Ky; 77 of which are day schools; 18 are night schools. 14 are under the care of benevolent assns. The AMA supports 10 schools; Prot. Epis. Soc 2, Meth & Bap Assns 1; Baptist Society 1; aggregate attendance is 1909. The FB supports 46 schools & pays teachers "... not directly of course, but actually, --that is to say, --whenever the Freedmen own a church or other building available for school purposes, it is rented with the understanding that the money shall go to the support of the school. The Freedmen pledge churches to pay the teachers board, and in this way the school is successfully sustained."

SCHOOL REPORT FOR JUNE 1867


84 day schools; 12 night schools; employing 122 teachers; with an aggregate attendance of 2,921 pupils. "Nothing has occurred during the month to interfere with the progress or impair the efficiency of any of these schools." School yr has closed. PROBLEMS FOR THE LAST YEAR: "But poverty and general ill treatment have not been the only obstacles which have confronted them. There has been special and most bitter opposition on the part of the white citizens to the education of Colored Children and this hostility has done much to dishearten the Freedmen and thwart the efforts of the Officers of this Bureau...." Most teachers from Oberlin. Says he seems... a persistent determination of the part of the Freedmen to educate their Children."(2)"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." (3) "... the Consciousness of freedom has got hold of them and abides with them. Their parents come to one and ask for the establishment of schools their plea is, 'You know Sir, we are Citizens now and we want to learn our duty.' (4) They need constant oversight.

* There are 4 "Facts developed by the work." (or certain state conclusions.)

Noble drew at the end of the 1867 School year.
SCHOOL REPORT FOR AUGUST 1867

Chaplain & Chief Supt Freed Schs in Ky, T.K.Noble in Lou, dated Sept 1, 1867, to Gens Supt Schools J. W. Alvord in Wash, Kentucky Monthly School Reports, BRFAL, Roll 20, M-803

23 schs have continued to operate during the summer vacation with 26 teachers employed. During August he made special efforts to secure bldgs for fall.

SCH REPT FOR WARREN, SIMPSON, TODD, MUHLENBURG, METCALF COS. SEPT 1867


Warren Co: "good deal of apathy on the part of the Colored people of this County, in regard to the education of their children. In Bowling Green, a lot of land was given by a white Citizen, a Government building was purchased by this Bureau moved on the lot and fitted up at a cost of Five Hundred (500) dollars. Two teachers are furnished by the American Missionary and Western Freedmens Aid Commission and yet the School is but poorly attended. I think the fault lies partly in the teachers. I urged upon them the importance of visiting the parents, to wake them up to the necessity of having their Children educated. An independent School has been lately opened and has a fair attendance and with an incompetent teacher." Simpson Co: bldg 35 x 40 built at Franklin by the Freedmen, with the FB aiding with $150; the bldg will open 1st of month. Todd Co: "The Freedmen of this County have purchased at Elkton the County seat a two story brick building, 30 x 40, and have had it fitted up for a school house. They deserve great credit for their enterprise, at Gordonsville a school was started early in the Month by a white Citizen. He taught it two weeks to the great satisfaction of the Colored people, when he was notified by certain parties that he would be mobbed unless the School was stopped. As the "Regulators" had whipped a man nearly to death only a short time before, he deemed it prudent to close the school." Noble got several citizens to urge the white man to reopen the sch, but not sure he will. Muhlenburg Co: "A church has been rented at Greenville the County seat, the Freedmen pledging themselves to pay at least $25 per month for the support of the teacher, and the School will be started soon as
A colored man who had obtained his freedom, by placing the Ohio river between him and his "Master," a liberty which he, however, held by a precarious title, though it was previously to the enactment of the Fugitive law, was compelled to leave his "wife" behind him in bondage. He did not, however, forget her. Freedom without her was but half enjoyed, while the thought of what she was suffering embittered his days. He meditated many a scheme for her deliverance, which, however, he was unable to put into execution. Her "owner" was a Presbyterian clergyman "in good standing" with his Church in Louisville, Kentucky. He, however, had no inclination to practise that portion of the Gospel which proclaims "deliverance to the captive," and the enslaved "wife" was held, like hundreds of thousands of her fellow-Slaves, in forcible separation from her "husband," by one who professed to be a "follower of Christ."

The "husband" of this woman was brave and determined, and he had a brother, of a spirit like unto his own, who was also a fugitive from Slavery. The two concerted a plan for the deliverance of the "wife." Inasmuch as the negro was unknown to the "owner," and would therefore be less likely to be intercepted in his enterprise, it was determined that he should cross the river, visit the plantation, and attempt her rescue. The "husband," meanwhile, was to prepare himself, and meet them at the Ferry on the Kentucky side of the river. Late on Saturday night the brother reached the Plantation of the clergyman, and on Sabbath morning, just before the time for service, it was ascertained that one of the preacher's Slave
for an instant; he seized once more the boat, when the "hus-
band" shot him through the breast, and he fell, while the boat
was shoved rapidly into the river, in the midst of a volley of
shots.

The wounded hunter was placed in a house near the Ferry,
and seemed to be rapidly approaching his end. The next
morning the reverend trafficker in human flesh hurried to the
scene. He found that his Slave had indeed escaped, and that
his hired pursuer was mortally wounded. Finding that noth-

A party of men, three of whom were Kentuckians from
Mason and Fleming counties, recently passed through New
Petersburg, Ohio, in pursuit of three Slaves, the "property" of
one of the hunters, named Pierce, and another "owner." It
seems that they had information from a Pro-Slavery Doctor of
Divinity in Ohio, which put them "on the track," and led
them to believe that the Slaves were on the route through New
Petersburg to Greenfield, but they had not yet crossed Rattle-
snake Creek, which runs about a mile east of Petersburg.
From Petersburg there are two roads leading to Greenfield,
one of which crosses the creek over a bridge, and the other by
a ford half a mile further up. Three of the hunters stationed
themselves at the bridge, and two at the ford, and awaited the
coming of the Slaves. The hunters at the bridge had not
waited long, when the Slaves, two men and a woman, made
their appearance, escorted by a white man and a boy, as guide.
As soon as they were fairly within the bridge, which is a
covered one, the Kentuckians sprang upon them and a des-
perate flight ensued. The fugitives were armed with guns,
pistols, and knives, and fought with the utmost energy and
desperation. The battle lasted for nearly an hour. The re-
sult was, that one of the Slaves was captured, after being shot
and cut up in a most shocking manner. The others escaped.
Pierce, the "owner" of the captured Slave, was "done up
brown." The desperate character of the affray may be judged
from the fact that the broken brich of a gun and pistol was
found in the water, and the boys were covered with blood.
RUNWAY "REVEALED" AT CHURCH SERVICE 1855

the suppressed book about slavery, 1864

On the 1st of August, 1855, there arrived in Delaware, Ohio, six runaway Slaves—a man and his "wife" and four children. They were taken to Church and placed behind a screen. During the service, a clergyman made some eloquent and touching remarks on the horrors of Slavery, and then drew the curtain, not only in language, but in reality. "There," said he, "is a specimen of the fruits of the inhumane system of Slavery, as practised in the 'Great Republic.'" The audience were surprised and horror-stricken. Eyes were filled with tears, and money was at once contributed to pay their way, by the "Underground Railroad," to Canada.

17 SLAVES ESCAPE FROM NOR. KY. TO CINCINNATI 1856

J.W. Carryl,

the suppressed book about slavery, 1864

The Cincinnati Gazette, of the 29th of January, 1856, says:

On the Slaves being ordered to surrender, a firm and decided negative was the response. The officers, backed by a large crowd of Cotton-Brokers, Dry-Goods Jobbers, Sugar and Tobacco dealers, and other persons, "doing business with the Slave States," then made a descent. Breaking open the doors, they were assailed by the Slaves with pistols and clubs. Several shots were fired, but only one took effect, so far as we could ascertain. A bullet struck a man named John Patterson, one of the Marshal's Deputies, cutting off a finger of his right hand, and dislocating several of his teeth.

"On looking around, horrible was the sight which met our eyes. In one corner of the room was a Slave-child bleeding to death. His throat was cut from ear to ear, and the blood was spouting out profusely, showing that the deed was but recently committed. Scarcely was this fact noticed, when a scream issuing from an adjoining room drew attention thither. A glance into the apartment revealed a Slave-mother holding in her hand a knife literally dripping with gore, over the heads of two of her children, who were crouched to the floor and uttering the cries whose agonized peals had first startled them. Quickly the knife was wrested from the hand of the mother, and a more close investigation instituted as to the con-
several places and the blood trickled down their backs and upon their sleeves.

"The woman avowed herself the Mother of the children, and said she had killed one, and would like to kill the other three, rather than see them returned to Slavery. On being asked whether she would rather go back to bondage or be tried for murder, with a chance of being hanged, she said:

"Rather than go back to Slavery, I would go Dancing to the Gallows."

"To the inquiry if she was not excited almost to madness when she committed the act: 'No,' she replied, 'I was as cool as I now am; and would much rather kill them at once, and thus end their sufferings, than have them taken back to Slavery, and be murdered by piecemeal.'"

But this poor heart-broken Mother did not have an opportunity to "go Dancing to the Gallows." The United States Judge (Leavitt) decided that if a runaway Slave commits a murder in the State of Ohio, the Slaveholder's claim takes precedence over Ohio law, and the murderer must be delivered up into bondage, and the Laws of Ohio trodden under the hoof of the Slave-Power!

John Folibo, Esq. of Cincinnati, defended the Slave-mother through the arduous struggle, without the slightest hope of reward.

BRAMLETTE PROTESTS RECRUITING OF KY BLACKS BY MICHIGAN JAN 1864

wpa, military hist of ky, 1939

By a letter of January 13, 1864, from Governor Bramlette to Gen. J. T. Boyle, remonstrance is made to the recruiting of Kentucky Negroes by a Union Army recruiting officer "for the 1st Michigan Colored regiment." Governor Bramlette said in part, "No such recruiting will be tolerated here. Summary justice will be inflicted upon any who attempt such unlawful purpose." Previously, on December 14, 1863, the Governor had written Captain Cahill that Kentucky would furnish white men to fill the call upon her for more troops; would not enlist colored men, nor "permit any state which is unwilling to meet the measure of duty, by contributing its quota from its own population, to shelter from duty behind the free negro population of Kentucky."
KY LEGIS OBJECTS TO RECRUITING BLACK TROOPS FEB 1864

The legislature, by a resolution of February 22, continued to protest against the enlistment of Kentucky Negroes for army service, and added a request, directed to the President, to remove camps for United States colored troops beyond the state lines. On the same day recruiting for any service, other than that of the United States, was prohibited under a fine of $500 for each recruit, and by imprisonment of from two to six months. Union authorities, completely ignoring the remonstrances of the legislature against the use of Negro troops, ordered James B. Fry, United States Provost Marshal General, to cause the immediate enrollment of all male Negroes in Kentucky between eighteen and forty-five years of age. This order was issued February 29, and five days later General Burbridge ordered all impressed Negroes released from their work and sent home to their owners so that the enrollment might be accurate.

FORREST ATTACKS PADUCAH MARCH 1864; BLACK TROOPS THERE

General Forrest made an attack on Paducah on March 25th and demanded the surrender of Fort Anderson, then held by Col. S. G. Hicks with the 122d Illinois Infantry, 16th Kentucky Cavalry, and 1st Kentucky Artillery, together with 220 Negroes. The Confederate fire continued late into the night. Union troops were assisted in the defense of the fort by the United States gunboats Peoria and Paw-Paw. Union losses were fourteen killed, forty-six wounded and forty prisoners taken. Confederate losses are not known, but were heavy. Much property damage was caused by Forrest’s men through the burning of headquarters, quartermaster’s and commissary buildings with all stores, the steamboat Ducotah, and the railroad depot. Other property damage resulted from the fort’s artillery fire.
GOV. T.E. BRAMLETTE SENDS REPRESENTATIVE TO BLACK CAMPS APR 1864

wpa, military hist of ky, 1939

The Governor on April 8, 1864, appointed J. P. Flint commissioner and agent on behalf of Kentucky to visit camps of Negro troops and obtain for their legal owners proper vouchers for such as were from Kentucky. Also to obtain evidences of enlistments of Kentucky Negro troops then in Tennessee and other states to enable Kentucky to obtain proper credits against her quota for troops.47

KY BLACKS ENROLLED BY FORCE JULY 1864

wpa, military hist of ky, 1939

A large number of enlistments in the Union Army were made by slaves, there having been 110 Negro recruits entered in Lexington alone on the fifth and sixth of June. About 2,000 Negro enlistments were recorded for the District of Kentucky to July 15, 1864. However, these enlistments were made for the United States colored troops and without the consent of the state authorities; in fact, they were made over the state's vehement protest. These 2,000 enlistments included the slaves seized on the seventh of June by Colonel Cunningham, in charge of Negro troops at Paducah, when he made "a raid into Union County" and impressed a steamboat load of Negroes into United States service. The boatload consisted of 158 able-bodied slaves who were being carried by their owners to a point where they would not be enrolled for United States military service.49
The formation of additional United States colored troops continued in Kentucky. During July over 12,000 slaves were taken out of the state, some by substitute brokers, others on the promise of their freedom, and still others by the lure of bounty. Two Negro regiments were mustered in at Louisville and six were made ready at Camp Nelson in Jessamine, where the following letter was issued to Kentucky slave holders:

CIRCULAR:

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP NELSON
JESSAMINE CO., KY., July 6, 1864.

I. In pursuance with instructions from Brig. Gen. L. Thomas, Adjutant General U.S.A., owners of slaves are hereby notified, that on and after Monday, July 11, 1864, all colored men in Camp until for service in the army, and all women and children will be delivered up to their owners upon application to these Headquarters.

II. All officers or other persons, having in their employ negro men fit for service in the army, are hereby directed to report them forthwith to Colonel Thos. D. Sedgwick, commanding U.S. Colored Troops at this post. All men fit for service, as above, who have come into Camp since the issue of War Department Orders, must be reported, no matter at what engaged. A prompt compliance with this circular is expected.

By Command of

BRIG. GEN. S. S. PAY

ORDER ON RECRUITING BLACKS THAT LEFT KY, JULY 24, 1864

On the twenty-fourth of July the U.S. Secretary of War issued Order No. 25 pertaining to the impressment of Negroes for military service. Article I was directed to owners of runaway slaves. They were informed that with their consent such slaves would be captured and thereupon mustered into the United States colored troops to the credit of the states' quota on the last preceding call for troops. Article II directed that all Kentucky Negroes, who ran away, or were enticed to adjoining states to enlist for bounty, should be seized and returned to be enlisted in Kentucky regiments. In pursuance of this policy all Negro males attending a colored fair in Louisville were seized, on August 16, taken to prison, and the following day were set to work on fortifications.
Albert Turner, a Negro, was arrested in Louisville in April, 1887, charged with the offense of assaulting Jennie Bowman. He was committed to jail, and said that William Patterson, another Negro, was with him, and that they jointly committed the offense.

Turner, when arrested, said he had never seen Patterson until the day of the murder when, in passing Jennie Bowman’s home, he was asked by Patterson if he was not hungry. Turner answered he had plenty to eat. Then Patterson said that they could get some money by going through “that house,” as the ladies had all gone away in a carriage. Turner consented to go in, and they went around to the back door, found it ajar, and entered. Patterson went upstairs and Turner remained downstairs near the pantry. Soon the girl appeared, coming from the outside, and a struggle ensued between them; then Turner knocked her down and she was lying on the floor, insensible and groaning, when Patterson came downstairs and kicked her several times. After this she was carried up the stairs and placed upon the bed. Patterson picked up an iron poker and struck her over the head several times. Turner said that he went downstairs after this and did not see Patterson any more until Sunday night last.

The assault upon Jennie Bowman by two men in broad daylight incensed the populace and with the sensational articles published in the press of Louisville culminated in the organization of a mob, composed of some 5,000 persons, who marched to the jail to obtain Turner and Patterson to hang them. The police acted with great caution, arrested the leaders, and required them to give bond or go to jail. The city was filled with excitement, and the authorities feared that trouble would result. The Governor ordered out the 1st Regiment, and placed it in charge of Judge W. L. Jackson. The appearance of the militia on the scene had a tendency to quiet the mob spirit.
In 1892 a new president was inaugurated. William Goodell Frost, descended from two generations of antislavery advocates, seemed a logical successor to the spirit of the founders. Extremely energetic, Frost doubled enrollment in five years, and when he stepped down in 1920, he had raised the value of Berea's plant and endowment from $200 thousand to $12 million. During that time he received significant contributions from Andrew Carnegie and Chicago philanthropist Daniel Kimball Pearson as well as aid from former abolitionists such as Julia Ward Howe and Thomas W. Higginson. Frost spent much of his time in the field (168 days in one year), recruiting students and funds.49

Yet Frost faced major problems, and the cost of solving them came high. Initially, the existence of a new state-supported college for blacks threatened enrollment, as did the integration stigma that kept some white students away. Berea College had not prospered in almost three decades. An ambitious man, Frost decided to change the school's emphasis in order to rectify that situation and attract more students. In articles and speeches across the nation, he asked northerners to invest in Berea's dream of a mission to the Appalachian area. The mountain region—not interracial education—would become the school's focus of attention.

"In one of his first moves Frost overturned the resolution approving interracial dating. He also discouraged social contacts between the races. Seeking a limited black enrollment approximating the state's overall black-white ratio, he succeeded, for by 1903 only 157 of the 961 students were black. As Frost said later, 'We frankly shifted emphasis, appealing more for the mountaineers.' "The angry, aging founder, John G. Fee, protested the transformation."
In 1904 a legislator from the feud-ridden county called "Bloody Breathitt" introduced a bill to prohibit biracial education in all Kentucky schools, public and private. The Day Bill aimed directly at Berea College, the last integrated institution of higher learning in the South. If Frost supported the bill (as some blacks said at the time), then he might have been expected to offer mere token opposition. That he battled heart and soul to oppose passage indicates Frost's still lingering devotion to an ideal—one he had ignored and at times forgotten in the heady success of his mountain appeals.

In a report to the trustees, the president bitterly denounced the degrading spirit of caste behind the Day Bill. Berea had but one legal, moral, and historic course, he argued, and that was opposition. They agreed. Frost told supporters across the nation that the legislature's actions "deeply distressed" him: "We do not ask for approval, but for liberty." Yet even as he tried to rally support, the old prejudices appeared. To one friend, Frost told how Berea College offered the training needed by a still "irresponsible and unreliable" race. Speaking before the legislative committee considering the bill, he tried to silence criticism of the school's "radicalism" by stressing moderation. The college, said Frost, favored public school segregation as the "best arrangement" for Kentucky at the present time. Berea stood for keeping "the races pure," and through its efforts blacks would make contact with the "better element" of whites. Unimpressed, the legislature passed the bill. Tested by Berea College as far as the Supreme Court, it was upheld at all levels. Segregated education ended the Berea experiment. 60

To meet the institution's historic commitment, Frost worked hard and successfully to raise money to set up another school for Kentucky blacks. He called it Lincoln Institute. But these efforts did not silence criticism from the Negro press. Finally, Frost's black ally James Bond defended his friends in Alexander's Magazine; he had never seen "a fairer or more sincere set of men" than those on Berea's board of trustees. Frost sincerely opposed the Day Law, even though he had failed in his attempts to stop it. Now blacks should end their attacks, said Bond, and support the new school. 61 The furor slowly subsided. Interracial higher education in the South ceased. Mountain whites continued to replace southern blacks as an attractive object of northern philanthropy.

Some of the forces and funds that might have eventually returned to southern Negroes went instead to southern Caucasians. The missionary reform impulse turned more and more to regional correction of "ethnically related people." Settlement schools, much like Freedmen's Bureau schools of the 1860s, but without their controversy, began to be built across Appalachia.
The city streetcars presented a logical and choice target for Negro agitation. All three companies had received their city and state charters after 1864, and each determined its own brand of segregation. The oldest, the Louisville City Railway Company and its Beargrass branch, under the presidency of a former Whig, General Jeremiah T. Boyle, allowed Negro women to sit inside its Main and Portland streetcars. On Walnut and Fourth streets, John M. Armstrong’s Central Passenger Railroad Company also permitted Negro women inside, as did J. R. Del Vecchio’s Citizens’ Passenger Railway Company servicing Market Street, the most popular route. One of the Market Street routes took no Negro men at all. On all other routes, for the standard five-cent fare, they could stand with the driver on the small front platform, an excellent vantage point from which to appreciate the plodding mules. The one exception to the general rule was the Main and Fourth Street excursion car, the rear seats of which were open to all Negroes.  

Undoubtedly under church leadership and inspiration, the Negroes’ decision to test Louisville’s streetcar segregation became a reality on October 30, 1870. The demonstrations started after church services on Sunday, October 30, and occurred in front of Quinn Chapel on Walnut Street in the heart of the Negro section of town and near many of the other Negro churches. Some planning preceded the demonstrations, but how long such plans were afoot is not clear. Either during or immediately after church services that Sunday morning the word spread, and a crowd of two to three hundred Negroes congregated in front of Quinn Chapel. There they milled around until nearly 3:00 P.M., nervously renewing their courage from each other and excitedly welcoming each addition to their expectant ranks.  

By midafternoon the growing number of Negroes decided to act. The surge of people ebbed slightly to thrust forward from its ranks three men. Alongside one Horace Pearce stood forth Robert and Samuel Fox, orderly and reputable mulatto brothers who ran a grocery and undertaking establishment on Walnut Street. With the crowd pressing behind them, the three made their way to the Central Passenger’s car stop at Tenth and Walnut. They boarded a near-empty car, deposited their fares in the box, and sat down.
A white passenger, John Russell, told them to leave, and then the driver turned to order them out. As the hushed crowd waited, Robert Fox quietly replied that they had a right to ride in any public conveyance and suggested that they and the driver might discuss the matter reasonably. Reasonable primarily in the sense he obeyed his company’s orders, the driver called other drivers to his assistance and dispatched a messenger to the company’s office. With kicks and “abusive epithets,” the drivers forcibly ejected the Negroes from the car.

Their violence catalyzed the temper of the waiting crowd, and its discipline broke down. Some Negroes hurled hunks of hard mud at the car. Others shouted possibly threatening words at the drivers. The Fox brothers, quietly determined to assert their rights but unwilling to become sacrificial lambs, grasped stones in their fists and re-entered the car. Their behavior was orderly and polite, but the crowd was boisterous in encouragement: “We’ll pay your fines!” “We’ll see you through with this!” “Don’t budge a step!” As the crowd continued to yell, the company’s superintendent, A. W. Johnson, arrived on the run. He told the men they could reclaim their fares but that they must leave the car. Again they quietly refused, insisting on their rights; and the mood of their supporters grew ominous. Five cars stood backed up on the tracks, and the growing crowd appeared ready to take matters into its own hands. Just then three policemen dashed up, hustled the Negro riders off to jail, and charged them with disorderly conduct.

That this was a prearranged test case became obvious. In less than an hour the Reverend H. J. Young, former pastor of the Bethel Colored Chapel at Walnut and Eighth and president of the colored educational convention of 1869, appeared to post bond. A reporter also overheard Negroes in the crowd talking about raising funds for the court case. In addition, two white lawyers had adequately prepared the defendants’ case by the time it came to trial the following day. The defense arguments by Colonel John H. Ward and L. A. Wood drew heavily on common-law precedents concerning common carriers and were certainly the work of more than one night. There was great excitement among the city’s Negroes on Sunday night, and large Negro crowds jammed the city courtroom all week to hear the testimony.

Their faith in the justice of the local court, however, was misplaced and naive. Judge J. Hop Price consistently refused to permit Negro testimony, a position involving him in a federal case which was then pending. He would not consider the larger issues of the Fox case. Colonel Ward argued that his clients did nothing more than they had a right to do. Common law, he said, prohibited a common carrier from refusing service to any but those of bad character or those guilty of misbehavior. He maintained that Negroes “are human beings, and any Negro in the city of Louisville, who may come here, has a right, as a human
Judge Price referred to limit the case to the issue of disorderly conduct, as did prosecuting attorney Samuel A. Atchison. In his opinion against the defendants on Thursday, November 3, Price stressed the gathering of a crowd, the defendants' returning with stones in their hands, their refusal to accept refunds, and the throwing of mud at the car. As a final point, however, he maintained that a common carrier did have certain rights to regulate its passengers. He pointed out that no rider on any common carrier had the right to choose any car he wished. Price, however, fined each defendant only the minimum sum of five dollars. 22

The decision was a bitter blow to the city's Negroes, but it did not weaken their attitude or determination. Their next step was another legal move. Since the state courts refused Negro testimony, the federal courts in Kentucky heard any case involving Negroes. Negro leaders therefore decided the Fox brothers should sue the Central Passenger Railroad Company in the United States District Court. Because of past federal court decisions, it was reasonable to expect a favorable verdict. There was scarcely time, however, to prepare the necessary briefs between November 3 and November 13, when the court ended its fall session. Since the decision was not forthcoming until May 1871, 24 the Negroes' patience and moderation suffered a prolonged test. The Negro community bided its time, and racial violence and civil rights agitation by Negroes were practically nonexistent over the long winter months. 25

Ibid. The police also charged Robert Fox with carrying a pistol. Whether this was a mistake or an attempt at intimidation, or whether the prosecuting attorney's good will led to the dropping of the charge is unknown.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid. Not all Negroes were willing to wait for the court's decision. Tuesday night, after a Republican rally in Quinn Chapel, police had to disperse a crowd of several hundred Negroes after a few of them tried to force their way into a car. Ibid., November 2, 1870.

28 Ibid., November 3, 1870.

29 Ibid.
Nor did the soldiers always serve as mere spectators of the local scene. At the North Benson depot of the Louisville and Lexington Railroad on January 26, 1871, three or four white men attacked the new Negro mail agent, William H. Gibson, Sr., a Louisville Negro leader and a delegate at the 1869 educational convention. Local agitation was great enough to cause federal officials to fear for Gibson's future safety, and on February 13 ten federal soldiers began guarding him in the performance of his duties. The New York Tribune of February 28, 1871, increased local tensions by pointing out that the federal government was going to pacify Kentucky (troops to guard the mails) and improve her against her will (Sherman's railroad bill). Further warnings from local postal officials led to the suspension of mail service between Louisville and Lexington as of March 3, and on March 8 General Order Number 12 transferred one infantry regiment and the Seventh Cavalry to Louisville. On that same day one Daniel Carroll, white, committed "willful and malicious" damage to the Bethesda Chapel, former church of Fox's bondsman, the Reverend H. J. Young.

After displaying restraint for so many months, some of Louisville's Negroes now became more aggressive as these favorable circumstances seemed harbingers of victory. On May 1 one William Smith, Negro, made such a "desperate" effort to enter a Market Street car that his "fighting qualities" earned him a night in jail. The victimized William H. Gibson also sounded a more strident note, and he was a local leader who commanded respect. Addressing some three hundred Odd Fellows on May 8, Gibson fired them with the sense of a rising national movement that demanded more daring action. Telling his audience of agitation by Negro laborers in the East, he declared the needs of the hour demanded that local Negroes organize, counsel each other, and concentrate their efforts. The way to end discrimination and advance Negro progress, he shouted, lay in action: "Agitate! Agitate! As all moral reformatio ns are brought about by agitations, so this reform must pass through a similar ordeal in order to be effective."
Thus a growing climate of fear among local whites clashed with the more insistent, increasingly impatient demands of some of Louisville's Negroes. In such an atmosphere the United States District Court on Thursday, May 11, 1871, handed down its decision in the case of *R. Fox v. The Central Passenger Railroad Company*. The decision itself was no longer the crux; what was critical now was white and Negro reaction to it.

By the time it reached Judge Bland Ballard, the Fox case was rather tame. Colonel Gabriel C. Wharton's arguments for the complainant rested on the enforcement acts for the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the common-law provisions relevant to common carriers. They won immediate admission from the company's lawyer of the Negroes' right to ride. The only remaining argument was over the extent of damages Fox could collect. If he had asserted his right to ride in such an obtrusive fashion as to justify his forcible ejection from the car, he would forfeit any financial compensation. The jury decided in favor of Fox, and Judge Ballard awarded the plaintiff fifteen dollars damages.

The jubilant local Negroes received news of the company's capitulation on Tuesday, the first day of the trial, and utilized the remaining days to plan a series of ride-ins to implement their victory. As Fox left the courthouse on Thursday, Negroes began to test their new right, only to find the local whites in emphatic disagreement with the federal ruling. Three days of tumult began as a Negro man solidly boarded a Jefferson Street car. The driver explained his company's rules and asked the man to leave. When the Negro quietly refused, the white ladies left the car. Acting on previous company orders, the driver took his car off the tracks and sat back to wait. All was peaceful within the streetcar as driver and Negro rider faced each other in silence, but an excited crowd gathered outside. No violence occurred, and after nearly thirty minutes the Negro left the car as quietly as he had entered it. Then the car proceeded on its way.

This first ride-in was a prototype for other instances of non-violence. Thursday evening three Negro men at Walnut and Ninth duplicated the earlier performance. A streetcar official asked them to leave and termed their action premature. Two policemen also tried to persuade the Negroes to leave, but they continued to sit quietly for a time. At the same spot a little later some Negroes did manage to ride.

Other demonstrations that day proved all was not to be so
peaceful, though. "Considerable excitement" gripped both whites and Negroes as cars began to back up on the tracks. Some Negro demonstrators openly gloated over the whites' discomfort. Three of them, for instance, rolled off merrily in their own special car after the driver and white passengers abandoned it. With feet planted squarely on the cushioned seats, they disregarded the company rules and lighted cigars, much to the delight of some Negroes outside.65

The actions of this Negro minority further goaded the whites, many of whom were quite willing to incite a state of disorder bordering on mass riots and open racial conflict. One driver reportedly said that "if a nigger should get in his car, he would try to make him go out; and if the d---d cuss should assault him, he would try to kill him."66 Groups of angry whites milling around on various streets agreed that "this huge black cat must be belted [sic], but just how to come it was the question!"67 Watterson's "New Departure" Democratic paper played up Negro "insolence," referred to the first round in the coming "war of the races" and to the "black-and-tan" crowds, yet counseled that resistance was useless.68 The Republican Daily Commercial of May 12, 1871, of-

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fered but slight comfort to the Negro in demanding that the companies seek a prompt and wise solution to the problem.

On Friday, May 12, Negroes attempted ride-ins over the entire city, on Twelfth, Sixth, Jefferson, Preston, Main, Ninth, and Walnut streets. Although most of the riders committed no act to incite violence, potentially serious trouble lurked amid the angry excitement and animated discussions on every street corner. Several times drivers forcibly ousted Negroes, and some whites hauled out Negroes feet first. Several whites threw one Negro out of a car window, and a group of newsboys attacked and beat a Negro before making good their escape through the crowd. As whites left the cars, several Negroes again lighted cigars and bounced on the fancy cushions to the loud cheers of some Negro spectators and the obvious disgust of the whites. Police stood ready to quell any riot but did not interfere with those Negroes exercising their right to ride. The greatest danger came in the evening as two large, excited crowds gathered.69

Police dispersed the one in front of Quinn Chapel at Ninth and Walnut before damage occurred. An uglier scene took place in front of the Willard Hotel. A Negro boy, Carey Duncan, courageously displayed his faith in nonviolence. He quietly boarded a car and sat passively. When a mob attempted to dislodge him by overwhelming the car, he calmly hung on as best he could. While
“prominent citizens” watched from the pavement, the crowd roared: “Put him out!” “Hit him!” “Kick him!” “Hang him!” A group of white boys jumped into the car to yell defiance in Duncan’s face, but he made no move nor sound. Then they pulled and kicked Duncan’s inert body out of the car. Only when they tried to drag him through the crowd did young Duncan’s endurance break and he start to defend himself. Then the police rushed in to rescue him. As the crowd shoved closer to watch, whites jostled Negroes, and a Negro’s horse stepped on a white man’s foot. Fearing one more spark would set off an explosion, police hastily broke up the crowd.

The situation was getting out of hand rapidly. The Bourbon Ledger was outraged and denounced the Negroes as troublemakers, perhaps performing the work of “vicious” whites out for political gain. It warned that the ride-ins would only lead to trouble for the Negro. The Daily Commercial of May 13 was also aghast at the extent of the trouble and urged the end of the ride-ins. “They should refrain from unnecessarily precipitating this question upon the community; the assumption of their right to ride in the street cars, under the present circumstances, is injudicious, and we hope will not be persisted in. To do so may lead to serious trouble.” The Courier-Journal of May 13 denounced the Negroes’ aggressiveness and asserted its belief that the “better” Negroes were not involved. It claimed, however, that a Negro minister was exhorting his flock to violence on Ninth Street. The Reverend James C. Waters of the Ninth Street African Methodist Episcopal Church indignantly rejected the accusation against him. He readily acknowledged that he stood for Negro rights and the attainment of simple justice against a senseless prejudice. He vigorously denied, though, that he would ever use the tremendous power of the pulpit to encourage acts calculated to “arouse the passions of evil and designing men, and which might culminate in scenes of disorder or the useless effusion of blood.”
Jennie Fyfe to "My Dear Nell," Aug 22, 1865, Paducah, Ky., in Fyfe Family Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

"Yesterday there were two black men hung here, & so my children all animation about it, came with bright faces to know if I was going to 'turn out school for the hanging'--ridiculous & terrible as it seemed, I could not help laughing The idea of its being a festal ocession."

Jennie Fyfe in Paducah, Ky., March 31, 1864, to "Dear Ones in H--" (?) in the Fyfe Family Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

"Our colored troops did nobly they fought with perfect desperation & nearly all the killed & wounded was among them. Went over to see the wounded -- found them quite as intelligent as most of the Kentuckians."
B G TEACHER, A D JONES, ORDERED OUT OF TOWN BY K K K SEPT 1868

A letter reached me yesterday from A. D. Jones a teacher in Bowling Green stating that the K. K’s had ordered him to leave the place within ten days and that the teachers in that region are in great terror." Said Sub. Asst Commissioner, Capt A. B. Brown was investigating.

SCHOOL REPORT OCT 1868

45 schs established during the month; 8,403 pupils, a gain of 2,381 from the previous month. The increase is the result of the efforts of the officers of the bureau. Educational meeting have been held at Quinn’s Chapel, Center St Methodist Ch; Fifth St. Bap. At Shepardsville Ballard County a mob burned the Noble School the night of Oct 1 (they were Ku Klux). 2 churches burned in Bullitt Co Oct 1; they were also schools; in Monroe County school house destroyed Oct 10; in Mayfield about 50 KK whipped a number of freedmen, then "... proceeded to the boarding place of the teacher, a young colored woman, educated at Oberlin, and drove her from the town. She is now in Paducah awaiting orders. The freedmen in the above places are so intimidated they dare not testify against the perpetrators of these outrages, even when they are known."
SCHOOL REPORT NOV 1868

T. K. Noble, chaplain & chief supt. schs in lou, dated Dec 12, 1868, to Rev. J. W. Alvord, genl supt. schs, in wash, ky sch reports, roll 20, M-803

206 day schools; 31 night schools, 10,242 pupils. Need 31 schools.

WHITE CITIZENS WHO HELPED PAY EXPENSES OF COL EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION IN LOUISVILLE, JULY 14, 15, 16, 1869


LOU OFFICIALS ATTEMPT TO FIND SOLUTION TO STREETCAR DISTURBANCES
MAY 1871

m norris, 'early instances of nonviolence; lou demos 1870-71,' jsh, xxxii, nov 1966

After the Friday episodes, all three local newspapers advocated segregated cars as a possible solution. The only real hope, though,

lay in the news that Mayor John George Baxter, Jr., would meet with the interested parties the next day to attempt a settlement. Saturday, May 13, was almost a quiet day. Several Negroes rode the cars without difficulty, and few disturbances took place. A temporary panic did arise on the wharf as some Negro drivers refused to move their drays, and one Negro came close to caning the white harbor master. Generally, though, the city appeared to be waiting the outcome of the Mayor's meeting.

Present at the meeting were the company presidents and superintendents, the chief of police, and some Negroes and their lawyers. Mayor Baxter, a wealthy stove manufacturer and a popular official whom Watterson often praised, had to exert pressure on the Louisville City Railway officers, who at first insisted on upholding their tradition of catering to the "favored" and "better" people. Having invested nearly $1,000,000 in some fifty miles of track, plus recently financing a good deal of interior redecoration, the companies were in no position to embrace a willful loss of income. The owners based their submission on the grounds that it was useless to resist or evade the enforcement of Negro rights by the United States government. Since the Negroes refused the offer of segregated cars, the companies consented forthwith to open their cars to all. There were some isolated events on Sunday, but the battle was over and a general, if disgruntled, peace prevailed.
The Negroes had won a material victory but failed to secure a concomitant conversion in the whites' sense of justice. The whites capitulated only because the threat of political and economic collapse constituted a more urgent problem than did racial pressures. Indeed, the conditions of the contest strengthened the paternalists, not the equalitarians. Watterson blamed the troubles on the Republicans and "outsiders" and advised acquiescence by the whites merely to avoid "the merciless wrath of the newly enacted Kuklux law." The Ledger concluded its comments with the sorrowful realization that most people rode too much anyway and could use more exercise. The Republican Daily Commercial praised the Negroes' "perfectly" peaceful methods but cautioned them to use discretion. It warned that a "mere ostentatious" exercise of their "clear right" to ride would cost them sympathy and kindly feelings.

Louisville's whites remained impervious to the import of moral resistance. Segregation practices continued to characterize all other aspects of city life. As dictates of economic and political expediency ceased to operate on behalf of the local Negro, his white rulers hastily constructed official Jim Crow walls. By the 1890's they rested content with their handiwork; in 1897 William H. Gibson was no longer a figure of public controversy—just the night janitor at the Bank of Kentucky. The Negroes of Louisville never lost their right to ride in the integrated streetcars of their city, but they had to await a new century before those in power sought to understand their basic message.

Throughout the rest of the nation the times were too political and increasingly too materialistic to permit of much concern for moral crusades. The events of 1870-1871 in Louisville caused hardly a ripple in a nation engrossed in more exciting news about the Chicago fire, business ups and downs, the Santo Domingo controversy, South Carolina's Klan, and the Paris Commune. Press service dispatches from Louisville received but a front-page paragraph and an occasional gleeful chuckle from the urban Republican press and shorter notice in a few Democratic papers.

Yet no event disappears from its setting without some stimulation of the broader context, and the Louisville demonstrators of 1870-1871 played an early role in the development of the Negroes' faith in moral-resistance doctrines. The American Negro along
with other groups continued to develop the ideas and techniques of minority protest and generally remained committed to a belief in higher law and the use of moral or legal means to combat injustice. In step with the Louisville ministers, the 1872 National Colored Convention in New Orleans deplored the continuance of racial discrimination: "Now, in view of this disgraceful inconsistency, this affectation or prejudice, this rebellion against the laws of God, humanity, and the nation, we appeal to the justice of the American people to protect us in our civil rights . . ." Louisville’s Negroes deserve a place in the history of American efforts to validate nonresistance doctrines, for they helped to ensure that loyalty to the value of nonviolence constituted a living, vital strand in an American subculture—a strand that neither the majority nor time could efface.
About this time he removed from Winchester to Irwin, where his brother Joe resided, about 35 miles from Winchester, so they took my sister and myself with them. After he had got us there he said he was going to break us in so then trouble began with us. When I lived in Winchester I did get good food to eat but when we moved to Irwin we did not have anything to eat but corn bread, fat meat and water to drink, blackeye peas and greens which I gathered, and we had to eat that out of the skillets. We did not have any tables to eat upon like we do now. There were also a lot of other slaves that belonged to Joe and John Bruner in partnership. And when they did not have enough food to satisfy their hunger they would step up and take ours from us so we had to do without. The white people had plenty of the best of food but we never got any unless we stole it. Whenever they would have biscuits they would count them so they could tell if we stole any. They took me then as a house boy to nurse the children. Then I had to sleep on the floor and have nothing but a few ragged quilts to lie on and cover with also.

One Saturday evening I went down to the beef club to get the beef. There were a couple of white lads at our house and one of them threw a rock and struck me with it. I put my horse up down to the tanyard and he and I went to fighting. So I whipped the boy, knocked him into a tan vat. It was at those times against the law for a colored boy to fight a white boy. The boy's father came up and told my master that he would have to whip me or he would have to take me to the whipping post and give me 39 lashes. If a white boy jumped on a colored boy and whipped him it did not make any difference how poor he was you were not allowed to touch him and besides the whipping the boy would give you your master would give you another one. There was a colored boy of Mr. Dewitt's who stabbed a poor white boy on election day. The cause of this fracas was the colored boy had gone in swimming and the white boy hid his clothes while he was in there. There were two or three hundred after him with clubs and boulders trying their very best to take his life. They ran him in a cornfield and went home. He had a very good master who went his bail which was $1,000. He kept putting the trial off until the war broke out and then he went to war. And the white boy got well again.
P. Bruner worked washing clothes, carrying water, as lad
c. mid-1850s

p. 14

They took me out of the house now and put me to hard
work. They made my sister and myself carry all the
water and wash all the clothes every week. We had to
carry the water about 350 yards on our heads in pails and
you know what nice work that is. If we did not get the
clothes clean my mistress would send me over to the tan-
yard and have my master whip me. And I let you know
she examined every piece thoroughly.

P. Bruner works beating hominy as lad (mid 1850s)

p. 15

At night he would have me to
beat hominy. This hominy was beat out of corn. It was
beat in a mortar a large piece of timber similar to a water
bucket. They had a pestle to beat the hominy with. By
the time I would get this beaten it would be about 10:30
o'clock and the next duty I was to perform was to go and
wake my mistress up in order for her to see if it was fine
enough. Then I would return and next time beat it into
meal. Then I would have to go and get another peck
of corn and beat it, and by the time I had accomplished
this it would be about 1 o'clock. I think that was good
bedtime and had such a nice bed to sleep upon, old rags
on the floor. When morning came my master would go
to town and get drunk. Then the first thing he would
do on his return was to call me up and whip me for no
other purpose than because I got the hominy too fine to
suit him.
p. 19/ Says Black John always in trouble, "... he was always fighting and he would steal the hat off a man's head if you did not watch him very closely. They always trusted him with four horses and a wagon. He hauled leather to Lexington and Winchester to sell." Says: "Black John was a good scholar. He could read and write and that was something more than we could do. I do not know how he learned to read and write. He was a skillful hand for breaking into some man's smoke house and procuring all of their meat, and you never could catch him; and after he had obtained the meat he would always sell it to some white man. One time he took his departure from home and forgot to come back, and he has not returned to this day." Says he heard Black John had gone to Canada and is doing well there.

P. BRUNER DESCRIBES WORK AS A GROWING LAD (Mid 1850s) 6. 1845

By this time they had put me in the tanyard to work, to a man's work, for the purpose of laying away leather, clean out tan vats, wheel out tan bark and handle the heavy hides in the beam-shop, taking them out of the vats called limes. And when a pack of leather was tanned I would have to carry it upstairs to be scoured out. About three days in the week I had to run the engine and tend to the mill and every evening I would have to go out in the mountains in search of the cows, the time for me to do this was about 4 o'clock. And when I would not be successful in finding them they would send me again for them way after dark, like I could see a cow in the mountains long after dark where they would roam ever so far.

Whenever any misfortunes would befall us at the mill, a belt would fly off or anything like that, my master would always convict me of the charge and would whip me so severely, it got to be nothing but whippings all the time now.
"Sometimes he would tell us to go to church but that was not very often. But we were not benefited any by going, we did not hear anything but 'servants obey your master.' That is what was preached to the slaves."

Now I am going to tell you about a little trick I played. It was not my fault though. I came upon a fellow by the name of Henry Wagle down to the Estle springs. He had shot a cat and skinned it, so he gave it to me and told me it was a rabbit. So I met Alfred Myers and told him if he would give me a nickel and let me ride to town I would let him have the rabbit. So we traded and the boy took it home and the next morning his parent cooked it for breakfast. So they ate the cat and his daughter declared that it had the finest liver that she had ever seen, and also stated that it was a very good rabbit. I guess it must have been a young cat or they surely would not have relished it so much. They would never have known it if Henry Wagle had not told them any better. He went down town and heard them boasting about what good rabbit they had. After old Milt Myers found it out and told my master that he would have to punish me in some way. So my master told me he would have me taken down to the whipping post and get a whipping. So that would not do he must whip me himself. They took me down there and he gave me one hundred lashes and the white fellow got away unpunished. So that ends the cat story.
One day it was very very dry and we had a large amount of corn to grind for a lot of people from the mountains and some of them had conveyed it ever so far on their backs. And it seemed like everything had gone wrong that week, some of the belts had flown off and my old master had gone to town and purchased some more whiskey which he drank immediately and which took effect as soon as he had partaken of it. And when he returned he then commenced whipping me. So when he went to the house to eat his breakfast, Mr. Sheppard and Rollins and some more fellows told me if they were me they would run off and go to the free state. So when night came on I took a notion that I would run off, and out I started to a free state. But I happened to go the wrong road, and the first thing I knew I was in Richmond, Kentucky, in Madison County. I arrived there about eleven o'clock in the day.

I went to the woods and wandered around there till it was nearly night. I then started out on the Lexington pike, the one leading from Richmond to Lexington. So I proceeded on my way until I found myself about two miles from Clay's Ferry where I stayed all night at a widow woman's house. I told those people that I was a free man and informed them that my name was Dick Kieth; I knew a fellow that was free by that name and so I thought I would assume his name. I also told them that I was on my way to Lexington. So a man came along with a large drove of horses and mules. I made a contract with him to go down to New Orleans with him and I went on to Lexington with him and his drove of horses, and there I gave him the slip. That night I went to Phoenix Hotel and called for my supper, and at that place I also gave my name as Dick Kieth and a free man, too. The waiters gave me my supper in the kitchen. While I was enjoying my supper a white man came down and wanted to know whereabouts I came from and wanted to know my name, and I told him the same thing, that my name was Dick Kieth and was free, and he then wanted me to show him my free papers. I then told him I did not bring them with me, that I had left them at home (for I did not have any to bring). He then wanted to know if there was any person here that knew me and I told him to go up in the office which was full of men, and ask them if they did not know me and while he had gone to seek information I skipped out and left that hotel. I knew this man but he did not recognize me. He was foreman at the Estle springs not far from our house. (All this time my master was looking everywhere for me, and he even searched my mother's and grandmother's house for me in Winchester, and he had spies out in every direction. But I did not even go towards Winchester. I took another route.)

So I went out in the town of Lexington and wandered around until about one or two o'clock and then I became sleepy and went and climbed in a stage and remained there all night. Next morning I got up and went out and wandered around until I came to a railroad which I had never seen before. I saw a train approaching, and I had it in my head that all of the trains went to the free state. In the meantime there was a freight train standing on the track waiting to be unloaded. It contained horses and cattle. So I climbed up there between the two trains where they were attached together and seated myself there for a half hour, and kept waiting and waiting for
the engine to hitch on and pull me out, and the train had already passed and I was getting down every now and then looking for the train, and I might have been sitting there yet. So at last I became tired and thought I would get down and look for the train which had passed long ago.

I thought I was going to the free state, and the train had gone clear out of my hearing: I then began to wander around town again, and a man came up and told me that I was a runaway slave and took me before the Magistrate

and swore that I was a runaway. They then asked me what my name was and I told them as I had told them before and that I was free born also. Then they took me and put me in jail. The man that had charge of the jail was named Mr. Lulby, and the colored fellow that conveyed our food to us was named Henry. About two days after I had remained there in came two men with a leather strap and a cat-o-nine-tail. When this hit you once you got 9 lashes. He was going to whip me and make me tell him who I belonged to and what my name was. But I did not wait until they struck me one lick I cried out that I belonged to John Bell Bruner and that my name was Peter Bruner. They then wrote a letter to my master and informed him that they had me and I remained there about two weeks.

While I was in jail I had for company two of John C.
P BRUNER RETURNED TO IRVIN; RAN AWAY AGAIN, RETURNED VOLUNTARILY 6296

P BRUNER RETURNED TO IRVIN; RAN AWAY AGAIN; RETURNED VOLUNTARILY 6296-A

c. 1862

P BRUNER, a slave's adventures toward freedom, 1918

Then Joe Bruner came along and took me up to Irvin my home. We arrived there that night. I did not see my old master that night, and the next morning I got up and went out with the rest of the boys to cut wood, in the woods. So the next evening while I was out to the stable feeding the horse of Mr. Garret, who was visiting there, John Bruner who had just arrived home from town came past the barn and saw me there and he came in and told me to come to the house that he wished to settle with me. So when I came to the stable I started to run out and he picked up a large stone and threw at me and cut me in the head, the scar remains there yet. I run and he told the other slaves to run after me and I ran through a gang of Irish fellows, and informed them that I was going to the river and drown myself. I did jump in and went about two or three hundred yards and came out again. The Irish fellows came down to the river looking in it for me, they supposed that I had drowned myself. I came back again over the Sweet Lick mountain, where my sister gave me a hat and something to eat. It was about ten o'clock in the night. Dan Ride cut my hair and put some balsam or something else on it. This fellow lives at Xenia, Ohio. When this was written, he did not go by that name.

Then I wandered around and the slaves gave me something to eat whenever they had a chance. I then went out and stayed with the poor white people in the mountains. My master looked after me, but all in vain, they did not succeed, so they gave up their search. Sometimes I would be no more than two hundred yards from him and sometimes I would be sitting down at

I came in on Sunday morning while he had gone to town for his whiskey and procured my bed clothes and I went to Mr. Sheppard. When I had got about a mile from home I had stopped to talk to a colored fellow by the name of Tom Myers. While I was talking to him I happened to look back and behold there came my master after me.

Before he got to me he asked me if I had my bed clothes with me and I told him I did have them with me and he then told me to get upon the fence and he would take me to Mr. Sheppard's. He came up and grabbed me and had another fellow to hold his horse while he tied my hands behind me and took me back home. When he had arrived at home he took me into a room and undressed me and backed me, which is tying my hands together and running my bands over my knees and then run a stick through them and that left me entirely helpless without my using whatever of myself. Then he cowhided and cowhied me until the blood stood in pools on the floor. Well I guess he whipped me for about three hours, and his wife never told him to stop once but urged him on; the more I begged the harder he would whip me and when he was through whipping me I was so sore that I could hardly walk.
He then thought he would hire me out to a man up the river (by the name of Jimmy Benton, a still meaner man) to break me in. So that man came and hired me and took me home with him. I was between seventeen and eighteen years old at this time. After I was there about a week I thought I would try him. He always tried to make me ask him when I went away from the house but I did not do it. I thought while he was breaking me I would break him in.

I had just been there one week and on Sunday night I went down to his father's house, not very far from there, and did not ask him. So the next morning he told me to go out and get some switches to whip myself with, but I told him that was something I did not do for my own master, and then he jumped on me and I got the best of the old fellow, and his wife jumped out of bed with the rifle and she ran to him with it and I got hold of it and it went off some way or other. All of this occurred about four o'clock in the morning, it was not day yet. The next time he told me to do was to go down to the barn and feed the stock and while I was employed in doing this he and his brother ran in and grabbed me. I tell you they downed me this time. They tied me up by my hands to a horse rack, and then they both procured two long black hickory switches and one whipped me on one side and one on the other. They must have given me one hundred and fifty lashes or maybe more. When they let me loose I started for home and old Jimmy Benton was riding behind me persuading me to go back.

When I arrived home the first man I saw was old Bruner down to the tanyard. He asked me what was the matter and I told him he was to pay this morning. He then said if I would go back and remain until Christmas he would give me ten dollars. So I returned back and remained a little while longer.
P BRUNER'S SECOND ATTEMPTED ESCAPE c 1861-1863; CAUGHT, JAILED
RETURNED HOME

P Bruner, a slave's adventures toward freedom, 1918

I then took a notion that I would run off again. I still wanted to be free. I only wanted to get on free soil, so I started one morning between two and three o'clock and traveled ten miles on the road that night and then I hid in the bushes. The next day I went on through Madison County near Sugar Creek. I do not know what part I was in then. This was about the year of 1861, the war had begun then.

Burnside was at Camp Nelson just preparing to start out and I thought if I could only make it to that place I would be all right. Previous to this I had overtaken some more men and they were going along with me. Just as we were putting our shoes on after we had been wading the river, some five or six men came and captured them all but me and I escaped by taking refuge under some bushes. I do not know who these men were. After they had been gone about a half hour I thought I would proceed

so I went on until I had gone about a half mile, then I climbed over a fence and laid down in some tall weeds. When I awoke some men were cutting the weeds over me and some of them said kill the d—n nigger. Then they took me up to an old blacksmith's shop where they had the remaining part of the crowd. Then they took us from there to Nickleville which was about eighteen miles below Lexington. There they took us before the Magistrate and swore that we were runaway slaves. They then took us to jail. In the room I occupied were twenty-four more slaves all running off trying their very best to get free. Oh, how hard some of us poor slaves labored to gain our freedom.

A while after we were there they wrote for my master to come after me. After a week Joe Bruner and his nephew came and told me they wanted me to go home and I told him I would not go home. He then went out and purchased a cotton rope and his intentions in buying this was to tie me behind the buggy like people do their horses. And then I came to the conclusion that I would go with him. I thought the best plan would be to go along with him.

On our way from Nickleville he took me to his sister's, Elizabeth Muer, and there I remained all night. She said she wanted to buy me for the sole purpose of whipping me; she said if she could whip me and break me in she could stop me from running off. She went and got a lock and chain and locked me to a post on the porch. She would not let me come in the house and then she was afraid I would run off. Joe Bruner told her he did not think I would run off but she thought it the safest plan to lock me to a chain so she would have me.

While I remained at that house I saw a house where she whipped her slaves. She had large staples driven in the floor, then four large rings were in them and straps to strap you up. And one day while I was residing there she sent two little children between nine and ten years old to gather beans, and they happened to remain a little longer than the appointed time, so she took these little girls and whipped them terribly right before my eyes.
P BRUNER'S SECOND ATTEMPTED ESCAPE c.1863; CAUGHT; JAILED
RETURNED HOME

p bruner, slave's adventures toward freedom, 1918

And out in the back yard two little boys were churning and they did not agree on something and commenced fighting and old Tom Muer came up and kicked them and beat them around. All of this brutality occurred in one day.

The next morning I went by Winchester to see my mother on my way home, and the first man I beheld was old John Bruner. I always made a great mistake every time I ran away. I always took the wrong direction. Instead of going north to the free states I went farther and farther south, just the opposite direction from which I wanted to go. Previous to this, on his way from Lexington to Nickleville going after me, Joe Bruner met three men running off, so he captured them and took them to jail at Nickleville, but there was not enough room there for them so he took them back and put them in the jail at Lexington. And he received forty dollars for this which was enough to pay the jailer fees and the men who had pursued and captured me. One of the slaves belonged to Scott, the other I do not know to whom he belonged.

When I met my old master at Winchester he simply asked me where I had been and I informed him that I had been walking about. He did not speak to me cross, neither did he look at me in the same way for he knew if he did I would be gone again, for it was my chief delight to run off. Then he took me back to Irwin and then Jimmy Benton came and took me back to his house again, but he did not whip me this time, I guess he thought it the safest plan to let me alone. He rented a large field in the bottoms and I remained there and got along nicely farming and in turn he gave me a nice large watermelon patch and a portion of ground on which I raised thirty bushes of corn, and then he hauled it off for me and received for it one dollar per bushel which amounted to the sum of thirty dollars. I tell you I was proud, I had never had so much money before in my life.

P BRUNER'S 3RD ESCAPE WITH PHIL; ADVENTURES, CAUGHT c 1863

p bruner, slave's adventures toward freedom, 1918

Jimmy Benton rented a large field from widow Broaders about a mile from home, and it was my duty to break up this field with oxen. This field contained about 100 acres. John Cockrel rented about half of this field. He had a colored fellow employed by the name of Phil Stocton, who resided in the same town that I did. So one day Phil and I made up our minds that we would run off and go to the free state.

The people in our town were taking their slaves to Old Richmond, Va. So one day he and I were plowing in a field about a mile from the house when we took a notion all at once. The white people were walking around and whispering all through the night and of course, I did not know but what they were pursuing us, but we were mistaken. We then left Red River and then went up to Black Creek, and after we had gone two or three miles up Black Creek we spied a colored fellow hoeing corn and we went to him and when we had reached him we found it was a fellow that I was well acquainted with. He formerly was owned by Mr. Grubs who resided upon Miller's Creek, very near to the place from where I had run off. Phil and myself made a bargain with this fellow that we would remain there two or three days and help him hoe that corn if he would furnish us our food.

Everything was just the way we wanted it. It was in our favor for Mr. Stewart, this man's master, had gone was about a half mile from the road and was surrounded by woods on every side except one. And there was not anything on this side and we had an excellent view and could see to the road and house and whenever we spied anyone coming we could conceal ourselves in the woods. Everything had gone in our favor until the white man returned home and had heard of Phil and myself running off and he was speaking of it at the house but he never dreamed that we were under the roof of his house. So this colored man told us that we had better take our departure and he prepared us some food to take along with us and about midnight he awoke us up and told us in what direction he thought the North was and so we then started for the free state.

At daybreak next morning found us nearly to Mt. Sterling, Ky. Next morning we went right through town and

Phil took one side of the street and I took the other and we went straight through town whistling like we had resided there all our lives, although it was our first visit to the town and they had market going on the same time. After going through town two or three miles we came to a large rack of rails and we had arrived at a strange part of the town and thought we would camp there and so we laid down here to take our rest. When night came on we resumed our journey, we were now on the Maysville pike. When we had nearly reached Sharrsburg we came upon some colored fellow who belonged to Williams and we
Then Phil and I jumped up and went through town and passed a hotel just exactly like Mayor Davis', now the Spinning Wheel (in Oxford, Ohio), and there were ten or twelve men sitting out there in front of the hotel and we went on kind of whistling as if we had lived there all the time. We went on and did not pay any attention to them nor they to us. And when we had gone out of town we began to get hungry and we turned to the left and came up into a large apple orchard, the limbs were hanging full of ripe apples, and I tell you they looked tempting. So we filled our pockets and our breast full and then we were ready to leave that orchard. We went on a little distance farther and came to a large rake of rails. This was a splendid place to hide ourselves.

We then started and went down on the Cynthia pine about a mile. We stopped at a wealthy white lady's house. She was a widow by the name of Hawkins and she had some slaves. She was quite a nice woman. She gave us our supper and we told her that we belonged to Mr. Williams who lived on the other side of Sharpsburg. After leaving there we turned and went back the Maysville pike. We were then coming towards the Ohio River. We went about two miles and then stopped in an old barn and went to sleep.

We overslept ourselves; it was an hour before day when we awakened. We jumped up and on looking around we discovered an old gray horse. Phil and I both mounted him and rode for a mile coming to a toll gate which we found locked. We had to turn the horse loose for their was no way to get through it. We saw a colored man-passing and went to the road and stopped him. We told him about our condition, that we were going to the free states. He promised to bring us something to eat after dark but never returned, and I thought and always will think that he betrayed us, although he told us how to go to a mill and cross in the mill dam and get out through the mill. We climbed through the window and came out on the other side. About 9 o'clock we ventured out and following his direction we crossed in perfect safety. I told Phil that I would go ahead and he must follow about 20 yards behind me. We got almost through the town of Sheridan, when I looked back and saw two or three men. We found afterwards that they were white for one of them grabbed Phil. Thinking I could fool them by pretending that I lived in the town I commenced to whistle and started in the gate that led to a fine residence, but they caught me.

They then took us both back to a large building and took us up in the third story to a large room that looked very much as if it was a lodge room by the things it contained. They then brought their revolvers and whiskey and tried to persuade us to drink it. Their purpose was to make us drunk so they would not have any trouble. Phil drank a little but I would not touch it. I attempted to jump out of the window as I preferred death to slavery. They caught me and tied us both and guarded us until the next morning. They then brought us our breakfast and told us they were Nigger Catchers and that was the way they made their living, they said that they could tell when a slave had run off. After we ate our breakfast they handcuffed us and took us to Flemingsburg.

There was a little town between Sheridan and Flemingsburg called Pinhook. They stopped there and gave us some water to drink. They told us we were almost to the Ohio River and if they had not caught us we would have reached the Ohio River by 1:20 o'clock the next morning. They took us before the Magistrate and swore that we were runaways. Then they asked us who our masters were and I told them the truth for the first time since we had started on our journey. They took us to the jail and the room they put us in was iron and the chairs were iron and the bed was iron. We told him that Phil belonged to Mr. Stocton and I to John Bell Bruner in Irwin. The turnkey's name was Mr. Bowman and he was very good to us. We remained in jail about two weeks and on the first Monday in August, John Cockrel came after us. The man that Phil belonged to came on Jimmy Benton's horse. He had to pay eighty dollars a piece for us or we would be sold.

The evening that he came he said that we ought to be killed and he guessed he would kill us before he got through
with us. Phil began to beg and plead and said he would not have run off if it had not been for me persuading him to go with me. And I told him that I would rather he would kill me than to take me back home and that it did not make a bit of difference with me what he did with me, I would as lief die now as any other time.

The next morning when John Cockrell came in the jail after us he whipped Phil and myself both with a cowhide before he took us out of the jail. Then he took out of his saddle bag a large new chain and two locks. He then locked one end of the chain around Phil's neck and the other around my neck and then we were locked together. Then he took our shoes off and put them into his saddle bag and he said that he intended to wear all of the skin off of our feet before we reached home. Now judge for yourselves how it would be walking along that distance—barefooted.

Every few hundred yards he would whip us that cruel way until we had reached our destination. Whenever he would have to stop over night he would just lock us up in a barroom with no bed to sleep on or chairs to sit on, and he told the people where we stopped, that he did not care whether we had anything to eat or not and all the time we were in there Phil and myself were still locked together. He never unlocked us.

Just before we arrived at Red River Phil was begging him and told him he would not have run away if it had not been for me. So Phil told him that I had a half pint of whiskey in my pocket which a colored fellow had given to me at Mt. Sterling. As soon as Phil told him that he tried to make me give it to him and I took the bottle out of my pocket and drank it up and threw the bottle away and told him he could have the bottle if he went after it. And when I refused to give him the whiskey he then rode up and gave me about fifty lashes with the cowhide which did not feel extra good. When we arrived at the river he made us wade. It was more than waist deep, I guess it came up to our arms. By this time I had become mad at Phil for telling so many tales on me and while he was under

the water I attempted to drown him and beat him, but I did not succeed.

At last we reached Irvin and he took us on by home and put us in jail. The only thing I hated about it was that he took me by my girl's house in that condition. She worked for Mr. Smith and her name was Mandy Suel. So Phil and I were not on very good terms any more, so they had to put us in different cells. My master came in jail that evening and asked me what did I think ought to be done with me and I told him I did not care what he did with me. So he had a blacksmith to come in that evening and take the measure around my neck, he intended to have an iron yoke made to go around my neck, and extend out about eighteen inches, then extend up sixteen inches, and he was going to have a bell fastened to that so whenever I ran away he could hear the bell ringing, and by that way I would not be able to get very far before they would catch

me.

Old Bruner did not come into the jail any more until the next morning. That night some of my old partners came in and gave me some whiskey, so in the morning, I was prepared to talk. The next morning my master came in, drunk as usual. I told him if he put that yoke on me I would jump into the river and drown myself. So then he took me up to the blacksmith's and had him make a hobbie to fit my ankle and had a new trace chain run through it and riveted it around my leg. Then he had a long staple made to drive into the wall to lock me up every night. Then they led me all over town just similar to a chained bear; they led me around to show me. Then Jimmy Benton came in that afternoon to take me up home with him. They took Phil out of jail but did not put any chains on him like they did me. He ran off that afternoon and hid himself in the barn and they did not get to take him home. His master was a better man than my master. So Benton took me home that evening and drove the staple in the wall and chained me up. My master told him to whip me every day if it was necessary, to whip me until he was satisfied, it did not make any difference if he killed me.

He thought eighty dollars was a large amount of money to pay for one prisoner. That evening he got in his cowhides, straps and all of his whipping materials.

The next morning while I was sitting down to eat breakfast I heard a knock at the door. I opened it and there stood a troop of Union Home Guards. Some of them were some of the boys that I used to play with. So they took Jimmy Benton and put him in the same jail that I was formerly in. This same day they took John Bell Bruner and put him in prison across the river to Colonel Lilly's camp. I think they had been sympathizing with the rebels was the cause of this.

Jimmy Benton also had been taking sides with them. His father had a slave by the name of Jim Benton; he was a large fellow that weighed about one hundred and ninety pounds. This white Jimmy Benton had whipped this colored Jim until he could hardly lie in bed. This fellow had told him is the reason they whipped him. Captain Shawne told Jimmy Benton's wife to take me to the blacksmith shop and have those chains taken off of me as soon as she possibly could. This must have been the Providence of the Lord. So the blacksmith obeyed immediately and took the claims off of me at once.
I went on back to town as quick as I possibly could. I think after I had gone back to town I went back upon Miller's Creek, and there I worked at anything that I could find to do, if they would promise to pay me at night, so it was necessary for me to go. I would not leave anything behind. I got three dollars a day for cradling oats during harvest. The first time that I ever had a cradle in my hands in my life.

I wanted a gun. When I had run off before and wanted to go in the army and fight, they said that they did not want any darkies, that this was a white man's war. After I had been there a week they made up a regiment and called it the Twelfth U. S. Heavy Artillery.

I was enrolled on the twenty-fifth day of July in 1864 to serve three years or during the war, but I only remained two years and a half.

We started from Camp Nelson and marched eighteen miles that day and the dust was about four inches and my readers well know what nice walking it is when the dust is so very deep. When we got into the camp two or three dozen men fell out with the blind staggers, and I was in the midst of these unfortunate men.

The next morning we took the train for Louisville. When we arrived at Nashville that night we took the freight train for Bowling Green and arrived there the next morning at about ten o'clock. A portion of the regiment took charge of Ft. Smith and a portion of Ft. Baker and some took charge of Ft. Vinegar. After we had been in the Camp two hours we then received orders to go to Ruskerville. We went there and went into stockyards, remained there a couple of days and the rebels were too hot for us, so we returned back and took charge of the forts at Bowling Green, KY. When we got back they made out a detail of fifty men to report to headquarters for duty and I was one of that number. When we got there we were given six days' provisions and eighty rounds of ammunition.
Our first Lieutenant of Company C was a man by the name of Wallace. He was a very brave man. After we went back to Bowling Green they took the same detail of men down to a station or a depot. There we laid on our guns all night and were not even allowed to whisper for the rebels were coming to burn the depot, but they did not come. After that I was detailed out to help on Fort Vinegar I had to help finish the fort and help make magazines. Then we had to go out four or five miles from town to cut timber to go over the magazines. Once or twice while I was out I took the chills and fever and was not able to go back to town, and I would be obliged to crawl into some man's barn and lay there all night, would not be able to get back to the camp. So one day the boys all stacked arms on the old Captain, his name was Toliman.

On account of not giving them their provisions he would take the food every Saturday and sell it and put the money in his pocket. So one day he sent a detail of one over to Fort Vinegar after me. He said I was the cause of the boys stacking arms, and took me before the Major, and when I arrived there the Major asked me what I knew about it and I informed him that I did not know anything about it for I had not been in camp for two weeks. Then the Major said that he would give me half an hour to make up my mind to tell the straight thing about it, and if I did not he would have me court martialed. I told him I did not have any education, that I did not know anything about stacking arms. So he sent me to the guard house, then he sent for me and I told him that I did not know any more than I did the first time and that they could do what they wanted to with me. So he sent me back to the Fort where I was working and I resumed my work. After that I took sick and had to be taken to the hospital and they looked for me to die every minute. After I got well they made me nurse in the hospital. So many men died, two and three every night; I could not stand that so I went back to camp.

We camped out in little dog tents all winter. The tents were just large enough for two men to stay in, they were about four feet high. Often when we awakened in the morning we would be covered with snow. It blew into the tents and our blankets would be frozen to the ground so we could hardly get up. We carried our wood about a quarter of a mile.
One day while about eighteen miles from home recruiting, we came to two or three large plantations. There were a great many colored people on them and as soon as they saw us they ran. We started after them and succeeded in capturing about fifteen of the men. We started with our men and camped out at the foot of a hill and commenced to get supper when we were fired on by the rebels. This scared the recruits so bad we had gotten that they ran again. After this skirmish with the rebels, we coming out victorious, we caught our recruits and took them to camp. They cried, some of them, like babies and we had to let them go. "They had no time for war."

Their masters when they found out where they were came after them. Instead of giving them up we would keep them as prisoners and make them carry water. We have often had as high as twenty masters' prisoners, who came after their slaves (who came to us for protection). At one time we sent away five hundred men, women and children to Camp Nelson. Captain Palmer took us out one night. We marched about sixteen miles and about four o'clock the next morning we captured about forty rebels without firing a gun. They all rode gray horses and wore gray pants and without a doubt were the dirtiest men I ever saw on duty.

Lieutenant Wallace took charge of the Company. Our Company took the train for Owensboro, Kentucky. When we arrived there the rebel citizens said that we should not remain there. Then a man by the name of John M. Hurd came and took charge of our Company at Owensboro, Kentucky. Once in a while we would go out and get a chicken and divide with our Captain but he did not care where we got them. Lieutenant Wallace would not allow the boys to take anything. He put one of the boys in the guard house for stealing a watermelon. So one day we thought we would go out and get some apples. We took a sack and got it full of apples. When I got back they took my apples and a revolver that cost twenty-five dollars and put me into the guard house, and I remained there, and then I got out and we went from Owensboro to Columbus, Kentucky. There were eight hundred men on the boat and we expected it to sink every minute. While we were at Columbus we did not do anything but drill and have a good time eating various kinds of fish. Then we moved from Columbus to Paducah, Kentucky. After we went up there they all took sick with the measles and the Barracks, they had caught cold. While I was standing on guard facing the Ohio river on that cold New Year in 1865 my feet froze and they had to carry me off duty. My feet froze so badly that my toe nails came off. So when my feet got well we then took sick with the Smallpox and there were eleven men taken out of our company with this disease. One day I went out and bought some corn bread from an old woman and she had the Smallpox. I did not know it and I took the Varioloid.

After I got well one night some fellows and I started up stairs to a dance and a colored fellow shot at me three times and missed me every time, but who the fellow was I did not know. I had never seen him before. So I thought it was about time I was shooting a little and I took my revolver out and shot at him and missed him and he ran. Then we went to Hopkinsville in Elton County and there we run some very narrow risks. We went down here to gather up the Government horses wherever we could find them. Sometimes the people that had them would not want to give them up, and when we had obtained these horses we would have to furnish something for them to eat.

One day I was sent out with a detail of three men to gather up the horses and everywhere that we found a horse with U. S. on it we would take it. So one Sunday we went out to forage some food for the horses. We went to two brothers houses, by the name of Chesnut, to get some hay and corn. One was a Union man and the other was a rebel. The Union man sent me to his brother and said that he had a large quantity, and he said that he did not have any and that his Union brother had some. So he gave us some cold ham and light bread and about a quart of whiskey and when we had disposed of these I told the boys to remain there. Then I went down about two hundred yards from the house and there I found three pens of corn and a large crib full and I rode over the field and there I found a large stack of oats. Then I made a colored fellow hitch a horse on my.

P. BRUNER'S CO. GOES AROUND STATE FALL 1864, SPRING 1865

P. BRUNER, SLAVE'S ADVENTURES TOWARD FREEDOM, 1918
wagon and yoke of oxen and haul a load of corn. Then I jumped upon the stack of oats and was throwing down oats when old Chesnut came out quarreling and said that he was going to report us to Sherman. I told him that he did not have anything to do with it. He said he did not have any so I just helped myself.

After that we were informed that at that same time there was a colored woman in bed that he had nearly beat to death. If we had known it we would have taken him too but we did not know it. So then we went back to Louisville, Kentucky, and was mustered out.

Then I came up to Lexington and five of us hired a rockaway and came to Winchester and arrived there at one o'clock. I was at my mother's home then and we ate supper and my mother did not recognize me until after supper and then I made myself known. She would not believe it was her son. We had a very nice time after I made myself known. She heard that I was dead.

Then I hired a buggy and sent James Daniel up to Irvin to get my sister; she was still working for the white people and old Bruner would not let her come. She went out and made a fire and burnt up all of her bed clothing and put her foot in the road and walked and I never saw her until she came to Ohio. My old master sent word that he wanted to see me but I did not want to see him and I have never seen him since.
POEM ABOUT PETER BRUNER

By EDNA BRADLEY
(Granddaughter)

Up from Kentucky in days that were dark,
Came Peter Bruner on the wings of a stork.
Tho' born as a slave ill a lil' log shack,
He was keen as a squirrel and sharp as a tack.

No sports did he play, like the boys of today,
But worked and toiled with a lash for his pay,
By the hand of a master,
Who was drunk night and day.

But he waxed and grew strong like a tree,
Till Abraham Lincoln, the president to be.
Sent out the word, that all men could fight
And Peter hurried forth away in the night.

Then in the year '65' all men were set free,
As God in heaven intended it should be.
For the Bible tells us and so does 'Paul'
That God's the Father of us all.

After Peter was set free, to Oxford he came,
To find a wife or probably fame.
But 'twas in Fanny Proctor's heart
Dan Cupid thrust his loving dart.

In the year "68" this couple was tied
In wedlock, so happy and gay.
And lo! in a year a baby appeared,
'Twas Alice, the babe full of play.

Then Carrie the babe with a winsome smile,
Came to brighten this home awhile.
And Stella arrived in a few years more,
Her voice full of gay, childish lore.

Then the home was saddened by Goldie Fay,
When God's angel took her away.
But then came the last of the baby girls,
Frances Mildred with a head full of curls.

This happy pair have lived to share
Many joys and sorrows and care.
But God has been good, and protected this home
With fifty-seven wedded years to roam.

Thus after all is said and done,
After many joys and lots of fun,
The greatest thing in this "hence" poem,
Is Peter Bruner's happy home.

As the Civil War drew to a close, streams of freedmen flowed into cities throughout the South. Composing the first major Negro migration in the United States, former slaves abandoned familiar rural habitats and settled in urban environments alien to their experiences. From 1865 to 1870, the total Negro population of ten Southern and Border State cities, for example, increased by 105 per cent with an addition of over 84,000 freedmen. The white population of those cities grew by only ten per cent (or just over 32,000 people) during the same period (although whites still outnumbered blacks there two to one in 1870). The migrants represented a minority of Southern blacks, most of whom continued their rural existence after emancipation. Yet freedom had opened the roads into town, thereby offering thousands of ex-slaves the opportunity to sever their rural connections.
LEX ENVIRONMENT FOR BLACKS IN 1865

HA THOMAS, 'victims of circumstance, neg in sou town 1865-80,' register, 71, july 1973

Until the coming of emancipation, slaves comprised one segment of the population of the Bluegrass region surrounding Lexington and of the city itself. In 1858, for example, 2,024 slaves (valued at $907,851) and 629 free blacks inhabited Lexington. Even as late as 1865, before slavery was officially abolished by the thirteenth amendment, over half (1,415) of Lexington's blacks were slaves. Racial discrimination, other than slavery, in Lexington appeared in the form of City Council ordinances governing the social life of the free-black community. Although free Negroes could operate businesses and own land and slaves, they were obliged to obtain the Council's permission to hold fairs, processions, evening church services, concerts, parties or any function which constituted an assembly of Negroes. Educational privileges for blacks terminated at the first meeting of the City Council following John Brown's assault upon Harpers Ferry. Thrust into this Lexington environment in 1865 were freedmen needing homes and jobs.

BLACK MIGRATION TO LEX 1865-70: FROM SURROUNDING COUNTIES

HA THOMAS, 'victims of circumstance, neg in sou town 1865-80,' register, 71, july 1973

Coincident to the general migration of Negroes to Southern cities, blacks came to Lexington in large numbers immediately after the Civil War. Peace and the abolition of slavery sparked the movement in 1865 and by 1870 the black migration had ended. In that five-year period the multiplication of Lexington's black citizenry was startling. The Negro population nearly tripled in size (an addition of 4,600) and reduced the ratio of whites to blacks to nearly one to one. But during the 1870's the influx of blacks to Lexington subsided considerably. Census figures show an increase for the decade of but 512 Negroes.

The period of most rapid growth of Lexington's black population was paralleled by a decline in the Negro population of rural areas around the city. During the 1860's Fayette County (excluding Lexington) lost 29 per cent of its blacks. Likewise, the Negro population of the six counties (all predominantly rural areas) bordering on Fayette decreased 17 per cent in the same period. This movement of blacks also ended in the 1870's. The portion of Fayette County around Lexington ceased to lose Negroes after 1870. The coincidence in the
size and period of the shifts in the city and county Negro populations strongly suggest that Lexington acquired the bulk of her migrant blacks from the surrounding countryside. The addition of such a large number of blacks to Lexington's population would affect the residential growth of the city while the poor, rural, and largely unskilled condition of these migrant ex-slaves would affect their ability to function and prosper in an urban environment.

The postwar migration was unprecedented and abrupt. It rapidly changed the residential configuration of Lexington and altered the distribution of the races within the city. Prior to the abolition of slavery, blacks and whites lived in the central area of the mile-in-radius circle which defined the city's limits. Lexington was a town of mixed racial neighborhoods: free blacks lived amongst whites throughout the city, and the rest of the population lived under a rigid integration dictated by the system of slavery. The collapse of the system in Kentucky, in 1865, destroyed this style of integrated living. City freedmen who abandoned their slave quarters in order to live somewhere else in the city joined with rural blacks migrating to Lexington, and settled on the periphery of the city beyond the antebellum center of population. Settlements sprang up in each of Lexington's four wards, and by 1880, black communities, including Brucetown, Kinkeadtown, Pralltown, Adams-town, and Davis Bottom, were well known to residents of the city. Although many blacks resided apart from these areas, the main features of the post-1865 residential development of Lexington were separate neighborhoods for blacks and whites.
White landowners and an absence of large tracts of unused land in central Lexington determined the location of the city's Negro communities. The sudden appearance of homeless freedmen created a need for living space. A shortage of vacant dwellings spurred a vigorous surge of construction in the outer circle of the city beyond the old residential district. Some of the persons who owned property on the outskirts of the city exploited the sudden market for homes by building small shacks which they rented to freedmen. These hastily erected shanty towns attracted their first residents in the summer of 1865, when Negroes began to settle on the edge of the city. Commenting on this situation in September, 1865, one observer noted: "Anyone who has strolled around the edges of the Corporation during the last two or three months must have observed with some surprise the numerous lilliputian tenements... springing up like mushrooms in various quarters." The construction of these flimsy tenements represented the first step in the development of Lexington's Negro towns.

Step two in this development came when Lexington's landowners took advantage of the unexpected market for cheap land by partitioning their property into lots and offering the new subdivisions for sale. In this way the migrant colonies attained an official status to match their informal designations (Brucetown, Pralltown, Davis Bottom, etc.). In November, 1865, a large parcel of land lying just within the far northeastern limits of the city was partitioned into 183 lots and designated "Bruce's Addition" after the name of its major owner, W. W. Bruce. Over the next fifteen years, 513 Negroes (out of a total of 562 residents) lived in Brucetown. Pralltown, in the extreme southwestern reaches of Lexington, was named for a white lawyer and land holder there, John A. Prall. It was divided into lots late in 1868, and by 1880 its three parallel streets provided living space for 290 blacks and 46 whites. Similarly, in 1870, Lexingtonian George B. Kinead partitioned an area north of east 4th Street. Kinkeadtown, which encompassed this and neighboring land, was home for 370 Negroes during the following decade. Most of the other black neighborhoods seem to have developed along similar lines with one or two white property owners providing the land for each community. By 1880, each of these "towns" was well established and held a high percentage of blacks. For example, Brucetown's residents were 91.7 per cent Negro, Pralltown was 86.3 per cent Negro, Kinkeadtown 86.2 per cent, and Adams-town (southeastern Lexington) was 100 per cent black.

h a thomas, 'victims of circumstance; negroes in sou town 1865-80,' register, 71, july 1973
In a decade and a half after slavery, over ten of these vest-pocket ghettos speckled the rolling landscape of Lexington. Residential segregation had become the dominating feature of the physical growth of the city and stood in sharp contrast to the city's antebellum racial amalgamation. The "towns" on Lexington's outskirts as well as closer all-black alleys, including Taylortown and Smithtown, signalled a trend in neighborhood development which would long characterize Lexington's growth.

C. Fairmank to Herman Safford, dated from Lex, Ky, Oct 1, 1844, to "Dear brother in Christ," found in mss div, sp. col, m i king lib, uk, in J W Coleman Collection on Slavery (a single letter).photo copy

Says he took a trip with Delia Webster to Maysville and crossed over into Ohio. On return locked up.

"I have been here one night it does not seem very pleasant, yet there several Negroes shut up here with me who are to be sold, and taken South or some other place; they are pretty good Methodists; we have good prayer meetings & enjoying ourselves well." Asks for aid in bail.
Lexington Observer & Reporter, April 2, 1864, p 1

"From the Owensboro, (Ky.) Monitor.+

The eight negroes who recently escaped from this place have been heard from. One belonging to Mr. Veech was found by that gentleman at Vincennes, Indiana, and being quickly hurried on board the cars was brought back home. This is one of the most daring raids of the war, and we suggest that as soon as the Administration conclude to shelve Gen Grant, that Mr. Veech would make a worthy successor. +

"Not so valiently did some other of our citizens conduct themselves on another expedition. Learning that several of the runaways had enlisted in the negro regiment at Indianapolis, they went thither to get the bounty money allowed to loyal masters by the recent act of Congress. Arriving at the camp, they suddenly found themselves surrounded by a set of infuriated negroes, whom they had never seen before, who offered them every indignity and threatened their lives. The white officers being unable to restrain them, and the entreaties of the from that place having no influence upon them, the excitement rose so high that our friends deemed it prudent to withdraw, which they did in 'good order,' through brickbats and other missiles...."
ministerial, and nursing courses. Admission was open to both men and women of “good moral character.” In 1880-1881 72 of the school’s 167 students were female. In 1913 the faculty included Annette E. Mosby, mathematics and literature, Alice L. Dortch, commerce, Carrie B. Doneghy, preparatory department, M. Belle Anderson, domestic science, and Mamie E. Steward, music.

Financially. During the 1910s and 1920s money problems continued to press the school, eventually forcing officials to sell the Seventh and Kentucky property and limit the state, which forced lack of material resources, black students to seek post-college training outside their home borders. The standards of behavior that society imposed upon women one hundred years ago seem of legal segregation and quaint and even unfair to today’s critics. Simmons University, however, encouraged women to seek higher education and professional careers as early as the 1880s. In spite of a

by Tom Owen

U of L Archives

The modern observer marvels at the energy that Mary Cook Parrish, one of Louisville's most prominent black women, must have had.

The noted Louisville educator was born on April 22, 1889, in Harrison County,skins. His parents were Henry Parrish, a local college president and minister, and his wife, Charles Jr., Green, Ky., during the unsettled years following the Civil War. Despite a limited education, she was asked to teach at a new private school for blacks in her community. Soon thereafter, a group of Baptist women helped Mary Cook acquire more education: first in New England, and then, in 1881, at State (later Simmons) University in Louisville, which was run by Kentucky's General Association of Baptists. She was graduated tops in her Normal Department class at State in 1883, completed its college course in 1887, and was granted an honorary A.M. degree by her alma mater two years later.

By 1893, even before she finished college, Mary Parrish joined the State University faculty and was quickly named principal of the Normal School department. In that capacity, she traveled widely, lecturing on the importance of Christian education in the south and raising funds for the school. During the same period, she became educational editor for Our Women and Children, a family magazine for Kentucky's black Baptists. In 1891, she was a member of a special delegation of black women that went to Frankfort to join the protest against the passage of a state law that required blacks to ride in separate rail cars.

The next year, Miss Parrish joined Charles H. Parrish, the young minister of Louisville's Calvary Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church, in establishing Baptist Church.

Mrs. Parrish was named corresponding secretary for the new organization, a post she held until her death 42 years later. In this capacity, she wrote widely, used devotional literature and other religious tracts. In 1909, her influence reached the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., where she was elected treasurer of its Women's Convention, another job that she held virtually the rest of her life. Significantly, Mrs. Parrish was even involved in politics. When women secured the vote in 1920, she became the first woman to run for mayor of Louisville after she and Rev. Parrish were married. A year later, their son, Charles Jr., was born; the Parrish's also reared a second child, Frank, who came to live with them when he was very young.

Back in Louisville, Mary Parrish threw herself into the work of her husband's thriving church. Within two years, she was elected president of Calvary's King's Daughters Missionary Society, a post she held for the next 46 years. At one point, she even served as the congregation's financial secretary. Mary Parrish's organizational duty may not seem necessary to modern-day Association of Black Baptists, where, in 1903, she helped form the Women's Missionary Convention.

National Baptist Convention in Detroit at age 82, just six weeks before her death in 1945.)

In the meantime, Rev. Parrish had closed Ekstein Norton but, by 1918, had assumed the presidency of State University, soon to be renamed Simmons.

During those years, his wife engaged in a whirlwind of civic activities in Louisville's segregated black community. She organized the first parent/teacher organization in the city's black schools. At one point, she headed the committee that successfully petitioned for the community's first public playground for black children. She also served as a Republican Women's Club and, in 1932, was named as an alternate delegate to the national GOP convention in Chicago. Finally, her business acumen was recognized when she was named an officer of the Domestic Life Insurance Co.

Mary Virginia (Cook) Parrish is remembered for her vitality and wide-ranging interests. She emerged from simple surroundings to become an articulate writer, a committed religious leader, a zealous community organizer, and a champion of her race.

Source: Charles Henry Parrish Jr. Papers U of L Archives


Segregation was a way of life in Louisville in the early 20th Century. While many doors were closed to blacks under that system, Emma Lewis Minnis, a teacher and music educator, managed to make a significant contribution to the Louisville community.

Emma Minnis, the youngest of eight children, was born in Louisville in 1881 to a middle-class black family. Her father, Madison Minnis, had been the first black janitor at City Hall—a position, like that of bank porter, that required the recommendation of influential whites and car-

MADISON MINNIS' DAUGHTER, EMMA LEWIS MINNIS

Free Frank’s economic activities, both before and after 1815, were clearly profitable. In 1817, within two years of George McWhorter’s death, Free Frank purchased his wife Lucy’s freedom: “He bought his wife first so all children born after would be free.” Lucy was then forty-six years old. Free Frank paid $800 for her freedom, a substantial sum at that time. It had taken him seven years of hiring out his own time to accumulate that amount of money. His efforts did not go unnoticed, for it was recalled by several Pulaski county men in 1830 that “Frank by his industry purchased his wife Lucy . . . for which he paid a valuable consideration.”

So the owners took the $800 and manumitted the slave on September 15, 1819. As with Lucy, however, his emancipation paper did not state that he had purchased his own freedom. Free Frank’s owners noted only that they “Do by these present Emancipate set free the said Negro man Free Frank from our service as a slave and from the service of all and every person or persons whatever (it being also the wish and desire of our father as above named) as a slave aforesaid to do and act for himself as a person hereby Freed agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Kentucky or the laws of any other state.” It was, of course, recognized in Pulaski County by those who knew him that “Frank was formerly a slave of George McWhorter and served him faithfully as such until he purchased his Freedom from his master.”

That Free Frank had earned $1,600 in less than ten years was no mean accomplishment, for, with only three manumissions in Pulaski County before 1820, it appears that slaveholders there were not inclined to free their slaves. In a relatively poor frontier community in the trans-Appalachian West, especially on the Pennyroyal, conditions were such that few pioneer slaves could become wage earners of any significance.
Since 1800, Free Frank had seen the births and deaths of several of his slave-born children. As a slave father, the tragedy and despair of his family's life must have affected him in a way experienced by few fathers who were free and in a better position to provide for the survival of their children. Free Frank's prodigious efforts therefore had the sole purpose of buying his family from slavery. In 1817 he succeeded in buying his wife Lucy's freedom, and in 1819 his own—a goal accomplished through determined and systematic effort on the part of both. They had worked together, encouraged each other, and provided each other with the support necessary to sustain them as they labored to secure their freedom. The importance Free Frank attached to his freedom can be seen from the 1820 federal manuscript census. In it the former slave Frank, rather than choosing a surname, had his name listed for the first time as Free Frank.  

KY CT OF APPEALS RULED THAT FREE BLACK COULD LEGALLY MARRY 1824

In a case over a debt of $212, the Ky Court of Appeals ruled that Lucy, Free Frank's wife, was legally his wife, and thus not liable for the supposed debt (since wives could not hold property or responsible for debt of husband). The Pulaski Co Court refused to comply with the ruling for several terms. Free Frank and Lucy had not been represented by an attorney for the Ct of Appeals case. To make Pulaski Co. comply they got a lawyer. Eventually the Ct of Appeals heard the case again in 1827 and sided with Free Frank and Lucy.
The decisions in the Free Frank and Free Lucy cases reflected not only the social order on which slavery rested but also the anomalous position of free blacks in a slave society. Yet neither Free Frank nor Lucy hesitated to use to their advantage those limited rights which the society allowed them as free blacks. While the slave state of Kentucky did allow free blacks their day in court, their judicial rights were nonetheless contingent on the preservation of the social order. Whereas the lower court was prepared to act contrary to both common and civil law, the higher court ruled against its decisions. The Kentucky Court of Appeals was aware that for the cases to be decided in favor of the white litigant would in both instances establish precedents which would impair the contractual obligations on which the whole social structure rested. And this the court would not do. Yet as A.E. Keir Nash found, southern high courts, unlike trial courts, encouraged "a measured insistence on the rule of law as against hysterical protection of the institution of slavery."

SLAVES AT CAMP NELSON TO BE DELIVERED TO OWNERS AFTER JULY 11, 1864

Lex Observer & Reporter, July 16, 1864, p 2

"The Frankfort Commonwealth of Monday last, published the following order from Gen. Fry, who is in command of Post Camp Nelson. It was the first time we had seen the order, although we had heard several days before that such an order had been issued.+


I. In pursuance with instructions from Brig. Gen. L. Thomas, Adjutant General U.S.A. owners of slaves are hereby notified that on and after Monday, July 11th 1864, all colored men in Camp unfit for service in the Army, and all women and children will be delivered up to their owners upon application to these Headquarters.+ 

II. All officers or other persons, having in their employ negro men fit for service in the army, are hereby directed to report them forthwith to Col. Thos. De. Sedgwick Commanding U. S. Colored Troops at this post. All men fit for service, as above, who have come into camp since the issue of War Department Orders, must be reported, no matter at what engaged.+

"A prompt compliance with this circular is expected. +

"By command of Brig. Gen. S. S. Fry +

"Geo. A. Hanaford, +

"Lieut and A.A.A.G."
I am a native of Bourbon county, Ky., left there at twenty-seven, and have resided principally in Colchester since 1825.

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

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

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

New Canaan is going to be one of the finest and most beautiful places. It has every advantage necessary to make it a fine settlement. It is covered with heavy timber, and has a first-rate soil. The settlers are doing extraordinarily for the time they have been there.

The colored people have their inferior class as well as other people; I mean a careless, loafing, negligent, vicious class—and they have their turn in prison, like other persons of that sort. We don't claim to be better than other people, but we claim to be as good.

In regard to education, we are destitute of it, as a general thing. But the prospect is advancing. The government schools are kept up. The rising generation are improving.

My candid opinion in regard to raising money in the United States for fugitives is, that they should have an agent here whom they can place confidence in, and have him expend it under the direction of a committee of white men belonging to the province. I would have the board white, in order to bring the races more to an understanding and better feeling towards each other; another reason is, that the colored population have not generally had the opportunity to learn how to transact business. They might, as they improve, be placed on the board.

The society over which I am placed, is connected with the Wesley or New Connexion in Canada. I preach every Sabbath, generally two or three times a day. They pay good attention to religion, and as a general thing are a moral people. The laws of chastity are well observed: in this they excel the whites.
The causes for the phenomenon of separate neighborhoods for blacks and whites were chiefly impersonal in nature. Of major importance was the magnitude of Lexington’s population explosion, 1865-1870, when nearly 4,600 Negroes converged on the city. The number of incoming Negroes exceeded the existing housing capabilities of central Lexington and determined from the start of the migration that the races would be separated. The heart of Lexington could not absorb most black migrants, who were forced, therefore, to live in areas previously undeveloped. Thus spatial limitations were decisive in the evolution of racially divided areas of Lexington. By 1880 the bulk of the white population, with a sprinkling of blacks, occupied the old quarter of town while most blacks (and very few whites) lived in the newer areas.

The rise and precise locations of most black communities within the outer circle of the city depended upon the availability of land and the economy of the market for land. Whites held the power to determine the size and location of Negro settlements, for whites controlled available land. Since Negroes were landless and poor, they were forced to reside wherever property was most readily available, or in other words, wherever white land owners decided. As a result, shanty towns were located in unattractive areas where poor land values corresponded to the poverty of the Negro market. Black towns on the rim of Lexington (Pralltown, Brucetown, Goodlowtown, Lee’s Row, and Dodge Row) bordered on railroads and were subjected to the noise and smoke of puffing locomotives. Davis Bottom lay along a stream in damp lowlands in southwestern Lexington.

The residential preference of blacks who moved into shacks in the bottom lands or into shanties near Lexington’s rail yard is a very elusive matter. Apparently, European immigrants from rural environments preferred to live amongst compatriots upon their arrival in American cities. This same tendency may have existed with the black migrants. Urban bound freedmen
likely wanted to live among people with similar backgrounds, experiences, and reside near members of their own race. Freedom and cities were alien to the experiences of most Negroes. Thus black communities probably were attractive because they provided familiar and friendly surroundings in a somewhat foreign environment." Nevertheless, that most blacks could have chosen to live anywhere except in black neighborhoods, immediately after the Civil War, is unlikely, for the residential segregation which developed in Lexington was largely the accidental result of a combination of impersonal forces: the limitation of space in central Lexington, the availability of land within the outer circle, and the poverty of the Negro market for land.

The almost mechanical process of black neighborhood development was but one result of the abrupt growth of Lexington's Negro population. As Negro communities expanded they provided accommodations for domestic servants seeking independence and eased the crowded conditions in black homes. During the 1870's, after the major flow of blacks into Lexington had ended, more and more Negro servants vacated the residences of their white employers. In 1870, 14 per cent (226) of the Negroes living in Ward 1 and 15.6 percent (387) of those residing in Ward 3, for example, lived with their white employers. A decade later, however, both wards showed a remarkable decrease in these figures—only 7.4 per cent (90) of the blacks in Ward 1 and 5.9 per cent (176) of those in Ward 3 lived in white households in 1880.
That Negro housing facilities were able to absorb this flow becomes evident from an examination of the change in size of black households, 1870-1880. In 1870, Negro dwellings in Ward 1 contained an average of 5.4 occupants each, and in Ward 3 the average was 6.3 blacks per dwelling. Ten years later those averages had dropped to 4.3 in Ward 1 and 4.9 in Ward 3. While Negroes moved out of white homes, black homes became less crowded thus attesting to the growth of Lexington's black communities. Whereas in the years just following the Civil War, often two, three, even four or more black families lived under one roof, by 1880 many families were able to move into homes of their own.

For blacks in cities, freedom meant more than living in segregated communities. Hopefully slavery's abolition meant the opening of opportunities for economic advancement in the form of land ownership and the accumulation of personal property. Fact or fantasy, an American tradition said that such benefits came to those who worked. Certainly in order to improve their economic status, freedmen could not overlook one important fact—they had to find employment. But as most blacks were novices in the job market in 1865, profitable occupations were unlikely to be forthcoming. Their first problem then was not the accumulation of material goods but simply providing the mere essentials of life for themselves and their families.

Lexington's Negroes undertook a variety of tasks after the Civil War. The 1880 census returns for Ward 3 alone contain over eighty types of jobs held by blacks. These include such offbeat specialties as umbrella repairer and photographer, as well as the more common vocations of drayman, barber, shoemaker, grocer, and brickmason. Table I discloses the most common occupations of Lexington Negroes from 1860 (free Negroes) to 1880.
Occupations of Lexington Negroes, 1860 (Free)-1880

As Table I illustrates, during the 1870's the majority (76)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic servant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1054</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundress</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm hand</td>
<td></td>
<td>407</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td></td>
<td>380</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostler</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstress</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick mason/moulder</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitewasher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most Common Occupation

per cent in 1870 and 73 per cent in 1880) of Lexington’s working blacks distributed their energies among six occupations: domestic servant, laundress, cook, laborer, farm hand, and factory worker. The large reduction in factory workers resulted from the decline of Lexington’s hemp industry, the prime
employer of black factory hands. The number of domestic servants also declined while the number of cooks and laundresses increased. The movement of blacks out of white households during the 1870's partly explains these changes. "Domestic servant" usually referred to black women who resided with their white employers. The job likely included the washing and the cooking. As Negroes vacated white homes and moved into the black communities, conceivably they became "specialists" in cooking or washing and evidently helped fill the positions produced by departing domestic servants.

Economic advancement was predicated upon the ability of blacks to secure rewarding occupations. The nature of a Negro's job in Lexington directly affected his opportunities to obtain real or personal property. An examination of a job-property gauge of Negro prosperity reveals that blacks who plied the most common occupations—domestic servant, laborer, farm hand, factory hand—were less likely to increase their material wealth than were ministers, grocers, cartdrivers, and blacksmiths. Table II reveals the relationship between some occupations and the ownership of property. Lucrative occupations, such as some black-owned business enterprises, have been excluded from this tabulation owing to the rarity of their occurrence.

Many domestic servants lived with their employers in 1870 and thus needed neither their own land nor their own homes, a fact perhaps explaining why so few of them owned property. Other occupations such as farm hand, hemp factory worker, and general laborer, were either seasonal or part time jobs, and were less likely to be materially rewarding than steady, year around trades. But the most significant aspect of the occupation-property relationship is that only a small number of black workers actually obtained much property. In 1870, according to census enumerators 3,006 Lexington Negroes possessed some type of occupational capacity. Yet only eleven percent of them owned real or personal property valued at $100 or
### Relationship Between Negro Occupations and Ownership of Property, Lexington, Kentucky, 1870

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Possessed Real or Personal Property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drayman</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cart driver</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick mason</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick moulder</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brickyard worker</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostler</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm hand</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemp factory hand</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic servant</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Lex Freemen Buy Lots; Property Value Increases 1865-80

Freedmen who possessed both the means and the motivation to ascend the economic ladder, invested most of their earnings in land rather than in personal property. In 1870, real property comprised ninety per cent of the total estimated black property value. Freedmen purchased land from white Lexingtonians and paid upwards from fifty dollars per lot. Prices depended upon the size and location of the land. Most lots of 3,000-4,000 square feet sold for $200-400 each. If the full amount was not paid at the time of sale (it rarely was), the seller accepted a down-payment and arranged for installment payments with interest. Land sales to Negroes rose steadily from 1865 to 1879. In spring 1865, before slavery had been abolished in Kentucky, free blacks owned 73 lots in Lexington. Four years later, that number had increased six fold to 420, and by 1879, Lexington Negroes owned 666 city lots.

White Lexingtonians had a considerable headstart in the acquisition of property, but blacks very gradually increased their proportion of the total assessed property value of Lexington. In 1869, Negroes held 4.3 per cent ($235,754) of the assessed value of Lexington property. By 1879, they had in-
increased their share to six per cent ($264,875). But the modest numerical gain of only $29,000 in ten years coincided with a decrease of nearly one million dollars in white property value during the same period. This property value depreciation affected blacks as well as whites. Since Negroes continued to buy property during the 1870's, even though their individual holdings decreased in value (an average decline of $160 per black property owner, 1869-1879) their total wealth in property increased enough to give them a slightly larger proportion of Lexington's assessed property. Thus the addition of over 200 lots to the black community enabled the race to compensate for the devaluation of property and actually record a small gain in their share of the city's wealth.

After fifteen years of freedom in Lexington, blacks generally had experienced little material prosperity. Barely were Negroes under thirty years of age able to acquire $100 worth of property; 42 was the average age of the eleven per cent who had obtained that much property by 1870. The Negro community had increased its land holdings nine fold and thus demonstrated that upward mobility from landless dependency was possible. But a very wide prosperity gap separated the black and white segments of the population. Negroes accounted for 45 per cent of the city's population in 1880, but they possessed only 6 per cent of its wealth. A comparison of land values illustrates this economic imbalance. According to tax lists for Fayette County, in 1880 the average assessed value of white town lots in Lexington was $1098 per lot while the smaller and poorly situated lots owned by Negroes averaged only $189 each.
Some Negroes, albeit a small number, in Lexington overcame the poverty familiar to the generality of their race. These few elite blacks held most of their wealth in land, although several possessed personal property, including cash, of some value. Most of them increased their wealth through their own businesses or through well-paying professions. They also were the leaders in the areas of education, politics, and social life in Lexington's post-war black community. Significantly, most (if not all) had been free prior to the Civil War.

Business listings in Lexington city directories indicate that from 1860 to 1880 the number and variety of Negro-operated businesses radically increased. In 1859, the chief free Negro business concerns were a second hand store, a shoemaker's shop, livery stables, confectioneries, barbershops, and groceries. Twenty years later, blacks ran similar concerns plus a bakery, a bleachery, two saloons, restaurants, blacksmith shops, a jewelry store, and a variety of other enterprises. In 1880, Negroes operated nine boarding houses. Ten Negro barbershops monopolized that profession. Boot and shoemaking was a popular business for blacks, who ran eight such shops in Lex-
LEXINGTON'S MOST SUCCESSFUL BLACKS 1865-80

ha thomas, 'victims of circumstance; negroes in sou town 1865-80,' register, 71, july 1973

...ingston in 1880. One barber, Richard Suter, was Lexington's only chiropodist; Peter Allison was Lexington's only Negro physician. The seven Negro groceries were located in Negro areas and apparently conducted most of their business with the city's Negro population. Based upon the downtown locations of other black businesses, groceries appear to have been the only Negro business operated mainly for Negro patrons.58

Until his death in 1877, Moses Spencer was Lexington's most successful Negro businessman. A free Negro before the Civil War, he owned and operated a second hand furniture store on Main Street assessed at $2,000 early in 1858 and owned a slave worth $100. In December, 1865, for $12,860 he purchased a business house and lot on the corner of Short and Market streets and one month later sold his property on Main for $8,550. His furniture business thrived and by 1870, his real property was valued at $17,500 and personal property at $2,000.51 His will directed that a total of $5,600 be distributed among his five daughters, a friend, a sister, and the First Methodist Colored Church.52

LEXINGTON'S MOST SUCCESSFUL BLACKS 1865-80

Other former "free Negroes" reached varying levels of success after slavery. James Turner was forty years old and free in 1860 and a successful plasterer. In 1870, he held land (at least three lots) valued at $8,000, as well as $900 worth of personal property. He became an important leader in the Lexington Negro community. His chief concern was public education for his people although he took an interest in politics and later became pastor of a local Negro church. John and William Taylor operated a livery stable before the War, and, by 1870, they had accumulated a total of $14,300 in real and personal property. Then years later, William Taylor owned fourteen lots in Lexington.53 Henry Scroggins, a barber, free, and twenty years old in 1860, served on many Negro committees during the reconstruction period and once was managing editor of Lexington's Negro newspaper, The American Citizen.54 In 1869, the estate of Denis Seals yielded seven lots in Lexington worth over $8,000 including a stable valued at $3,750. When Henry Farrow died in 1870, he owned five houses and lots on Jefferson Street.55 Thomas Slaughter owned a livery stable, half interest in four race horses, a double buggy, sulky, break wagon, and a sewing machine which was valued at fifty dollars when he died in 1871.57 Table 3 illustrates the extent to which some free Negroes increased their wealth after the War.

6421-A

6421-8
LEXINGTON'S MOST SUCCESSFUL BLACKS 1865-80

LEX BLACK LEADERSHIP 1865-80

Black leadership in Lexington followed a similar pattern: former free Negroes generally dominated Negro affairs after the Civil War. They virtually monopolized the leading positions in black social, political, and educational organizations. In January, 1866, on a Negro committee formed to arrange for a "Colored State Convention" in Lexington, at least nine of sixteen members had been free prior to 1860. In 1872, four of the five "Trustees of the Lexington Public Schools (Colored)" were antebellum "free men of color." All of the officers at a meeting called in 1871 "for the purpose of co-operating with the farmers, and all lovers of law and order" had been free before the Civil War. In 1872, several former free blacks were officers in Grant and Wilson political ward clubs. Other prominent Lexington blacks may have been ex-slaves, for whom no records exist, or free Negroes who migrated to the city after 1865. Not all former free blacks prospered after 1865 or were prominent in the Negro community after 1865, but enough examples of postwar Negro leadership and financial success exist to suggest that blacks who had been freed during the slavery period were better prepared to cope with life in the city after 1865 than ex-slaves, especially those from rural areas.
Gradually, public sentiment changed, and in 1873, Superintendent Henderson said, "A new entirely independent fund and system should be created for the colored people." "An Act Establishing a Uniform System of Public Schools for the Colored Children of the State" was to derive its revenue from taxes levied on all sources of revenue arising from Negro ownership and Negro activities. This money was placed in a separate fund to be used only for the schools for colored children. This still did not bring in enough money, and an additional two cents for general school purposes was levied by an act of the legislature in 1882. The matter had been submitted to a vote of the people, who endorsed it by a majority of nearly seventeen thousand. Thereafter, the distribution of the school funds was made on a per capita basis without regard to color. Local governments were permitted to use taxes collected from white people for white schools, and taxes collected from Negroes for the support of colored schools. The result was that white pupils had a nine month term, while black pupils had only a three month term. These schools had separate boards of trustees and great differences in the quality and character of education. A Federal district court held this action a denial of equal protection of the law and ruled that the state law permitting the discrimination was in conflict with the fourteenth amendment.

As far back as 1870, the Louisville Board of Education opened schools for colored children on the same basis as those for white children. Lexington and Maysville followed the general movement; Covington, in 1873, established schools for colored children which, in the judgment of the board, could furnish sufficient educational facilities for them. It was not until 1874 that the city of Ashland took control of the colored schools and merged the two systems into one. The education of the colored children of the state was at last being placed on the same foundation as that of the white children as, little by little, the separate organizations were united in nearly all of the cities of all classes. Most of this progress was in the field of elementary education.
The First Negro High School.

In 1864, Mrs. Cordelia A. Attwell, who had maintained a private school in Philadelphia for a number of years, became the first colored teacher in the public schools of that city. Her school was made a part of the public school system and she was made principal. In 1866, she helped to establish, at Louisville, Kentucky, the first colored high school in the state. On October 7, 1873, this school, located on the corner of York and Sixth Streets, was dedicated. It was three stories high, with a stone basement, built in the American Renaissance style of architecture, very neat and handsome. There were eleven large commodious school rooms, arranged for six hundred pupils, and a chapel 32 by 100 feet. The cost was $2,500. Many of the most prominent citizens were present at the dedication: the mayor, clergymen, judges, lawyers, editors and merchants. The school was erected by the city board at city expense. The taxes paid by colored people into the school fund were less than $2,000.00 to which was added $3,000.00 yearly in order to carry on their school. These additional funds were from the funds for white children.

The Kentucky Negro Education Association

The Kentucky Education Association was established in 1877 in response to a call by Hon. H. A. M. Henderson, Superintendent of Public Instruction. Its establishment was authorized in the Legislative Act of 1874, which created the "Colored Common Schools" of the state. The teachers rallied to the call and organized the association at Frankfort, Kentucky. The superintendent served as chairman of the organizing conference. The first meeting of the association was at Danville, Kentucky on August 28, 1878. At this meeting, Professor John H. Jackson was elected the first president. Professor Jackson started at once a campaign for the establishment of a normal school for the training of colored teachers in the state. One has to realize the scarcity of teachers of any sort at that time, and the very low state of preparation of those who were trying to implant knowledge in the minds of 50,000 children and hundreds of adults, to appreciate the importance of those first steps toward a state organization.

The normal school movement reached its high point in 1885, when the Association planned a legislative campaign and a delegation was to meet in Frankfort after the opening of the legislature to present the plight of the state's Negro citizens in
the matter of education and civil rights. The Frankfort conference convened in January, 1886, with William H. Mayo, of Frankfort, as chairman. Following a preliminary conference, Dr. William J. Simmons, president of Simmons University, appeared before the legislature as spokesman, presented the memorial that had been agreed upon and made a ringing appeal for legislative action. His address is said to have "fired the legislature to action and resulted in the establishment of the State Normal School."**18**

Having reached its first goal, the Association shifted its attention to the task of inspiring and training a supply of teachers for the colored common schools of the state. The Association was also interested in the subject of industrial education. Dr. William J. Simmons, who had won national recognition for his writings and speeches on industrial education, was the leader in forwarding the interest in this phase of education.

The new normal school was able to prepare only a small percentage of the total number of teachers needed. Therefore, to help in this emergency, the Association conducted training classes, in which the better informed teachers delivered lectures, read papers, and led discussions on questions of school methods, management, and public school relations. To cultivate the aesthetic qualities of teachers, musical and elocutionary renditions were interspersed in their annual programs, and the Association sponsored a teachers' reading circle through which members could become acquainted with certain prescribed books.**19** Through the help and vigilance of the Association, a more fully trained teaching force was created in the state, and educational standards were gradually raised.
A common school system for colored children was created by the General Assembly of 1873. Superintendent Henderson called a convention of the colored teachers of the state at Frankfort (1877) for the purpose of organizing a Colored Teachers' State Association. This association began agitating the cause of teacher-training for colored teachers, and in a few years it succeeded in realizing its objective. In 1886 an act was passed by the General Assembly establishing "State Normal School for Colored Persons." Seven thousand dollars was appropriated for the erection of a building for the Normal School, and three thousand dollars annually was allowed for the payment of the teachers. Since that date the state has been more generous in its appropriation for buildings and equipment as well as in its annual appropriation for maintenance.

This Normal School has done splendid work for the colored people of the State, in spite of the fact that it has frequently been the football of politics. Political corruption and other shameful conditions became so pronounced and evident that the future of the school was in great danger. The worst hindrance to the growth and development of the school was an act by the General Assembly in 1893, making it unlawful for anyone to serve on the Board of Trustees who resided outside of Franklin County, Kentucky; notwithstanding the fact that there are 120 counties in the state, many of them with a population of Negroes much larger than that of Franklin County.

The medical division of the Freedmen's Bureau was active from mid-1865 to early 1869, with operations continuing in Washington, D.C., for several years thereafter. For most of its existence, it was headed by Colonel Lawrence A. Edwards, although two other men had short terms as Chief Medical Officer.

Edwards supervised the medical work through a Surgeon-in-Chief in each state. Subject to the approval of Commissioner Oliver O. Howard, head of the Bureau, the Chief Medical Officer made decisions relative to the installation and expansion of facilities. Surgeons-in-Chief made recommendations to the Chief Medical Officer concerning the programs in their states.

All physicians employed by the Bureau were required to file monthly statistical statements with their Surgeon-in-Chief, who also investigated their performances during periodic inspection tours. Reports were also submitted to the assistant commissioner of each state and to the Chief Medical Officer. The latter included the state-by-state reports in his annual report to Commissioner Howard.
Freedmen were not totally dependent upon the services of the medical division of the Bureau. Slavery died a lingering death, and some of the postwar contracts for the labor of freedmen, in the rest of the South as well as in Kentucky, included provision for medical care by their employers. For example, John Byrd of McCracken County, who hired Lucy Ann and Am Neill for one year, beginning in September, 1865, agreed "to board and clothe and pay all Dr.'s bills for the two women aforesaid and the children of the same three in number." In 1866, however, Kentucky contracts no longer included medical care; understandably, apprenticeship agreements were an exception.  

Kentucky Assistant Commissioner, Labor Contracts 1866-1868, A-D. In apprenticeship contracts, the apprentice received no money and therefore had to receive medical care from his employer. Contracts in other states do not reveal the same change in 1866 as in Kentucky; contracts in other states often continued to make provision for medical care, although not as frequently as in the previous year.

Although it established a hospital in Louisville in 1866 and operated it for two years, the Bureau never supplied adequate medical care for Kentucky freedmen. In 1867, and 1868, the highest number of dispensaries or outdoor stations active in the state was five; for the first two years of operations the figure was generally one. During the entire four years of the Bureau’s medical activity in Kentucky, the number of physicians it employed was never more than five and often less. In his annual reports, Chief Medical Officer Edwards asserted that 3,393 freedmen in Kentucky received treatment from September 1, 1866 to June 30, 1867, and that 11,964 persons received medical assistance in the following year. Unhappily, an apparent increase in need occurred just at the time when the Bureau was drastically limiting and then ending its care. These figures appear to understate the amount of service rendered by Bureau doctors. Indeed, according to some letters that the Bureau received from its physicians, they claimed to be dispensing 300 to 750 prescriptions monthly.

The Bureau called any place where beds were available for the ill and a doctor was present a "hospital."
In June, 1868, Dr. J. G. Temple of Covington cared for 432 patients of whom 61 were old and 371 new cases. Among those treated were 52 persons with acute diarrhea, 7 with acute dysentery, 7 with smallpox, 88 with measles, and 2 with complications in childbirth. He wrote that this was a typical month, and pointed out that freedmen were unable to pay anything for doctors or medicines; that women servants immediately lost their jobs when ill, and that all their money had to be used for rent payments. Moreover, orphans and other young children who constituted one-third of his practice were "entirely helpless." The common wage was $1.50 a day, as it had been before the war, but prices were now fifty percent higher. Temple thought that, perhaps, one-quarter of all freedmen could afford to pay small medical bills and buy medicine, but only if their illnesses were of short duration. As for housing, he explained that because they could afford nothing better, "the Freedmen here have to occupy the worst tenements, and live in the midst of the worst sanitary surroundings as they are crowded like sardines in a box."11

After he toured various areas of Kentucky in the spring of 1868, Surgeon-in-Chief Robert A. Bell wrote of Temple's work:

The conditions of tenements occupied by those people in Covington is wretched, old dilapidated ware houses, cellars, garrets and miserable shanties, crowded with half starved, half clad and squallid [sic] looking men, women and children with well marked disease depicted in their countenances and but for the care and skill of Dr. Temple the mortality would be large.12

Dr. Richard B. Gilbert of Owensboro stated that in June, and July, 1868, his first full two months in that place, he prescribed for 400 and 500 persons. The practice of making home visits to freedmen unable to come to the dispensary was usual among Bureau doctors in Kentucky and probably constituted the greater part of their practice. Although Gilbert mentioned making such visits, he did not include them in the figures he sent describing the extent of his work.13

Gilbert found the health, clothing, and housing of freedmen in Owensboro and its vicinity to be very poor. He warned that the ending of medical care by the Bureau would throw freedmen "upon the cold charity of the semi-loyal public who would rather see them suffer and die than lend them a helping hand" and that the public authorities were too poor to care for the needy "even were they willing to do so."14
In July, 1868, Dr. John A. Octerlong wrote that his dispensary in Louisville treated a monthly average of 750 freedmen. Having served as a Bureau doctor for three years, since opening the first dispensary in the state, Octerlong felt obliged to declare:

I feel constrained to say that great as the need for dispensaries for freedmen then was, it has in no degree diminished and the poor colored populations would . . . suffer terribly were the medical establishments now in operation discontinued. For the diseases most prevalent are peculiar to the locality, are endemic, and are in no way likely to disappear.

Reporting that freedmen were alarmed by the prospect of the discontinuance of the Bureau, he predicted that the cessation of its activities would lead to a quadrupling of deaths. He claimed that the freedmen were unable to provide adequate care for themselves and that "there is work enough for a dozen Medical men, to be done among them."

At Lexington and Mount Sterling as well, conditions were reported by Bell to be extremely poor. Of Lexington, he wrote, freedmen were "in a suffering condition from want of food, clothing and fuel, living in ill ventilated cabins and dilapidated houses every room of which is occupied by from one to three families." Houses were in unhealthy areas and diseases were widespread. Dr. A. T. Tuggle reported giving eighty-five prescriptions during July, 1868. At Mount Sterling, Bell found conditions better but noted that Dr. Ben P. Drake, Bureau physician, kept such irregular dispensary hours that sick freedmen obtained little help."
Clearly, the small number of doctors employed by the Bureau in Kentucky were not able to minister to all the medical needs of over 200,000 freedmen. Moreover, the Bureau was geographically limited in its operation to cities and towns mainly in the northern part of the state. Doctors were at work at various times in Louisville, Lexington, Mount Sterling, Warsaw, Covington, Owensboro, Paducah, and Nicholasville. Indeed, in one instance, Bell engaged Dr. Richard B. Gilbert to work in Owensboro, at the cost of closing the dispensary at Mount Sterling, although he believed that a doctor was needed there as well.19

While the hospital at Louisville and the orphan asylums at Lexington and Louisville occasionally received patients from other parts of the state, none of the dispensaries in Kentucky served more than a local area. The majority of the state's freedmen thus did not reside in counties where the Bureau provided any medical assistance.20 Surgeon-in-Chief F. S. Town admitted that Bureau medical services extended over only a very small area of Kentucky.21 In addition to these geographical limitations, the Bureau maintained strict eligibility requirements. In order to receive care, patients not only had to be ill and indigent, but also without friends and relatives.22

In all states, moreover, the Bureau also dispensed rations in the form of food, supplies, and clothing to the needy, especially those in hospitals. While this aid constituted a large part of the Bureau's expenditures, it by no means met the needs of the impoverished freedmen. From September 1, 1867, to September 1, 1868, the Bureau fed a daily average of 211 freedmen.23 Writing from Louisville to the Kentucky Bureau Assistant Commissioner, requesting clothing for hospital patients, Town described conditions as follows:

Patients... are frequently admitted to this Hospital ragged and dirty and when sufficiently recovered to be discharged will, unless the government supplies them, be dependent upon charity for clothing to enable them to leave the Hospital and care for themselves. As a number of these patients are now convalescent and about the wards with nothing to wear except Hospital shirts and drawers and a ragged pair of pants.24

Town's letter demonstrates that issuance of clothing to freedmen in the hospital was not routine. There is no indication that this letter was ever answered or that clothing was provided. Twice in 1868, the head of the Bureau's Louisville home for the aged and orphans wrote to his superiors for clothing; neither letter was acted upon.25
Although the Bureau was part of the War Department, the ration issued to freedmen was not the same as that issued to soldiers which was known as the "army ration" but rather a smaller one called the "contra-band ration." However, children and old people were given only half of this ration. 

Throughout 1866, Surgeon-in-Chief Town and Assistant Commissioner Jefferson C. Davis requested that the Bureau authorities in Washington change the ration issued in hospitals, but not elsewhere, to the army ration. In December, Chief Medical Officer Edwards in Washington absolutely refused to change it but gave no reason for his stand. Similarly, the request that full contraband rations be issued to children and old people was denied in Washington.

Hospital administrators were given money with which to buy supplies as listed in a ration table. They were expected to economize; with the money saved, they were to buy needed food items not included in the ration and to establish a hospital fund for other purchases not specifically authorized. Town wrote:

I find the ration ... to the sick of the Hospital ... entirely inadequate. ... I am totally unable to save a Hospital credit sufficient to provide delicacies—eggs, milk, vegetables &c— for the sick and which are absolutely necessary to save life.

He asserted that the sick often requested the items the hospital could not afford, and that the hospital was in debt despite strict economies. Town believed that either the rations should be increased or the function of the Louisville hospital should be changed:

I do not think a Hospital with sick can be run with less than the full army ration. For instance the allowance of candles for ten days would hardly more than light the wards one night; so of soap the allowance would not wash one fourth part of the quantity of clothing necessary in a Hospital like this. The object of this Hospital has not been to provide an asylum for indigent but a receptacle for the sick and suffering destitute who so fast as they recover are promptly discharged. In my judgement either the ration authorized should be increased, or purchases of additional articles should be allowed from the appropriation for the Bureau; or the purpose of the Hospital should be changed to that of an asylum simply; for I am satisfied that on the present issue ... articles of extra diet can not be provided for the sick; who must and therefore [do] suffer.
Despite the persistence of the freedmen's needs for free medical care, the Congress insisted upon a speedy termination of the Bureau's work. Of consequence the Bureau's major officers continually made clear to their subordinates the necessity of curtailing medical services throughout the South, with a view towards ending them altogether. For example, on several occasions in 1867, requests of Kentucky Bureau physicians for new dispensaries or further supplies were denied. Chief Medical Officer Edwards wrote from Washington in June, 1868, that freedmen would have to provide health care for themselves. In that letter, Edwards exaggerated the Bureau's past concern for meeting medical needs by writing that "The reasons that have heretofore obtained for establishing a dispensary, will not be considered in every case sufficient." On the contrary, medical necessity had not proved sufficient cause for establishing a dispensary in several previous instances; rather, budgetary restrictions, justified by exhortations concerning the freedmen's need for self-reliance, were the main considerations.

Doctors wrote to Surgeon-in-Chief Bell to request continuance of their duties. Temple, in Covington, told Bell that the closing of the dispensary there was "a serious mistake" and that large numbers of women with small children were in very bad condition. The city had refused to provide any free medical care, he explained, so he continued to attend the indigent, including women in labor, who could not even afford midwives.

Temple objected to the fact that he was not allowed any medicines from the Bureau, and pointed out that there was no public charity in Covington. Alluding to the nation's gain from the labor of the slaves and from cotton exports, he asked "Are we not in their debt?"

From Louisville, Bureau physicians repeatedly wrote to Bell to request that their posts be continued. Nevertheless, the hospital there was closed in mid-June, 1868. Fifty patients were discharged, most of whom were either crippled or suffering from chronic diseases. Because they had to be without families, or friends, or resources to have been admitted in the first place, their fates outside the hospital were not enviable. Thirty-three were sent to an orphan asylum. Eighty-two were retained at an old people's home, of whom fifty-six still remained there in December; presumably most of these people were old and unable to support themselves. They and the orphans were kept together by the Bureau until early in the following year. A physician attended to their needs and maintained a dispensary for outpatients. Two other dispensaries were opened in July but closed in October.

Dr. Erasmus O. Brown, the hospital's head, had objected to its closing, claiming that "The sick must have a home to shelter them, food, clothing, nursing, &c which cannot be provided by the dispensaries." He then predicted widespread suffering and death if the city did not take over the Bureau's medical duties.

In December, 1868, the Surgeon-in-Chief wrote to the Chief Medical Officer in Washington concerning the effects of the curtailment of the service in Louisville:
I am repeatedly appealed to by the relations and friends of the sick destitute and dying, begging to have their friends or relatives admitted to the Hospital [They meant the old age and orphans' home] asserting their utter inability to care for them.

Bell made daily visits to the sick and found:

Many of them in the abject poverty infants striving to obtain sustenance from half naked attenuated and sickly mothers. Huddled together in tenements through which the cold blasts of winter pass almost unimpeded. Youth manhood and old age male and female congregated promiscuously in the most unhealthy parts of the city without any visible means of support. Much of this suffering I am satisfied is not the result of laziness on the part of the colored people but is due to scarcity of labor and the unusually small compensation paid for labor during the year about to expire. In this condition the poor Freedmen are overtaken by an early and severe winter entirely unprepared to meet its severities.

He asked to keep three doctors on duty throughout the winter, but was only allowed one.

Because of the destitution of Kentucky's freedmen, they were dependent upon the willingness of local physicians to provide medical attention at low fees or none at all. Failing that, they would have to depend upon the services established by county, city, or state governments for the indigent sick.

Throughout the existence of the Freedmen's Bureau local physicians in Kentucky, as well as elsewhere in the South, refused to give their services to freedmen without receiving full pay, generally in advance. There were few exceptions to this practice. Surgeon-in-Chief Town contended that in Mount Sterling "cases of Freedmen are reported... sick and suffering and unable to obtain the necessary medical attendance." Robert A. Bell, the successor of Town, wrote of Louisville:

I am well advised of the fact... that but few of the physicians will attend the colored people unless paid per visit in advance (from $2.00 to $5.00). Added to this the utter refusal of the druggists to credit them. Thus the colored man's condition is deplorable indeed.

From Owensboro, Bureau Sub-Assistant Commissioner A. W. Lawwill stated:
PRIVATE PHYSICIANS GENERALLY REFUSE TO AID SICK FREEDMEN DURING RECONSTRUCTION

alan raphael, 'health & social welfare of ky blacks 1865-70,' societas; a review of social hist, 2, spring 1972

Sickness of every type is prevalent here, a great many colored persons who are very poor will undoubtedly suffer, when a family are all sick there is no possibility of their being able to purchase medicines or pay Doctors bills... local physicians have been so heavy tasked to attend to this class without pay, that in a great many cases the poorer classes of colored can get no medical attendance.38

Dr. Fred Hassig in Paducah was one of the rare physicians reputed to provide free medical attention to indigents. Sub-Assistant Commissioner W. James Kay urged that he be employed because he was the only doctor available who would sign the "iron-clad" oath required of all employees of the federal government, and because he provided his service without fee. Kay wrote that Hassig "has been in the habit of prescribing for the very destitute Freedpeople without charge" and said that he did it without any hope of "the slightest remuneration when no other Physician in the city would do anything to assist them without pay."39 The extent of medical need in Paducah was demonstrated by the fact that Hassig issued 214 prescriptions in one month.40 However, he was discharged in December, "in consequence of the delay and inaccuracies in [his] Monthly Reports... as well as with a view to economy." When the local authorities refused to provide the promised medical care, Hassig continued to offer free services.41

CIVIL AUTHORITIES REFUSE AID TO SICK FREEDMEN 1866-68

alan raphael, 'health & social welfare of ky blacks 1865-70,' societas; a review of social hist, 2, spring 1972

Like the private physicians, the civil authorities in Kentucky had little regard for the health needs of freedmen. This proved most harmful at the time when the Bureau was limiting its services and preparing to end them altogether late in 1868.42

In Paducah the city physician was willing to receive medicine from the Bureau, but would make no promises to care for black people. Sub-Assistant Commissioner Kay stated that no medicines should be sent to Paducah since the city physician was a former rebel and would not cooperate with the Bureau; Kay's only recourse was to send the sick freedmen to the city authorities in the hope that aid would be provided.43 In Covington, former Bureau doctor J. G. Temple wrote that "The Public Doctors, or Doctors of the Poor, will give them no attention, unless they are paid for it. Without money [they] have simply to suffer, or call upon those charitably inclined. There are no organized charities here on whom they can rely." Upon his discharge, Temple had requested that he be allowed to keep the medicines he possessed to dispense at no cost to needy freedmen. That request was denied.44 In addition, the authorities' actions at Warsaw demonstrated the familiar pattern of local governmental
neglect of freedmen's medical needs. Surgeon-in-Chief Bell wrote that
he
had

a protracted interview with the civil authorities of the place, relative
to the care of the colored people in case of sickness, and the hygienic
means which ought to be adopted in order to prevent the inception and
spread of disease of any kind, and was answered rather laconically
that if the "Negro" had the means to pay for the medical attendance
and medicines, they presumed he could procure both and as to his
habits of cleanliness, it was none of their business.  

In Owensboro, Bell was also unable to obtain the city's agreement to
assume any responsibility for the sick indigent freedmen.

It is of some interest to note that while the Bureau was maintaining a
hospital in Louisville, the city government took the responsibility to
make use of its pest house to care for persons of both colors who had been
stricken with an epidemic disease. However, in the only mention found
concerning the pest house, the city fathers refused to admit three of the
six black smallpox sufferers sent there in April, 1867.

Although Bell, in accordance with instructions from Washington was
obliged to reduce greatly the number of patients in the Louisville hospital
in the last half of 1868, by discharging many helpless people, he did at-
tempt, nevertheless, to persuade the city government to care for those
whose condition prevented immediate discharge. Bell claimed in Decem-
ber, 1868, that he had done everything in his power to come to an agree-
ment with the civil authorities. He offered the hospital and its equipment
to the city free of charge in return for its promise to care for needy sick
freedmen. After repeated interviews the mayor and a committee of
councilmen agreed to visit the hospital, but only two of the councilmen
appeared. The city's lower legislative house agreed to the plan. The board
of aldermen sent the plan to committee and then abolished the com-
mittee. The lower house then urged that the patients be kept in the
United States Marine Hospital until the city constructed in its own hos-
pital, a section to be set aside solely for the use of blacks. Bell saw this
action as purely evasive, turning down care for blacks without formally
proclaiming their intentions of so doing.

In conclusion, it is clear that the termination of medical services by
the Freedmen's Bureau in 1868 and early 1869, which was accompanied
by an unwillingness of local authorities to assume responsibilities for the
care of needy sick freedmen, led to a serious decline in medical facilities
for freedmen in Kentucky. Consequently, the elimination of the medical
department led to a worsening of conditions in those areas where it had
been active, and presumably to the deaths of many who might have lived
had they received adequate care.
If the "Declaration of Independence," as it is called, which states that "all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," is correct, there is not a slave in the world, who would not be justified in fighting his way to freedom, more desperately than I have done. And when I have attended the 4th of July celebrations at the north, since coming here, I have felt a spirit rising up within me that could with difficulty be repressed, when I have thought of the miserable face that such celebrations present. To hear men quote the language of Patrick Henry, "give me liberty or give me death!" and to hear them talk of the "triumphs of liberty," and of this "free and happy nation," while the clanking of the chains of 3,000,000 of American citizens is ringing in their ears, is enough to make one who has worn these chains, feel like calling fire from heaven to consume such mockery of the sacred Genius of Liberty. Nor would it be strange, if yet the God of Justice should cease His forbearance to such a nation, and punish her as He did ancient Egypt for oppressing His free children.

It is impossible for me, on paper, to describe the feelings of a slave. The love of liberty is as deep in their breasts as in other men's. They are as sensitive under wrongs and sufferings, notwithstanding their apparent submission. And I doubt not their white masters, under an Algerine oppression, would be as submissive as they are. When men of any color find they must submit to wrong, and that there is no escape, the color of the skin does not create any difference.

On the death of Wall, I passed into the hands of James McFadden, a farmer, an administrator of the estate of Wall, and soon after was "hired out" to Stephen Claypoole. This man had a demand against McFadden of $1100, and claimed me as his property, by virtue of that demand. After keeping me four years, at the business of turnpiking, I was swapped off, with a Mr. Kerns, for another slave, "Tom," and set at work digging stumps—or as I term it, "stump-piking."] In a few months the parties reversed the bargain, and myself and Tom reverted to our former owners: and in a little time I was sold or made over like a kind of "hair-loom," to John Claypoole, and then to Perry Claypoole. The latter individual was a tobacco grower, and farmer. Unlike a large proportion of Slaveholders, this individual superintended his own plantation, and labored with his own hands. He had a girl named Clarinda, whom he required to work in the field with me, compelling us like cattle to draw the cultivating plow through the furrow. I could have borne it, myself, but it was hard work to pull the plow with a poor female yoke-fellow, for although my master seemed to regard a female slave little better than a beast, nature taught me to consider the inpropriety of her treatment, and I could not endure it.

Whatever men may think of us, we are not destitute of the feelings of men.

In July, Claypoole told us, we must cultivate five hogheads of Tobacco for our summer's work. Added to this, was the order for us to "get married" according to Slavery—or, in other words, to enrich his plantation by a family of young slaves. The alternative of this was, to be sold to a slave trader who was then in the vicinity making up a gang for a more
FACTS ABOUT LIFE OF A. JACKSON (b. 1814)

a jackson, narrative & writings, 1969 (1847)

southern market. "This information I did not like—more especially, as I had often been promised my freedom in a few years if I would work faithfully; and I resolved, whenever an opportunity should offer, and I could see my way clear to attempt a shorter and more certain route to freedom than to await the fulfilment of a Slaveholder's promise; for in relation to the emancipation of a slave, their promises are always forgotten before they get cold. And, if I could have any confidence in such promises, it would have inspired me with energy to almost any amount of labor, for I never desired any thing more ardently, nor was willing to make so great a sacrifice for any thing else as my liberty." And I here beg leave to say, that although I have often heard northern people state that the slaves did "not want their freedom," yet I never saw one who would not endure twice what I passed through, and more, if they could but be sure of liberty at the last. It is the theme of almost every meeting among them, and one of the most happy events whenever one escapes. And it is a very rare thing that one slave ever becomes informer against his brother who intends to take the long walk. When one is ready to start, those who remain will often help him in every way in their power.

DEED OF ROLLA BLUE (March 1850)

Rolla Blue, deed, Fayette Co, Deed Book 29, p 76-77 (?) Microfilm
Reel M-174, Special Collections, University of Kentucky March 26, 1850

"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 even date herewith and payable one day after date and being desirous of securing the said debt Norval William McClesney 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 hath bargainred sold and delivered and by these presents do bargain sell and deliver to the said Nathan Payne executor afof 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 assegees forever Yet 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 and virtue. In Testimony Whereof I have herewith set my hand and affixed my seal this 26 day of March A.D. 1850

Wm McClesney (seal)
Commonwealth of Kentucky Fayette County Scct..
I James A. Grinstead Clerk of the County Court for the County aforesaid do certify that this Deed of Mortgage from William McClesney to Nathan Payne Executor of Rolla Blue deceased was this day produced to me in my office and acknowledged by the said William McClesney to be his act and deed and ordered to be recorded. Whereupon the said Deed of Mortgage together with the foregoing certificate had been duly admitted to record in my office. Given under my hand this 26 day of March 1850.

Att James A Grinstead C.F.C.C.
By Marcellus White DC"
"Tuesday Jan 1. hired my boy for $105, and Charles to Bro Cowgill for $40. I also bid off by direction of officers from church Geo Dupuy a colored Baptist preacher about 32 years old and pastor at Pleasant Green Baptist - he belonged to estate of Jos Taylor Bap preacher who died at McCray some 9 years ago I attended his funeral. The negroes sold at public auction. The negroes importuned us to buy him stating they would raise the money & reimburse us. Bro Clark Bishop, Dr. M Rudd & myself met at office night before & agreed to buy him for Trustees of 1st Fap ch. Mr. Taylor ... said he had been told the negro was worth $1000. We told him we were not willing to give over $800. We dropped a hundred to take less. We were at $50 before he consented to let him be struck off at that. & if he sold for more to let us have him for 800 Bro Quinn was his & knew all about it. Some one bid a over up to 830. at which price he was struck off to The negroes seemed rejoiced the purchase was made."
Dear Husband,

Yours was received Thursday morning. Need I say I was taken by storm as much as though the guerrillas had made a rade on me. Sorry you were indisposed at the time of writing. We have had a great deal of cold weather in Feb & March & even now it is quite cold, although the peach & apple blossoms are all gone. The trees are looking quite green & the earth is covered with a green carpet. All nature has put on the appearance of Spring in all its beauty. I have just returned from marketing. Potatoes $2.00 bushel. Turnip 50 cent peck. Parsnip the same. Paid 20 cents for a small handful of turnip green. Every thing is exorbitantly high. Flower $12 a barrel. The rebels are getting furious in regard to our schools. Would annihilate the whole thing if they could but I will not be run off by them. Last Thursday a policeman came in to the schoolroom, read an order ordering me to vacate the buildings in three days. We will remove our school the the colored church & rent a houst to live in. Ever since the veto the rebels have become insolent to all Union loving people.

HARSH TREATMENT OF BLACKS IN COLUMBUS AREA APRIL 1866

The black man has no safety. One black man came here last week wealtering in blood where a bushwacker had struck him on the head with a large engel. Another old woman came who had her house surrounded & revolver fired all round the outside. Then her house set on fire. She strove to save her things & when she had them all out & together. She strove to save her things & when she had them all out & together. The ruffins set fire to them & burned them all up & when every thing was burned up they whipped the old woman nearly to death. We know all about these things because the Agent of the freedmen bureau boards with us & has his office in the same building.
Jennie Fyfe in Paducah, Ky, Feb 22, 1866, to "My Dear Nell," in the Fyfe Family Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

"an interesting girl of sixteen came home with me to night, I was questioning her of her past history. It ran as this, "I was sold from my mother"

"really superior ability. The brother is not yet quite ten years of age. He commenced school with me last June, in the primer. He now reads prettily in the Fourth Reader has finished Primary Geography and Arithmetic, & is now studying 2nd Part Intellectual Arithmetic Geography 3rd part, and displays more general knowledge, & has a better appearance that two thirds of the boys of his age accustomed to good home surroundings, school &c. &c. He is my pet & favorite. I would do a great deal for him. I believe he will make a superior man"

BLACK SCHOOL IN PADUCAH FEB 1866; EXHIBITION

School goes on as usual, only growing somewhat larger. We have about one hundred & sixty scholars now. The 31st of last month we had an exhibition - the first colored school exhibition in Kentucky, I think. The scholars certainly did splendidly - far surpassed our expectations, & made us very proud of them, & much gratified. The house was filled to overflowing, & many went away for want of place. We has tableaux--some beautiful ones, they said. You will laugh I know, but when you consider the fact of our having all shades & complexions, of pupils you will not wonder so much."
After firmly resolving to run away from my master, the next thing was to learn where to go, and how to get away. I heard a great many things about the Northern States, and some things not at all favorable to my welfare, even if I should succeed in making my escape. I was told that the "free negroes" were often half starved, and not respected any more, if as much, as they were in the Slave States. But I made up my mind that if I could learn the way, I would try it. An opportunity occurred for me to obtain the information I needed from a gentleman who had been north, and described the route through Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, &c. Then the thing was to get started—to get away from the neighborhood without detection. I resolved to make the attempt.

On Saturday night, early in August, I gathered my clothes together, and after selecting the best, which were not very good, I started off in the direction of a piece of woods, and there tore up those I desired least, and threw them down, besmeared with blood which I obtained to give them the appearance of having been torn from me by a wild beast, in order that I might prevent any one from pursuing me until I could escape beyond their reach.

The Clerk's Office being six miles distant, I thought I would go there on my way, too, and get a certificate of my freedom, under pretense of trying to obtain my liberty by process of law. The Clerk replied to my request only by cursing me, and told me to go back and be content to live with my master. I did not feel disposed to remain long, so I started off, telling him I would go back—but I meant I would go back to the woods.

The first place I directed my steps to, was Shaker-town. The way I managed to get along here without creating suspicion, was to represent that I was a "turnpike," and going to a job north of that vicinity. Slaves are frequently employed at this business, some distance from home. This pretence worked well for a while, until I had passed beyond the vicinity of it and had lost my way, and was compelled to inquire the road, when I was frequently interrupted with questions. The first I have any recollection of, was from a gentleman on horseback, alone, as follows:

"Where do you belong, nigger!" said he.
"I am a turnpike, going to Elkon," I replied.
"Whose boy are you," said he.

Assuming all the courage I could, I told him it was not his business; but he then began to suspect, and accused me of being a runaway. I smiled, and took out some old papers and pretended to look for my pass. As he saw me looking for it, he concluded all was right, and rode on, being in haste.

I very soon came across another man who made the enquiry, "Whose boy are you!" Upon refusing to tell him, I was again accused, and having no pass to show him from my master, I soon resolved to pass away from him; and as I saw he was lame and could not follow me, nor get very soon to a house to give the alarm, I started off for the woods, and went on in a direction that soon brought me within sight of the road I wished to take, where I walked until near night, when I again emerged into the road, and kept it until in the morning, and went into the woods, where,

after finding a safe and suitable place, I lay down in a thicket for sleep, weary and hungry—for I dared not to apply any where for food.

After sleeping until afternoon, I awoke and resumed my journey through the woods and fields until towards night, subsisting upon raw potatoes and wheat which I picked and shelled out in my hands. The next day, running I should lose my way, I ventured to take the road. I had traveled but a short distance before I came to a house, where I saw two men standing. As I came up they hailed me with the usual salutation, "Where you going, nigger!" "Whose boy are you!" I made them no answer, but walked on at a rapid rate, with my faithful young hickory—my only weapon of defense. Supposing me to be a "runaway," as men generally do in such cases, they armed themselves with guns and dogs, and gave chase, and I followed their example, directing my way several hundred yards ahead of them for the woods. I soon heard the dogs with their frightful baying, and the men hallooing on the top of their voices—"Stop, you d—d nigger, or we will shoot you!" As good fortune ordered it, the woods into which I ran was thick and full of shrubbery, and a large stream passed through it running along the foot of a hill. I recollected having chased foxes in my earlier days, and also of hunting minks. The foxes sometimes run back and forth, and in circles, to confuse the hound. The minks dive into water. I tried the policy of each, running back and forth across the stream, as often as I dared, and then along in the edge of the stream, to embarrass the dogs. In this way I kept the dogs off, and the men not being so well accustomed to running in the woods as I was, and being also hindered by their guns, I gained upon them in the flight, and escaped to the wood, and as I hoped was safe for the present. But I was mistaken. I had been in the wood but a short time before I was surprised by two men who had gone on in pursuit of me. They had no dogs. Being already weary and lame, they had the advantage of me, and might, if they had had guns, disabled and captured me. But I again ran to the woods which were near, and started off in a southerly direction until I came into the thicket, when I turned and ran due west, thinking I should thereby elude them, as they would in all probability continue south. I judged correctly, and it was well for me that I did, for being so weary and lame I could not have continued so long as they did. I ran as long as I thought it necessary, and then took a moderate pace, cautiously listening to hear if I was still pursued. A short time before sun-set, to my surprise and regret, I saw, as the sun shone out, that I was tending to the south. Disappointed and confused, I turned my face again to the north, and traveled until I came into the highway.

After again finding the road, I traveled on during the remainder of the night, only stopping to rest myself occasionally, or to allow some traveler to pass, or to pick a few blackberries and gather a little wheat to satisfy my hunger. In the morning I again sought the woods for safety and rest.
a jackson, narrative & writings, 1969 (1847)

andrew jackson decided to run away; scheme, adventures, etc

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If any one wishes to know what were my feelings during this time, let them imagine themselves a slave, with the strong arm of the law extended over their heads—doomed, if retaken, to a severe punishment, and almost unendurable torture. 

They imagine yourself on the road, flying for liberty among your enemies, alone, unarmed, trembling at every step with the greatest anxiety and with fear. Sleeping during the day alone, in the wilderness, exposed to wild beasts and serpents; hungry, lame, and almost spirit broken—starting up from a disturbed sleep, with frightful dreams of arrest and torture. Hunted and chased during the day by men of no heart, and with ferocious dogs, trained to the pursuit—the faint gleams of freedom now shooting up, and then lost in darkness—hope and despair constantly filling your heart. This was my situation for weeks. But thank God, I can now look back upon that volume of trying scenes and feel—they are past, and rejoice in the sweet behests of my God-given rights.

In the morning of the next day, as I was traveling leisurely along, I saw a boy watching me very closely. As I came up within a few rods of the house, he darted into it. I suspected his errand, and instead of going on—turned back, carefully crouching in the shade of the fence until I came to a group of bushes: behind these I ran on until I came into an open field, in an opposite direction from that they had supposed me to be going, little dreaming that I had been watched by others, who were in pursuit of me and had taken ambush in several places. But I was not long in this ignorance—for as I was urging my way through the field to a larger piece of woods, and just upon the point of scaling a fence, a man sprang up like a tiger from the side of a log and struck at me. Quick as I could, I turned and ran a few steps and bounded over the fence. Just as my feet struck the ground, a club grazed my shoulder, but did me no harm; a little way ahead, I saw another man and dog, with a boy and horse. The man had a gun. Now, thought I, are my hopes blasted. I had heard about the Ismailites when they fled from the slavery of Egypt. I thought I was like them. Before and behind me are death. I almost sank down with despair—but rallied again, determined to sell my life and liberty together, or to gain them. And with that strength, which even surprised me, I ran for the bushes—the dog pursuing me in the lead, followed by the two men and boy—the man being on horseback. As the dog came up, I seized a stone and fortunately hit him in the head, leaving him still upon the ground. The man on the horse soon came up and uttering oaths which made my blood chill, almost, commanded me to stop. I did so—but only to draw back my trusty hickory, and by a well directed blow sent him reeling from his unsaddled horse. He soon recovered, however, as the blow only stunned him for a moment, and renewed the pursuit. As he came up the second time, before he reached me he tried to fire upon me, but as fortune ordered it, his gun missed and left him in a rage. He then rode on, with the weapon raised in his hand, commanding me to stop. I had a round stone in my hand, and when he came near enough, I

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determined to give him what we used to call a "hard biscuit," and threw the stone, which, from the cry he gave, I knew had hit him somewhere, and caused him to halt until his companion came up with him.

Some may think I did wrong in this, and I am very sure it was very hazardous, for the penalty is very severe upon slaves who strike a white man, but I was after a prize, for which I was willing to risk my life. And I doubt not, any one who reads this, would have done the same. And if it was right for the revolutionary patriots to fight for liberty, it was right for me, and it is right for any other slave to do the same. And were I now a slave, I would risk my life for freedom. "Give me liberty or give me death," would be my deliberate conclusion.

Determined not to be frustrated in their designs, they started in hot pursuit. As the rider came up, I determined to try once more the strength of my arm and my hickory, and dealt him a blow in the breast, and just at that moment heard his companion cry out, "ride over him, Hicks!" but the only answer Hicks gave, as a groan told me I had given him a sure blow—was, "I can't, Hick!"

I had by this time, most providentially for me, gained the edge of a wide piece of thickly-growing hazle, called "back pasture." Knowing I could beat them in running in this, I darted into it, and ran on until a little out of hearing of them and turned a short angle a few rods, and crawled into a thick cluster, intending to let them pass. I soon heard them coming, and cursing the "dog."

"Why didn't you lay him, Hicks," said his companion.
ANDREW JACKSON DECIDED TO RUN AWAY: SCHEME, ADVENTURES, ETC

a jackson, narrative & writings, 1969 (1847)

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northward, as I knew I must do, to get out of the region of slavery.

I am sometimes asked, how we learn the way to the free States? My answer is, that the slaves know much more about this matter than many persons are aware. They have means of communication with each other, altogether unknown to  their masters, or to the people of the free states—even the route of some who have escaped is familiarly known to the more intelligent ones. There is scarcely one, who does not understand the position of the “north star,” although that is about the extent of their knowledge of Astronomy. The reasons why more do not follow, are want of means and the fear of death if apprehended. Slaves are watched and guarded like caged animals.

The day following, when near eleven o'clock, I was moving cautiously along, I saw a man on a small hillock in front of his house, apparently watching my movements. I had learned to look upon every white man as my foe, and dared not pass near to any one. I saw on my left a large meadow near the banks of the Wabash, in which a large number of cattle were grazing; and directed my steps toward them, determined it followed to cross the river and climb the rugged banks opposite and hide among its projections. I was not mistaken. As soon as the man saw my movements, he knew I was a fugitive, and ran to his house, a short distance from where he stood, and taking his dog and gun made chase for me. Like a deer, the hound soon came toward me. At once the thought occurred to me, this dog is not, perhaps well trained, I will try to set him upon the cattle, and clapping my hands, I ran and hallowed, at the top of my voice, give a dog! give a dog! My plan took. The dog darted like lightning through the tall grass in chase of the cattle, who ran with their heads erect, snuffing like wild beasts; the poor disappointed man-hunter calling him off to no effect. I left him to take care of his dog and cattle, while I swam the stream and hid among the ample shelters erected by the hand of nature—where, wearied almost to death, I sat down beside a spring to bathe my bruised and swollen feet and limbs, and to gain strength for my perilous journey. I heard the merry birds singing in the branches over my head, and saw the bounding squirrels as they leaped from tree to tree. “Happy creatures,” said I, “this is your home. Its ample domain affords you range for wild sports and songs. But, alas! for me, it only gives a brief shelter and rest from the cruel persecutions of my brother men! Would to God the ties of nature, were among men as they are among thee. Thou art happy in thy innocent sports, and each seems to find pleasure in contributing to the other’s enjoyment. With man, all is self—self.” The price of his pleasure may be the suffering and death of his equal brother, but he heeds not the unholy sacrifice! God of these woods and hills—this river and these streams, I cried, protect me, as thou dost these little one’s of thy power and care! and I fell asleep among my reflections

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and prayers—dreaming of the distant hills and valleys of freedom before me, where I stood erect and fearing no danger. But I soon awoke from my sweet visions, by the pains in my shoulder, limbs, and the gnawing of hunger. I looked around me, and soon found black berries, sweet and delicious with which I filled my hands and ate, thanking Him, who caused them to grow, where no human being was likely to come to my annoyance as I plucked them from their yielding stems.

I remained in this place, frequently bathing my limbs, and taking intervals of sleep, until the close of the next day, solved to gain the road, and make my way as fast as I could from the country which appeared to be haunted by my pursuers. After traveling all night, without any other annoyance than to be occasionally started by the barking of a watch dog, I found myself drawing slowly toward the place of my destination.

The next day finding myself so often in peril by my attempts to pass along as I had done, I resolved before I emerged from my brief retreat, that I would try a new expedient. I had frequently seen gentlemen traveling, with a servant either proceeding or following them on foot. So I waited until I saw a carriage pass, and got into the road, and followed it, and whenever I met any one I would appear to be all anxiety and inquire “how far ahead master’s carriage was.” This plan worked admirably, and I was enabled to travel more than half a day with one assumed “master”—always managing to be absent when he stopped, and not far behind him when he traveled. My first trick, however, did not last me all day, and I was compelled to get a new “master.” I thus went on changing, until I reached the Ohio river, at a place called Barker’s old Ferry, where I crossed into Illinois, in the country of Gallatin, and began to feel secure. After wandering about, in the evening, for some time, I found an old horse trough, which was dry—here I laid down and rested. In the early part of the day I awoke, and went to a stream near by and washed my limbs and rubbed them until they were relieved of their pain and stiffness, when I again started, growing more and more impatient, the further I got from the place of my servitude. I almost forgot my pains and deprivations—my perils and narrow escapes, in the joy of my supposed safety. But how little knew I what a day would bring forth. I had scarcely felt the first delightful sensations of my proximity to the non-slaveholding regions, where I hop-
According to law, I pay my jail fees.

I was the son of an officer and another man, who with a dog, were my guards and escort to prison. The men were very ill-timed, and but for the dog whom they set to guard me, I could easily have escaped them. Before going to bed, at a tavern where they stopped for the night, on learning that I was a "pious negro," as they called me, they made me sing and pray for them.

The next morning we started again. They drank freely, as they had done the day previously, and to amuse themselves or to torture me, made me run, or rack along, with cords around my knees, and my arms fastened behind, laughing and harrassing my feelings as much as possible whenever they met any one.

I found, after a while, that the cords were loose, and that I could slip them off—so I started on a little faster and faster, gradually gaining upon them until I finally slipped off my cords entirely, and could have escaped, but for the thickness of the swamp and my bare feet. They soon saw that my cords were off, and rode on until they overtook me. We then went on, they making me run faster than before as a punishment for having tried to escape.
The day at length came for our sale. I was taken out and placed on the stand.

"How much will you give, gentlemen, for this boy? Acquainted with all kinds of work, and a smart, active fellow?"

"Six dollars," was bid by one.

"Will you live with me, if I will buy you, boy?" said a fat faced landlord.

"I think it rather hard," I replied, "to be torn away from my rights and shut up in jail, and then sold for life to pay the jail fees."

"Seven dollars," said the landlord; adding, "I'll risk him."

So the sale went on, and I was finally struck off to the landlord, with whom I was duly installed into the office of ostler—a service I was quite willing to render, considering the advantages it would give me in acquiring information relating to the position of the country to which I intended on the first opportunity to go, in search of my brother.

I remained with this man nearly a month, and had got a pretty good suit of clothes and picked up a little change; then made up my mind I had paid my "jail fees," and left him. I determined not to leave my master until he was fully paid, for he treated me as well as if I had been a white man, and but for the fact of my being a slave, I should have been very happy in his employment.

After leaving Hopper, the landlord, I traveled all night, passing up through Hillsborough, Carlisle, and other towns to Bloomington—traveling nights only, and hiding in the woods during the day, until I had got out of danger. At Bloomington I went to work and remained eleven months in the vicinity of my old Kentucky master's sons and sons-in-law. Some of them were disposed to inform against me and have me taken back, but the others being opposed to it from feelings of sympathy prevented it, and I was not disturbed.

After remaining at this place eleven months, during which time I clothed myself well, and saved considerable money, I started for Wisconsin, where my brother was living, whom I had not seen for the space of nine years. On my calling at his house, he did not know me, nor could I identify myself by any marks or evidences, about my person. At length I began to recount some of the scenes of our boyhood, when he at once recognised, and joyfully received me. One reason for the want of recognition, was the fact that, although I was brought up in the same neighborhood, yet we rarely saw each other, except on holidays, or Sundays, when allowed to exchange visits, and being young had not any fixed impressions in regard to each other, save the associations of which I have made mention, relating to days of our boyhood.

With my brother, I remained nearly one year, earning when I worked one dollar per day. It was a new era indeed in my existence, when I could carry home with me at night, and feel it all my own, more money than I had ever handled while a slave, during any single year of my life. I was well clothed—lived well and happy, so far as my outward condition was concerned. But I could not sleep, often, when I would turn my thoughts to my countrymen in chains, I would compare my situation with theirs, and often lie and

weep bitter tears of sympathy for those I had left behind me. I would have dared and endured any thing to have saved even one.
CELEBRATION OF BLACKS, JULY 4, 1865, CAMP NELSON

A similar celebration was held on the same day by the Negroes of Camp Nelson, Kentucky. The blacks spoke in the forenoon, and the courageous abolitionist, the Reverend John G. Fee, who was just as enthusiastic for Negro suffrage as Brisbin, spoke in the afternoon.²

SOME SUPPORT BY WHITE POLITICIANS FOR BLACK RIGHTS 1866

A liberal view was also taken toward the blacks by two of Kentucky's Congressmen. One, William H. Randall, of Laurel County, represented the eastern district of Kentucky in the U. S. House of Representatives. He favored the Fourteenth Amendment and full civil rights for the Negro. In the autumn of 1866, he travelled through his district, the county courts in session, and "strongly advocated negro suffrage". U. S. Representative Sam McKee, of Montgomery County, spoke in favor of the Fourteenth Amendment, but he denied that by making blacks citizens, they were being conceded the ballot."
On January 1, 1866, Negroes of Louisville met in convention to celebrate the anniversary of the adoption of the Emancipation Proclamation. They unanimously adopted a set of resolutions and petitioned the Kentucky legislature for full equality. A similar meeting was held in Frankfort on the same day. Later in January a meeting of other blacks of central Kentucky convened in Lexington for the purpose of considering their new status. A measure was adopted by the convention to go on record as "favoring universal amnesty and universal enfranchisement."

The Negro leaders of the city of Lexington met on January 15, 1866 in the colored Methodist Episcopal Church and issued a call for a state-wide convention to meet in that city on March 22. When the convention met, Fisk and John Ely, the superintendent of the Bureau in Kentucky, were there, and Fisk "saw that negro suffrage was given a prominent place in the discussion." The question of the right to the ballot by freedmen was earnestly discussed by several blacks, including Reverend George W. Dupree, of Paducah, and Horace Morris, Cashier of the Freedmen's Bank in Louisville. A. H. Hubbard, the United States Commissioner of the Lexington area entered into the discussion. The convention later adopted a resolution which claimed for the Negroes "each and every right and power guaranteed to every American citizen, including even that of suffrage, as naturally belonging to us to-day."

The sentiment for suffrage was not restricted to the black leadership. During the August election, 1866 in Lexington, a correspondent to the Louisville Daily Courier wrote that "flocks of negroes ... hung like a cloud around the polls, eager and solicitous" for the triumph of the Republican party. It was openly threatened on the streets, he claimed, after the defeat of the Radicals that Negro suffrage was "a sine qua non — that at the next election, ballots of negroes would have to be accepted" in the service of the Republican party.

The sentiment in the ranks of the Republican party for Negro suffrage, however, was not widespread. The Union members of the Kentucky General Assembly met on January 17, 1866, and went on record as favoring the right of each state to determine the qualifications of its voters but the posture of the Kentucky Republicans did not discourage the Negroes.

The celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation in Louisville on January 1, 1867, was primarily concerned with the question of political rights for the freedmen. William F. Butler, the president of the convention, insisted that it was a mockery to call the blacks free and deprive them of the ballot. "We claim ... a position of political equality with the whites as a matter
Although the Negro's desire for suffrage was not received with enthusiasm by the Republicans who controlled the Kentucky party, those in leadership of the party were experiencing a change of attitude. James Speed had earlier insisted that if suffrage came, it must be granted by the state. By the summer of 1866 Speed began to change his view on Negro suffrage when he saw that Kentucky was falling completely under the domination of conservative Democrats. In January, 1867, Speed met in a secret caucus with the Republicans in the legislature, and urged that the party take a stand in favor of universal suffrage. The debate was "decidedly acrimonious" and threatened to divide the party. The opponents of universal suffrage for the time being had their way, and, when the state convention convened, the platform endorsed the national administration, but resolved that Kentucky was unalterably opposed to Negro suffrage.

The Republicans of the Sixth Congressional District came the closest, of any Republican group, to endorsing Negro suffrage. When they met in convention in March, 1867, a resolution was introduced endorsing the national administration. A delegate objected because he believed the measure
KY BLACKS CONVINCED THEY WOULD GET THE VOTE 1867

V B Howard, 'negro pol & suffrage question in ky 1866-72,' Register, 72, Apr 1974

The determined advocacy of Negro suffrage, however, could not be put down. A correspondent for the Cincinnati Commercial in April, 1867, declared: "Negro suffrage is the vital issue of politics." The drive for universal suffrage centered around the Negro benevolent societies and a small group of Radical Republicans who sustained and supported their interest in politics. Through the benevolent societies the leaders had contact with almost all blacks in the cities and towns. The Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, had assured the Negroes in the secession states of the right to vote, and the blacks in the border states were restless for a change of their own status. Although the Negroes were told by whites that they would never secure the ballot, in Kentucky, according to one correspondent, they would only laugh and reply: "It's a comin', massa." They did not know from where, but they had faith. "One thinks it will come from Washington in the mails, and goes to the post office to see if it has yet arrived; another expects it to drop down from Heaven, and looks for it every morning; a third reckons the law for it has not yet been made, but is 'sorting Massa Stebens' is making it in his great legal work-shop at Washington." James Speed was their prophet and James Brisbin was their Moses.

BLACKS ORGANIZE, HOLD MEETINGS URGING BLACK VOTING 1867

V B Howard, 'Negro pol & suffrage question in ky 1866-72,' Register, 72, Apr 1974

In 1867, blacks of Louisville organized an association called the Law League to aid freedmen with legal problems, but much of their time and attention was directed to the suffrage question. In their published proceedings in March, 1867, mention was made of their hope of "being endowed with the elective franchise." No Negro society or organization was free from consideration of the suffrage question. In April, the Colored Conference of the Methodist Church met in Lexington and was addressed by Brisbin. He informed them that they should have "a voice in the election of the country" which they had "helped to save." On August 1, colored people held celebrations at two different locations in Louisville to hear orators speak on the rights and duties of the freedmen. A meeting was held on the same day to raise funds for the African Methodist Zion Church in Frankfort. The absorbing topic turned on suffrage as speaker after speaker took up the topic. Thomas H. Jackson, a Negro clergyman of Louisville, reminded the audience that blacks could vote in many parts of the country and that they needed the ballot in Kentucky to protect themselves from their enemies.
Brisbin, Fee and Radical Republican Judge William C. Goodloe, of Lexington, spoke at a "Colored People's Barbecue" on the fourth of July in Lexington. Goodloe informed the audience that, although they could not expect to secure suffrage from the state during their generation, Congress would grant them this right before it adjourned. Fee took the ground of impartial suffrage. "God was the author of the Emancipation Proclamation, the Civil Rights Bill, and would soon give suffrage to them," for Congress was in session at that time.

In July the Radical Republicans and the black leaders of Lexington met in a closed session. Although there was no public statement as to the precedings, the Negroes soon organized themselves into a state central committee and called a Negro state convention. After the election it was rumored that the Republicans would call a state convention in September and declare in favor of black suffrage. A Republican correspondent to the Cincinnati Commercial claimed that a resolution was unanimously passed which opened the state convention to delegates without regard to color.
During August the Radical leaders held a series of meetings to organize the blacks for their future political role. In Mt. Sterling, Brisbin shared the platform with Sam McKee, and both strongly endorsed Negro suffrage. McKee predicted that by the next presidential election, the freedmen of Kentucky would be voting for men who made their laws. After appearing in Lexington, Brisbin journeyed on to Nicholasville and told the Negroes that there were only two ways to defend liberty — by the bayonet and by the ballot. "We must give you one or the other," he explained. "I know of no way of electing loyal men . . . in this or any other Southern state, except by extending the elective franchise to you black men," he added. At Paris on August 29, Brisbin and others promised a large audience of freedmen that the Congress would meet during the winter of 1867 and enfranchise them.

The Benevolent Society of Winchester sponsored a meeting early in September which took on the appearance of a political training program, as a long parade of speakers instructed and advised the freedmen on their duties and responsibilities as voters. During mid-October, Brisbin attended a similar rally in Maysville. "There are men in office now who will not give you your rights," Brisbin charged, "but when you get the right to vote you then can put men in office who will give you your rights." A letter was read at the meeting from John Ely, the superintendent of the Bureau in Kentucky; "You have earned your freedom and the privilege of the ballot, and . . . the day is not far distant when the right will be acceded."
On October 16, the Negro State Central Committee of Lexington issued a call for a state convention to meet in Lexington on November 26. The purpose of the meeting was to consider steps necessary, among other things, to secure Negro suffrage. All communities were urged to elect delegates to attend the convention. A correspondent from Danville, Kentucky, condemned the convention as a meeting gotten up by "foolish white men." The blacks were urged to cultivate industry, good habits and obedience to the law and not snatch at the shadow as the dog in the fable. Two Negro leaders in Danville published a circular repudiating the convention, which, they felt, was not calculated to promote the interest of the black community at that time.

Local conventions were held throughout Kentucky to elect delegates and instruct them. A meeting at Mount Sterling asked for suffrage for blacks in Kentucky because "they had given thirty thousand of their sons to the War for the Union." A delegates' convention in Clark County declared that "time had demonstrated that the liberties not only of the colored people but of the masses of the white people can only be preserved by clothing all the loyal part of the community with political privileges, and putting more restraint upon the rebels." This convention took the most radical position that any Negro meeting had yet taken.

At the state convention, Fee and Brisbin spoke, but R. T. James, a black clergyman from Louisville elected president of the convention, made the most important speech. He denied that the lack of education disqualified the Negro for suffrage. "We claim the right to vote in the name of liberty that has been purchased by colored soldiers," he declared. The convention drew up a petition to Congress praying that they be granted the right to vote, and Brisbin was commissioned to take the petition to Washington.
The opposition to the Negro political activities of 1867 was not limited to the ranks of the conservative Republicans. Not all black leaders agreed that the freedmen were following the correct course. On January 1, 1868, Horace Morris, a teller at the Freedmen's Bank in Louisville, spoke at the annual emancipation celebration in Louisville. He questioned the current political aspirations and activities of the blacks in Kentucky. "Politics is not our trade," he advised. The freedmen should not follow the Radicals blindly for these politicians were using them "for their own aggrandizement." He recommended hard work and education as the chief contemporary concern of the blacks. Not all of the black community, nor all Republicans were in entire agreement upon the desirability of Negro participation in political activities with the Republicans.

When the Republican state convention met at Frankfort in 1868, Negro delegates were refused seats in the assembly. Although the Radical Republicans urged a resolution in favor of Negro suffrage, they had to settle for a measure expressing a commitment to equality before the law. That the Kentucky Republicans were in harmony with the national party majority was made clear in May after the national convention resolved, over the objections of some of the border state delegates, that the suffrage question in the loyal states properly belonged to the people of those states.

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KY WHITE REPUBLICANS OBJECT TO BLACK VOTING 1868

When the Republican state convention met at Frankfort in 1868, Negro delegates were refused seats in the assembly. Although the Radical Republicans urged a resolution in favor of Negro suffrage, they had to settle for a measure expressing a commitment to equality before the law. That the Kentucky Republicans were in harmony with the national party majority was made clear in May after the national convention resolved, over the objections of some of the border state delegates, that the suffrage question in the loyal states properly belonged to the people of those states.
The Radical Republicans and the mass of town and city blacks continued the drive to secure Negro suffrage. On July 4, 1868, the political meetings of the Negroes were renewed throughout Kentucky. The blacks in the “Blue Grass” counties gathered near Lexington, on July 4th, and heard Brisbin speak on black suffrage which he said should be granted not because it would help the Republican party but because it was just. At a picnic in Winchester later in the summer, Brisbin gave the Negroes twenty commandments, the second of which was: “Never vote for a rebel or Democrat for office.”

When Congress met in December, 1868 a number of suffrage amendments were introduced and the movement for suffrage on the federal front stimulated a broader interest within the Negro community in Kentucky. On January 1, 1869, the Emancipation Day celebration in Louisville centered around the suffrage question. Henry J. Young, a Negro clergyman, urged his audience to “use every lawful means to obtain manhood suffrage” as a necessary tool for their defense.

The usual Fourth of July celebrations were held by the blacks throughout the state. The largest was held near Paris and suffrage was the prominent topic of every orator. The Negro State Educational Convention in Louisville on July 14, 1869, however, was the most important black convention during the year. It was called to formulate a Negro school system for the entire state. The suffrage question vied with education for prominence. Thomas Jackson, a black native of Kentucky, had faith that the day was at hand when the Negro could vote. When the vote was secured, Jackson said, “We will give them to the men who are willing to give us equal rights before the law.” The Convention resolved to uphold the “glorious Union” with ballots as they formerly upheld it with bayonets.
Not all black leaders were optimistic about the political future of the Negro in Kentucky. Henry H. Trumbo, a successful business man in Frankfort, saw the civil rights of blacks in Kentucky as so precarious that he doubted that the Fifteenth Amendment would ever reach Kentucky. "The case seems dark," he continued, "but we are aware that the darkest hour is just before day." J. W. Alvord, Superintendent of Schools of the Freedmen's Bureau, was of a similar view. In January, 1870, he was travelling through Kentucky examining the conditions of the blacks. "At best, voting is the only thing which will save the negro" in Kentucky, he concluded.

On January 27, 1870, the Negro leaders of Kentucky met in Frankfort to organize the freedmen for the anticipated ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. The convention resolved "to resort to the most expedient means in organizing and educating our people . . . on political issues and vital demands of the times." The convention agreed that when blacks had the right to vote they must use it "judiciously and with becoming dignity" in behalf of the interest of their race, but they pledged support to the Republican party. A call was issued for a "Colored Men's State Convention" to meet in Frankfort on February 23, and the black communities were urged to hold meetings and select delegates to the state convention.

The call to elect delegates for the state assemblage received a welcome response throughout the state. At a meeting held in Midway, it was agreed that all possible help should be given to maintain, uphold and support the true principles of a Republican government. From Nicholas County came a report that the blacks had "Thoroughly endorsed Republican principles." Meetings were also held in Greensburg, Hardinsburg, Paris, and in Lebanon, where representatives from eighteen
counties met. At Lebanon both the white and black speakers urged the Negroes to "stand together" and vote as a bloc. "They should vote as one man for the party that freed them." The meeting at Lexington resolved that they, the blacks, not be influenced to vote against their interest. "We know our friends and will stand by them, provided they stand by us." The blacks of Louisville met and formed a Republican club. "We know our friends," asserted resolutions of the Louisville meeting, "and will testify our appreciation . . . at the polls as soon as they are open to our race."^2

When the "Colored People's State Convention" met, nearly a hundred counties were represented. The convention agreed that they should organize a Negro Republican party with local societies in every town and county. An address was issued to the colored citizens of the state urging them to maintain harmony within their ranks, and ally with the white Republicans."^4

The convention of February 23, 1870, set up an organization to canvass the districts. With the question of ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment coming up in March, black lecturers took to the field. T. F. Boaz, a Negro clergyman of Frankfort, spoke in Shelbyville with great effect and George Griffith, of Owensboro, rendered a similar service in Daviess County in meetings that found blacks and whites on the same platform."^5
BLACKS DEMAND PARTICIPATION IN REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFICES 1870

v b howard, 'negro pol & suffrage question in ky 1866-72,' register, 72, apr 1974

Since the Negroes had a majority in the Republican party of many counties, they demanded a voice in the party organization. The Republican committee of Boyle County had an equal number of blacks and whites, and the Danville Advocate reported that the Negroes dictated the nominations for county offices. In Fayette County, where the black voters greatly outnumbered the white Republicans, the Republican county committee scheduled precinct meetings in which each elected three white and three black delegates to attend the county nomination convention to select candidates for the August election. The Negroes were not to be so easily satisfied. An all-black county meeting convened in Lexington, and the Negro orators made it clear that, since they held the balance of power, they should share the offices. The Scott County Republican party probably checked any movement for Negro office holding by agreeing in theory that the blacks had a right to hold office.

BLACKS DIVIDED OVER IMMEDIATE HOLDING OF OFFICE 1870

v b howard, 'negro pol & suffrage question in ky 1866-72,' register, 72, apr 1974

The Democrats encouraged the Negroes to demand offices as means of dividing the Republican party. But the black leaders, themselves, were divided on this question. Late in March, G. W. Dupree wrote a letter to The Louisville Commercial in which he declared: "It is not office and power that my people want, but it is simple justice... my people has (sic) more cornfield common sense that to flatter themselves with the idea of stepping right out of two hundred years of slavery in political office, without a moment's reflection or preparation." Two days later his views were contested by M. E. Lynn, a black leader of Frankfort. Lynn insisted that capable blacks did not need to wait until the masses were educated. "Mississippi did not wait for the next generation to send a Revels to Congress" he declared, and Kentucky had her Revels. Henry Marrs also disagreed with Dupree's position in an argument similar to Lynn's. Marrs reminded the Paducah clergyman that the blacks held the balance of power in Kentucky. Henry Bush, of Bridgport, Kentucky, supported Dupree's position in the Commercial, and Marrs conceded that support of the Republican party was more important than office.
With the announcement of the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, celebrations took place in black communities throughout Kentucky. The most spectacular took place in Louisville. The meeting agreed to support and uphold the Republican party which had crushed out the attempt to perpetuate human bondage. The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment was "a victory of right over wrong, of liberty over slavery, of freedom over oppression." The convention declared that it had "no terms to make with Kentucky Democracy." Ratification celebrations were held in Frankfort, Hopkinsville, Georgetown and other locations.

On May 4, 1870, the Republican State Central Committee met and selected a committee of two whites, and Horace Morris, to appoint a committee to canvass the state and explain to the blacks their rights and duties under the Fifteenth Amendment. The Negroes selected to canvass the state as lecturers were George A. Griffith of Owensboro, J. B. Stansberry of Louisville, and Henry Marrs of Frankfort. They spoke throughout the state during the summer until election day. The Republican State Central Committee issued an Address to the people of Kentucky on the Fifteenth Amendment. The Address assured the new voters that the Republican party, which was alone credited with securing black suffrage, would fearlessly and earnestly demand the rights and powers conferred by the amendment. As the tempo of the campaign was accelerated, political meetings became weekly occasions in many communities.
The charge of the Democrats that the Republicans were "making hobbyhorses of the blacks" to ride into office may have had effect. The Democrats persuaded a Negro to announce for jailer in Shelby County, a black announced for sheriff in Madison County, another sought office in Lincoln County, and there was fear that both a black and a white Republican ticket would appear in Fayette County. White Republicans in Fayette County generally agreed that justice would dictate that some blacks should be on the ticket since they numbered eight of every nine Republicans, but they insisted that justice should bow to expediency because such a ticket would lose white votes. To check a division in the ranks of the Republican party, prominent Negro leaders in central Kentucky issued an address to the black citizens urging them to refrain from standing for office, and to vote for reliable white Republicans. The running of black Republicans or black Independent candidates was declared to be a Democratic trick "calculated to defeat the Republican party" and keep the Negro "hewers of wood and drawers of water."  

The Republican campaign did not falter. During July the picnics and barbecues in the black communities took on a more practical aspect of rallying support for specific Republican candidates. John G. Fee was reaching hundreds of black and white unionists in Madison County with sermons and addresses, and Judge William C. Goodloe, of Lexington, spoke in most towns in Madison; also extended his campaign into Bourbon County where General John T. Croxton, Paris, was urging the freedmen to make use of the Fifteenth Amendment to put friends of blacks into office. Sam McKee campaigned in the black communities in Fleming and neighboring counties, and Reverend G. W. Dupree lectured to his fellow freedmen in western Kentucky. The black clergyman, Elijah Marrs, like his brother, Henry Marrs, worked among the freedmen in opposition to the Democrats and used his pen to solicit their votes for the Republicans through the press. 
The Democrats were divided on what attitude they should take toward the new voters. Some wanted to compete with the Republicans and bid for black votes. Others felt they did not need the Negro votes to carry the election and that they should refuse the support of blacks. In order to prevent Republican victories in many cities, Democratic leaders (presumably) were able to get changed the charters to eliminate Negro wards from the city. Nicholasville and Paris avoided Republican control temporarily by this strategy. Another piece of chicanery: Louisville, Lexington, Frankfort and other cities counteracted Republican dominance for a short time by having the legislature alter their charters so that the municipal elections could be held before the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified.

The Democrats used other tactics to try to counteract Negro suffrage. Since most large land owners and farmers were Democrats, before the election the Negro was threatened with a loss of employment. Militias were organized. As election day approached, they were drilled nightly in the "Blue Grass" region and became a subtle threat to black suffrage. On election day, blacks and whites often entered different doors or filed into the polling place in different lines, and in some areas the blacks were subjected to prolonged questioning so that all could not vote before the polls closed. In the rural precincts the voice voting kept many timid black agricultural workers away from the polling place; otherwise, their votes were cast for the Democratic ticket.
After 1870 the Republican monopoly of the Negro votes began to erode. The blacks insisted that the right to vote implied the right to be voted for. As early as February 23, 1870 in the "Address to the Colored People of Kentucky," the Negro convention reiterated to the freedmen: "We demand the emoluments that the franchise has bequeathed unto us." H. J. Young informed the same convention that when they secured political and civil rights, the black man would "be like white men; some will be radical and some conservative." The same position was taken by Horace Morris, of Louisville. In April, 1870, Edward A. Pollard, of South Carolina, wrote an article in Lippincott's Magazine in which he praised the progress of the freedmen. If the blacks were wise, he concluded, they would put native whites in office instead of carpetbagger Republicans. Horace Morris answered his article in a letter directed to the author. Morris said Negroes were forced to identify with the Radical Republicans as the only party that would give them anything. He agreed that the interest of the conservative whites and the Negro were identical. "The Republican party, like all other parties, must grow old and die, or die prematurely," he said; "the Democratic party is not only dead, but it stinketh. A new party can be built upon its ruins, a party of liberal views, broad principles — that will embrace in its ranks all lovers of their country — who know no North, no South, no East, no West." The resistance of the Republican party of Kentucky to Negro office seekers soon caused many black leaders to become disillusioned with the Republican party. In 1871 three Lexington blacks bolted the Republican state convention and accepted seats in the Democratic convention. By June, 1871, they had formed a black Democratic organization in Lexington, and a Negro from Lexington was soon canvassing central Kentucky for the Democrats. The Democratic sentiment among the blacks began to spread to other districts in Kentucky.

Because of the Democratic legislature's failure to pass a law in Kentucky permitting blacks to testify against whites and the failure of the legislature to deal with the problem of the "Regulators" and the Klu Klux Klan, the freedmen could not overcome their strong antipathy to the Democratic party. A new party, as suggested by Morris, soon took shape to overcome the repugnance to an alliance with the old enemy. In Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay led the way, and no white in the "Blue Grass"...
state was trusted more than he. Clay called a meeting of leading Democrats at his home and urged the necessity of a new party movement. On January 2, 1871, he informed a convention of blacks in Richmond, Kentucky, that he would continue to advocate their claims until they had full equality, but he could not support Grant. If they would be prosperous and happy, they must stand by their old masters. On July 4, Clay spoke at a black barbecue in Lexington and made substantially the same speech, and advocated Horace Greeley for president.83

On February 29, 1872, the colored Republicans of Covington, who had heard several speeches by the antislavery wing of the party in northern Kentucky, held a meeting to decide their position in relation to the national administration. A resolution endorsing Grant's administration was defeated and white and black Radicals bitterly denounced the President.84 When the State convention convened a Radical Republican offered a resolution in favor of giving a "liberal share" of the subpositions within the gift of the Republican office-holders to Negroes. After a bitter debate the resolution was referred to a committee of three whites and three blacks.85 When a Negro delegate from Lexington suggested that the anti-Grant delegates from northern Kentucky take a pledge to support the nominee of Philadelphia Convention, fourteen of the seventeen delegates from Kenton County, including the black delegate, bolted the convention and party.86

After the Liberal Republicans and Democrats nominated Horace Greeley, the Negro supporters of Greeley met in Louisville in a national "Colored Liberal Convention" and resolved that "equal human rights" had ceased to be an issue between the contending parties. The convention announced something of a "balance of power" position. Although the mass of black voters in the cities remained in the Republican camp, Negro stump speakers canvassed the state for the Liberal Republicans in competition with black orators of the regular Republican party.87

Although a majority of the Negroes sustained the Republican party, the election of 1872 marked the end of Republican dominance of the Negro vote. At a nonpartisan colored education convention in February, 1873, a resolution was introduced expressing gratitude to the Democratic dominated Kentucky legislature for granting them the right to testify in courts. Considerable opposition was expressed on the ground that the legislature had only submitted to federal pressure, but the resolution was adopted. The legislature of 1873 also set up a state system of Negro schools, but did not establish a system of equal per capita distribution of all school funds with
On April 9, 1866, the Civil Rights Bill became a law over the veto of the President. The Act guaranteed the blacks the same rights "to give evidence" as were "enjoyed by white citizens," and established a fine and imprisonment as punishment for any officer who denied blacks their rights under the law. The new law strengthened the position of the Bureau in its determination to secure the right of freedmen to testify in all cases in Kentucky courts. In jurisdictions in which blacks were denied the right to testify against whites, federal agents were authorized to take the cases to federal court.

With the Kentucky law of evidence obviously in conflict with the Civil Rights Act, the stage was set for a test of constitutionality of the laws.

In July, 1866, the War Department issued General Order No. 44 which authorized military enforcement of the Civil Rights Act by making troops available for arrests where needed, and the Bureau took the initiative in resolving the conflict between state and federal law. Since every circuit court in Kentucky except the Lexington Circuit denied black
testimony against whites, the Bureau changed its policy of
referring cases to the state courts and established the
procedure of taking cases directly before a United States
commissioner after affidavits were sworn. If blacks were
involved in cases in State Courts and black testimony was
denied, a Writ of Habeas Corpus was secured to transfer the
case to the federal court. The Bureau officials were author­
ized to pay the transportation of plaintiffs and witnesses to
appear before the commissioner or the federal court in cases
where the parties did not have the means of paying for the
travel required. The Bureau consulted Judge Bland Ballard
of the U.S. District Court of Kentucky and he agreed to
prosecute cases of outrages against blacks, under state law
when testimony was denied by the State.\(^\text{24}\)

During the October, 1866, term of the federal court in

KY LEGIS. REFUSES TO ALLOW BLACK TESTIMONY 1867 SESSION

With the Civil Rights Act in operation in Kentucky and
the new Freedmen's Bureau Bill of 1866 strengthening the
position of the Bureau in the State, the more liberal Demo­
cratic and Radical press expressed hope that Kentucky's
laws would be changed during the legislative session of 1867
to harmonize with federal measures.\(^\text{29}\) In his message to the
Kentucky legislature in January, 1867, Governor Thomas
Barmlette asked the General Assembly to approve "wise and
prudent legislation which would remove the flimsy pretense
of an unreasoning fanaticism for any further disregard of the
Constitution of our fathers through the Freedmen's Bureau
and the Civil Rights bills."\(^\text{30}\) But the legislature quickly
defeated the bill that was introduced to grant equal rights in
the court.\(^\text{31}\)

The rejection of the proposal to change the law on the
competency of witnesses was followed by an offense in the
State courts against the exercise of federal authority in the
state. In 1866 the Harrison and Livingston County circuit
courts declared the Freedmen's Bureau without authority in
Kentucky, but the decisions were ignored since both cases
were transferred to the federal court.\(^\text{32}\) In January, 1867,
Commissioner Oliver Howard decided to determine the status of the Bureau's judicial powers in states where civil courts existed. He asked all assistant commissioners to test the Milligan decision which declared military trial null and void where civil courts were operating. Cases in the Bourbon and Harison courts in 1867 offered a ready-made opportunity for this test in Kentucky. These cases which challenged the Bureau's judiciary authority in Kentucky were upheld when transferred to the federal district court. The Bureau called all of its complaint and trial record books to Washington and ceased to hold Bureau courts in Kentucky. Thus by 1867 the only courts in which the blacks were competent in all cases were the federal district court, and the circuit court of Fayette County under Republican Judge William C. Goodloe.

The ruling in the Bowlin case marked a low point of morale in Union circles in Kentucky. General Howard saw the Bowlin decision as retarding progress in Kentucky and he related the state court decision to the 319 outrages committed by whites against blacks during the year. The activity of the state judiciary was a contrast to the apathy in the federal court. The district attorney for Kentucky, Benjamin Bristow, had the responsibility for bringing evidence before the federal grand jury. Since the Civil Rights Act had been adopted more than five hundred cases of murder and outrage against blacks by whites had been recorded in Kentucky, and it was often assumed that another one or two hundred had not been reported. The Bureau officers, as required by law, in effect served as a staff of agents for the prosecutor, and during the first year after the passage of the Civil Rights Act, more than two hundred affidavits of violations had been filed by the Freedmen's Bureau, and seventy-four outlaws and murderers had been arrested and examined by the Bureau and commissioners and turned over to the federal court. When a particularly outrageous case was presented to Bristow fully supported by affidavits, he informed the assistant commissioner of the Bureau that cases should be referred to him for prosecution in the federal court only after the state judges had refused to prosecute. As early as 1866 Bristow dismissed
a group of alleged regulators after having them put under peace bond, and in 1867 several other cases were disposed of by the same method. By July, 1868, only nine convictions had been secured and the president had pardoned two of them, and another was waiting a new trial. In 1869 when it became obvious that there would be a test of the Civil Rights Act before the Supreme Court, possibly coming after a long delay, Bristow again dismissed many indictments pending before the federal court that involved the denial of testimony in the state courts. Such circumstances caused one correspondent for a northern newspaper to observe that the Civil Rights Bill was a dead-letter in Kentucky.47

Immediately after the federal circuit court upheld the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act, Benjamin P. Runkle, superintendent of the Bureau in Kentucky, requested James Speed, who had been employed as the legal advisor and prosecutor for the Bureau, to draw up a memorandum on the authority of the Bureau in the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act. Speed's opinion was the basis of Circular No. 8 issued by the assistant commissioner in Kentucky to the Bureau Agents in the State instructing them concerning the procedure for the protection of the civil rights of the freedmen. The agents were urged to instruct all freedmen to report any crime against themselves to a U.S. Commissioner. Blacks were to be advised to transfer all suits against them to federal courts when their personal and pecuniary interest would be advanced by such a change, and all state officers who violated the Civil Rights Act were to be reported to the Bureau headquarters in Louisville.48 As a result of the ruling in the federal circuit court on the Civil Rights Act and the new Bureau instructions, there was an acceleration of Bureau activity. The Bureau established itself as the most effective federal instrument in the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act in Kentucky.48
The black community did not remain passive observers in this question which affected their interests so vitally. On January 1, 1867, the fraternal societies of Louisville organized a celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation. A morning session of the convention which was primarily devoted to civil rights was followed by an evening session which was given over to speaking. William F. Butler took the platform and demanded equal rights. "We ask no man for pity. We only ask you to take your hand off the black man's head and let him grow to manhood," said Butler as he scornfully rejected all paternalism. On the evening of March 7, the blacks of Louisville again met, and organized an association called "The Law League" to aid the members of their race in financing and securing able and faithful counsel to uphold their civil rights.

In April, 1867, James Brisbin of the Infantry recruiting service, spoke in Lexington to the delegates of the Colored Methodist Conference. He informed the delegates and local observers that they would soon have the same rights in courts as other men. A group of blacks in Lexington petitioned Congress in June and complained against the denial of redress in Kentucky courts for crimes committed upon them.
On October 16, after news of the decision in the federal circuit court of Louisville had been received, a meeting of the leaders in Lexington formed themselves into a Colored State Central Committee and issued a call for a state convention to convene in that city on November 26. The purpose of the convention was to consider what steps were necessary to secure the right of testimony before the courts of the state and the right of suffrage. The committee suggested local meetings to elect and instruct delegates to the state convention. Conventions were convened throughout the state in response to the call.

When the state convention met at least forty-two counties were represented. The speakers devoted most of their time to discussions of the right of testimony and suffrage, and resolutions were passed dealing with both matters. The resolution on testimony declared that their families were exposed to the wiles of the dissolute and unprincipled who approached them with insulting and degrading propositions because testimony was not permitted in the courts of Kentucky. A petition was prepared and sent to the state legislature praying that the right of testimony be granted.

The black conventions continued in commemoration of important occasions throughout 1868 and 1869. Meetings on January 1, 1868 and July 4, 1869, witnessed oratory concerning civil rights similar to that of 1867. In October, 1868, Benjamin P. Runkle, superintendent of the Bureau, and Isaac S. Catlin, chief agent of the Louisville sub-district of the Bureau, delivered addresses before the black community of Louisville. Both speakers stressed the rights and needs of freedmen. Catlin denounced the “unnatural, inhuman and unjust ban” on their testimony in Kentucky, and declared that the right to testify was “an inherent, God-given right.” The speech was printed and circulated widely among the black leaders and clergy throughout the state so that a statewide movement could be promoted.

1869 marked the maturity of a coordinated black movement. In January, 1869, William H. Gibson, a black school-teacher was sent to the National Convention of Colored People in Washington to represent Kentucky. He secured a commitment from that body to have the conditions in Kentucky laid before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, and
to petition the committee to draw up a bill to increase the number of circuits of the federal courts in Kentucky so that all blacks could have their cases heard in a court that did not discriminate against black testimony. The most important meeting in 1869 was a Colored State Educational Convention which convened in Louisville, July 14, to set up an organization for a state school system. The convention, however, did not limit itself to the matter of education. Several orators spoke on the need for equality in the courts of the state, and a resolution was adopted declaring that the right to testify in courts was a sacred right guaranteed by the Constitution.

On November 30, 1868, the advocates of legislation inserted a proposed bill in the Courier-Journal which was said to be supported by the Louisville Bar Association. The proposal was debated for the next two weeks. Most of the lawyers and judges came to the front as advocates of legislation. In January, 1869, seven of the most esteemed lawyers and judges of the state petitioned the legislature in an open letter to change the law of evidence. Despite all the influence the advocates of legislation could mobilize, the bill was defeated.
PRESSURE ON JUDGES TO ALLOW BLACK TESTIMONY 1870-71

v h howard, 'black testimony controversy 1866-72,' jnh, 58, apr 1973

The most significant force shaping a change in sentiment was the enforcement of the clause in the Civil Rights Act which provided for the prosecution of judges who denied the rights guaranteed by the law. In October, 1870, Judge J. Hop Price of the Municipal Court of Louisville was indicted in federal court for failing to admit black testimony against whites. Early in February, 1871, the Frankfort correspondent for the Courier-Journal reported that three circuit judges had been indicted on the same charge. The consequence of this new development was not long in materializing. In April a circuit judge admitted black testimony in his court under the Civil Rights Act, and by August nine other circuit judges had opened their courts. As early as May, 1871, the Louisville Ledger remarked that Negro testimony could "now be put aside as a dead issue, and one which need no longer be discussed with a view to any action of the State Legislature for its adjustments."

EARLY SCHOOL, TAX MEASURES FOR BLACKS 1866-68; NO SCHS 1868-74

j m kousser, 'making separate unequal integration black & white school funds in ky,' jou of interdisciplinary hist, x, winter 1980

Nowhere was this fact more evident than in the halting, ungenerous gestures toward black education in unreconstructed Kentucky. Pressured by the Freedmen's Bureau, the legislature in 1866 dedicated half of the poll and property taxes paid by blacks to black schools, a scheme which raised about 13.5 cents per black child from six to twenty years of age. White expenditures per child were about six times as high. In 1868, however, the legislature, dominated by a "Bourbon" Democratic faction which openly "scoffed at education for Negroes," declared that all money from black taxes was to go for the support of black paupers. There were apparently no state-supported black schools in Kentucky from 1868 until 1874, when the legislature, anticipating congressional passage of a bill allocating funds from public lands to those states which provided a free education to all children between six and sixteen, revived the separate-tax-and-allocation system for black education.
The 1874 law provided that all state property and license taxes paid by blacks would go to black education. Because the tax on black property would yield such a small sum, the legislature additionally authorized a $1 poll tax on black, but not white, male adults. Although no funds from white taxes would be spent for black education, the legislature did hold out the promise that some of the expected federal aid might be used to upgrade black schools. Since the federal largesse never materialized, however, the system remained racially inequitable in both taxation and expenditures. In 1876, for example, the state allocated $1.90 for each white child between the ages of six and twenty, but only thirty cents for each black child between six and sixteen, or nearly nine times as much for whites as blacks if the age bases of the two groups had been equalized.6

Petitions, speeches, and conventions having left the 1874 law unscathed, the blacks turned to the courts. On November 25, 1881, a white Paducah attorney, Emmet W. Bagby, a former Republican congressional candidate who was chairman of the county GOP committee and a member of the party's state committee, argued the case of Kentucky v. Jesse Ellis in the federal circuit court. In his brief Bagby challenged the state's right to collect a poll tax for support of black schools from Ellis, a black man, when it did not impose such a tax on whites. More broadly, Bagby averred that the entire system of Kentucky schools supported by racially separate taxes was contrary to the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the more express provisions of the federal civil rights act, and was therefore wholly unconstitutional.8

While the Ellis case was pending in federal court, Republicans in the 1881–82 session of the state legislature decided to force the issue more directly. On January 7, 1882, Republican House leader James Breathitt introduced a bill to merge the two school funds and to equalize the taxes, school terms, and eligible age-groups
The conspiracy at Frankfort to defy the Constitution of the United States and precipitate a civil war has not yet been destroyed. Thanks to the density and extent of Bourbon ignorance and its perpetuation in the Legislature, Kentucky is the only State in the Union which has not accepted the war amendments to the Federal constitution.

. . . When these antediluvian unteachables placed themselves at Frankfort in the attitude of implacable hostility to the great cause of equal education, and with barbaric obtuseness refused to recognize the harmonizing and liberalizing and elevating influences of the age which give glory to our common country, they committed the one signal crime that was needed to kill and damn them politically.

But the Commercial underrated the talent of the Democracy (the Democratic party) for survival, just as the Democrats had forgotten the blacks' ability to gain in court what they could not otherwise win in the legislature. For on the same day that it noted the postponement of the Breathitt bill in Frankfort, the Commercial reported Judge John Baxter's decision in favor of Ellis in Paducah. The Fourteenth Amendment, Baxter averred, meant that "... any fund created by the state for educational purposes must be equally and uniformly distributed among both classes, and neither in the raising of the fund by taxation, nor in the distribution of it, must there be any inequality or any discrimination on account of race or color." Although he ordered no immediate remedy, Baxter referred to his earlier decision in U.S. v. Buntin, in which he had ruled that unless black schools in Ohio were "equal [to white schools] in the benefits provided," the segregated school system would have to be dismantled.
The decisions in Ellis and Buntin and the threat by Paducah blacks to go back to court to seek an appropriate remedy presented the Democrats in the legislature with three alternatives: equalize, integrate, or close the schools. Although some Democrats and all but one Republican favored a simple bill equalizing the funds per child and raising the school property tax rate sufficiently to prevent a decline in the current level of white expenditures, many Democratic members still opposed any white support for black schools. To prevent a serious Democratic split, House Speaker William C. Owens and his chief lieutenant Clarence U. McElroy proposed a clever compromise. Their bill equalized the funds and raised taxes, but would go into effect only if a majority of the voters approved at the August election. So-called "young Democrats" could therefore appeal to blacks and nonracist whites by pointing to their votes for equalization; "Bourbons" could satisfy themselves that the voters would disapprove the measure; all could shift the burden of raising taxes to their constituents; and if the measure failed and closure, integration, or chaos followed, then it would be the voters, and not the legislators, who would be to blame.

On April 21, the House considered the McElroy-Owens bill and several amendments. It defeated by 33-51 and 37-48 margins amendments by Breathitt and Democrat James H. Mulligan, who sought to equalize the funds without a referendum and raise the white tax rate by 3 mills and 2 mills, respectively. Then the body voted 48-30 against a compromise by Democratic Representative A. W. Moremen which would have integrated the funds at once, but allowed a referendum on a 2.5-mill tax hike. Finally, the House passed the leadership's measure unamended, 64-18. The Senate on April 22 voted down an amendment providing for a 2-mill increase and immediate equalization by a 16-12 count, and then passed the House bill, 26-2.
"I, Dennis Seal an old resident of Lexington Kent, sound in mind but much afflicted in body, do make and publish this my last will hereby revoking a previous testamentary document now in the custody of James A. Grinstead of Lexington.

First-I desire all my just debts to be as promptly paid as possible without unnecessary sacrifice of my property and for that purpose, believing that my creditors will approve the move and cheerfully await the accomplishment of its end. I direct that Sawney Lewis, a free man of color to whom I owe five hundred dollars ($500) have the rent of my Stable and Grocery house on Water Street payable quarterly until his debt, principal and interest shall have been paid thereby, and I hereby request the tenants of said Houses to pay the rent aforesaid to sd. Lewis from the time of my death until the extinguishment of his Sd. debt. And, being also indebted Severally to Jordan Johnson and Adam Stapp, I direct that the rents on all the residue of my real estate in Lexington be paid to them until their respective debts shall be fully satisfied, and request my Executors to rent out the Sd. property for that purpose and appropriate the proceeds to the payment of Sd. debts, and when these debts shall be fully paid the authority hereby given to my Exors. to rent shall cease, excepting only so far as the legacy of my daughter Dianna my require an extension.

Secondly I devise to my Son David Seal my said Stable and Grocery houses and the ground thereto attached Subject to the charge of the Sd. Lewis debt thereon. And if my Sd. Son Shall die without issue living at his death I devise the Sd. appmttenant(?) ground to all my other children who shall Survive him and to the heirs of any of them who may be dead at the time of his death the Survivors to take equal portions and the heirs of the dead to take per stirpes.

Thirdly-I devise to my Son Daniel Seal, Subject to the charge of the Sd. debts of Jordan Johnson and Adam Stapp my log house and lot on Hill Street Lexington adjoining the residence of Mrs. Harrison on the West. And I devise to him also, subject to the same charge, my brick house and lot on Mulberry Street South. Fourthly I devise to my daughter Mary Ann Perry for life and to her children after her death my Brick house and lot on Hill Street Lexington and adjoining the Sd. Mrs. Harrison on the East. Fifthly, I give to my Son Enoch for one year the use of my lot adjoining Winslow's lot for keeping my colts, and after the expiration of the year Sd. lot is to be rented to help pay the Sd. Debts of Jordan Johnson and Adam Stapp, and after the debts are paid, I direct my Exors. to sell and empower them to convey to the purchaser Sd. lot and distribute the proceeds among my children Mary Ann Daniel and Enoch in equal portions. Sixthly I devise to my son Enoch my log house and lot on Mulberry South once Orange Mirur's property.

Seventhly I bequeath to my daughter Dianna Alexander twelve hundred dollars to paid by my Executors out of the proceeds of the Sale of my personal estate and lot aforesaid. All of which I direct them to sell. And if these proceeds Shall not be Sufficient for paying Sd. legacy, I direct Sd. Exrs. to make the deficit out of the rents of all my real estate which on that contingency I direct them to rent after the charge already herein before made on it shall have been discharged.
WILL OF DENNIS SEAL (Mar 1863)
Reel M-127, University of Kentucky, Special Collections

Lastly— I nominate my Son in law George Perry and my Son Enoch and my friend
George Tandy, all free colored men, the Executors of the foregoing testa-
mentary dispositions of my Estate, and I direct my Exrs. in like manner
to pay Sarah Pierce $100—in such manner as not to be subjected to her debts.
In testimony whereof I have Subscribed my name in the presence of George
Robertson and David Bell the attesting witnesses thereto this Sixth of
February 1863. The interlineations were made before signing. Dennis Seal
Attest. G. Robertson
David Bell
Fayette County Sct.
March Court, 1863

At a County Court held for the County aforesaid on the 18th day of March,
1863, the foregoing writing purporting to be the last Will and Testament
of Dennis Seal, decd. was produced in open court for probate and proven by
the oaths of Judge Robertson & D. Bell, the Subscribing witnesses thereto,
and ordered to be recorded as the true, last will and testament of Said
decedent. Whereupon the same hath been truly recorded in my office.

DESCRIPTION OF SALE OF BLACKS FEB 1860, LEX AREA
William Pratt, Diary, II, MSS, Feb 13, 1860 entry, MSS Div, Sp Col.

Feb. 13. County Court day. Old Aunt Nancy Lee that waited on my wife, was
in great distress because two of her grand daughters were to be sold at the
Court House by decree of Court to satisfy the creditors of old Mr.
Hemmingway who was broke. It appears that Tany Lee the father of these
children bought their freedom when they were young. That since his death the
papers was got from the mother under false pretences & now they have
nothing to show. The girls are 17 & 19 years old., handsome & active girls.
The old Lady was very anxious to day The oldest, Letty, had obtain
subscription some $200 in promises, & Lovy (?) in property, & a
good deal. She thought she might buy her freedom. No one appearing willing
to bid for her My sympathies were so I consented to do so
& told her for her. Friends of Old Lady had seen high buyers &
persisted a number of them not to bid. I started the bid at $800. Some
one bid higher & I went on till I reached $1000. I then stated the facts
to the crowd, the reason I was bidding. I did not want to defraud
creditors, but wished to give a fair price & let the old woman
& if there was any sympathy to not press the matter — I went on until
I reached the upper limit of the old Lady $1500. I told there
were some in a crowd & that it was no use for me to continue
buying. I stepped back & Mr. Ward, for R of stepped forward
thenbid up to over $1700. Northcut & Marshall got her, & Marshall who
had belonged to Athens Church took her to his jail. If God's curse dont
rest on that concern then I am no prophet. The other was bid off by a
man near Covington for over $1600. Such scenes are shocking to our
moral nature. I feel in away such a people. Negro traders are the
greatest curse of our & I do wish the city Council would impose such a
Old Aunt Nancy Lee (Colored), who waited on my wife when Ryland was born Feb. 5 came to me in great distress because two of her granddaughters were to be sold at the Court House by decree of the Court to satisfy the creditors of Mr. [name] who was broke. It happened that Tony Lee, the father of these two children, had bought their freedom when they were young; that since his death the papers were gotten from the mother under pretenses, and now they have nothing to show for it. The girls are seventeen and nineteen years, handsome and active girls. The old woman was very anxious to buy the oldest girl, letty, and had obtained in subscriptions some $200 in promises. Having some property, and making a good deal, she thought she might buy letty's freedom. No one appearing who was willing to bid for her, my sympathies were aroused I consented to bid and to hold letty for her. Friends of the old woman had seen Negro buyers and had persuaded some of them not to bid.

I started the bid at $500. Some one bid higher and I went until I reached $1,000. I then stated the facts to the crowd as to why I was bidding. Through the importance of the old woman I bid on until I reached $1,500. I said there was no use for me to bid longer as there were none in the crowd who seemed determined to bid her off. I stopped back; then Mr. Wood, Keeper of the Penitentiary ran her up to $1,700. The other girl was bid off by a man from Covington for $1,600.

BRIEF HIST OF EFFORT TO INTERVIEW OLD SLAVES, 1920s-1930s

By the 1920's the number of former slaves was dwindling rapidly, and several scholars became convinced that a systematic effort should be made to preserve their memories of a vanished era and a discarded institution. Increased interest in black culture, inspired by such scholars as Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. DuBois, contributed to the growing interest in preserving such information. Fisk and Southern universities both attempted interview projects in 1929, but they were handicapped by insufficient funds, and little was accomplished.

In 1934 Lawrence D. Reddick, then a faculty member at Kentucky State College, proposed the establishment of a comprehensive federal project to collect the information. The project could be staffed, he suggested, by unemployed graduates of Negro colleges as a part of the federal work relief program. His project was not successful, but the idea was soon adopted for a program conducted under the auspices of the Federal Writers' Project, a part of the Works Progress Administration.

The preliminary interviewing of ex-slaves under this program began in Georgia in 1936; formal instructions were issued on April 1, 1937. Before the termination of the project in the spring of 1939 some 2,000 personal interviews were collected in seventeen states. Arkansas, South Carolina and Texas supplied 1,259 of that number; Arkansas alone represented close to one-third of the total interviews. The interviews, which varied greatly in length and value, ran to over 10,000 typed
Slavery in Kentucky did not occupy the position of importance which it possessed in the cotton states of the Lower South. The Commonwealth's percentage of slaves had declined from 24.73% in 1830 to 19.5% in 1860, and the rate of slave increase for the decade 1850-1860 was only 6.9%, the lowest for any decade since statehood. The average white Kentuckian in 1860 did not own a slave, and the average slaveholder owned fewer than ten. Kentucky's foremost authority on the peculiar institution concludes that slavery existed within the Commonwealth in its mildest form, "better than in any other slave state, with the possible exception of Maryland or Virginia." The threat of being "sold down the river" helped secure the obedience of many Kentucky slaves.

Since Kentucky officially remained in the Union, President Lincoln's famed Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to his native state. Nor did Kentuckians see fit to abolish slavery by state action as did some sister states. Slavery was not ended in Kentucky until December 18, 1865 when the Thirteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution.
While strolling about the town, and admiring the neatness of the houses, I fell into conversation with a colored man, who proved to be a minister of the Baptist persuasion, a native of Virginia, in which State he had obtained his freedom, and had subsequently settled at this place; respected both by whites and blacks. One of the former, however, acted by some malicious or malevolent motive, had endeavored to enforce the law, which prohibits free blacks from other States from settling in Kentucky. Much to the credit of the Lexington people, a petition, in behalf of the colored preacher, signed by many of the most respectable whites in the town, was sent to the legislature; and an express enactment was passed by them, empowering him to remain, and to enjoy all the privileges of a white man, except the elective franchise. He has had a church here since 1822, the only place of worship in the State, supported and managed by Afro-Americans, and served by one of their own race. There are about 500 of them, who are free, in Lexington,—a large proportion, out of a population amounting, in 1830, to 6026. They had just established a school for their children; of whom there were thirty-two under instruction. They were under the care of a white man, from the State of Tennessee, who has devoted what little remains of life, (for he is now an old man,) to the improvement of those whom the pride of his countrymen has abandoned to neglect and opprobrium. He is, perhaps, the only white man in the town, if not in the State, who is willing, not only to give his time and toil for the slight remuneration that the objects of his kindness can afford, but to treat them as brethren, and as men possessing the same rights, and entitled to the same respect, as himself. He told me the people of Tennessee were much more kind to their slaves than the Kentuckians,—while the latter are superior, in this respect, to the Virginians. Had he been a Kentuckian, he would, perhaps, have reversed the order of their demerits. I sat for some time talking with him and the preacher, while the wife of the person with whom he lodged, a well-dressed, pleasing woman, was attending to a sick boy. The sitting-room was well furnished, and might have vied with our nearest cottages in cleanliness and comfort. I had been struck with the decent and even elegant appearance of the place as I passed, and longed to become acquainted with its sable inmates, before I fell in with their associate. The free men meet with a certain degree of respect, if they conduct themselves well, and though not so secure against insult as they would be in Europe, are far better treated at Lexington, than they would be at Philadelphia or New York. I believe it will be found that, with some exceptions, the slaves in the South have less reason to complain in the cities and towns, than in the country districts; while the reverse is the case with the free blacks in the North. The hiring and the breeding system prevail in this part of Kentucky; but the latter is rather auxiliary to the former, than the consequence and cause of exportation; the home demand being nearly adequate to the supply. The small farmers, as in Virginia, are gradually leaving the State, while pasturage is extending its limits. The surplus labor is chiefly absorbed by the rope and bagging factories, which employ a vast number of slaves. It is generally as a punishment for crime, or idleness, that transportation to the South is resorted to:—another proof of those horrors and hardships, the "bare imagination" of which often leads to the sacrifice of the traders by the hands of the "drovers." Both the species of traffic, however, and the condition of its victim, will be affected by a change of circumstances; and an exhausted soil, or a reduction of profits, will place the humanity of the Kentucky master in painful collision with his interest.
1798 KY LAW ALLOWING EMANCIPATION OF A SLAVE

In Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, Maryland, and Arkansas, greater facility is afforded to emancipation. The first-named of these states enacted in 1798 the following law, which continues still in force:

"It shall be lawful for any person, by his or her last will and testament, or by any other instrument in writing, under his or her hand and seal, attested and proved in the county court by two witnesses or acknowledged by the party in the court of the county where he or she resides, to emancipate or set free, his or her slave or slaves, who shall thereupon be entirely and fully discharged from the performance of any contract entered into during their servitude, and enjoy their full freedom as if they had been born free. And the said court shall have full power to demand bond and sufficient security of the emancipator, his or her executors, &c. for the maintenance of any slave or

SLAVES THAT MAY BE AGED OR INFIRM EITHER OF BODY OR MIND, TO PREVENT

HIM, HER OR THEM BECOMING CHARGEABLE TO THE COUNTY; AND EVERY SLAVE

SO EMANCIPATED SHALL HAVE A CERTIFICATE OF HIS FREEDOM FROM THE CLERK

OF SUCH COURT ON PARCHMENT, WITH THE COUNTY SEAL AFFIXED THEORETICALLY, &c.,


And in 1800, in consequence of a humane law particularly noticed in a previous page of this sketch, by which slaves were constituted real estate, and therefore, so far as concerns the law of descent, not subject to disposition by the will of a minor or by a deed executed by him, an act was passed to remove this impediment, declaring "That any person of the age of eighteen years, being possessed of or having a right to any slave or slaves, may, by his last will and testament or by an instrument in writing, emancipate such slave or slaves." Ibid. 1241.

LIFE OF HENRY FITZBUTLER, LOU NAT MED COLLEGE

WM M COBB, "HENRY FITZBUTLER," JOU OF THE NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSN, 44

SEPT 1952

Dr. Henry Fitzbutter whose cover portrait on this issue of the Journal was drawn by our staff artist, Mrs. Naida Willette Page, was the founder and dean of the Louisville National Medical College, Louisville, Kentucky, from its establishment in 1888 to the time of his death on December 23, 1901. The school survived until 1912 and had 75 graduates in its 24 years.

Dr. Fitzbutter was born December 22, 1842, in Ontario, Canada. He was christened William Henry, but dropped the first name as being too common. He finished the district school and to finance his further education was farm hand, taught school and worked as a lumberman or surveyor as occasion demanded. He took contracts to cut roads through forests from one Canadian village to another near Amherstburg, Ontario. In 1866, he married Sarah HelenMcCurdy, whose courage was a steadfast help in all his future work.

He went to Detroit and enrolled as the first Negro student in the Detroit Medical College in 1869. Later transferring to the University of Michigan, he became in 1872 the first Negro medical graduate of this institution.

In the same year he moved to Louisville, Ky., and entered the practice of medicine. He was the first Negro to enter the profession in the State of Kentucky. A contemporary pamphlet describes the conditions which this colored "Damyankee" from Canada met in Louisville. These conditions will be readily understood by present day readers.

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, and but few colored people sought business or notable positions without consulting these 'intermediators.'

Dr. Fitzbutter was recognized by the medical profession in Louisville, and commended as being scientific and proficient in medicine and surgery; but having neglected to consult the colored 'intermediators,' they prophesied a short stay for him, and went to work to fulfill the words of their divination. However, as Providence and progress would have it, eight years have elapsed, and this independent business man and philanthropist is still here, and with many admirers is beholding the dying prejudices that would bar the progress of colored citizenship.

A state convention to consider the educational interests of the colored people of Kentucky was called in about February 1873. Most of the old citizens seemed to fear extermination if found participating in such a radical venture and therefore none aspired to the chairmanship of such a potentially dangerous convocation. Upon special request and to meet the unpopular emergency, Dr. Fitzbutter accepted and filled the position fearlessly in the Louisville circuit court room.
On September 20, 1879, Dr. Fitzbutler published the first issue of the Ohio Falls Express which became the first successful newspaper under Negro management in Kentucky. All previous efforts having failed, The Express was, as would be expected, of Republican inclination but did not depend upon political patronage for existence in any sense.

The following editorial from The Express on river pollution is of interest. In appraising its scientific validity it is to be remembered that in that day the urban and industrial sources of modern pollution which constitute such a serious nation-wide problem today did not exist.

The speculation concerning the danger of inhibiting 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 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.

The Express held at times a stormy existence. One, Henry Waterson, of the leading city newspaper, the Louisville Courier Journal, was the reputed boss of the town and much feared by the Negro community. Dr. Fitzbutler wrote a series of editorials on "Marse Henry" seeking to emancipate it from this domination. He told the Negroes that they did not need to jump every time "Marse Henry" cracked his whip. So effective were these philippics that Mr. Waterson sued Dr. Fitzbutler and the Express for libel and damages of $5000, a huge sum in those days. The suit was dismissed on the ground of Dr. Fitzbutler's defense that he had referred in his writings only to "Marse Henry" and not to Mr. Henry Waterson. If Mr. Waterson chose to identify himself with "Marse Henry" that was no affair of Fitzbutler's.

A story which may serve to illustrate the nature of some of Dr. Fitzbutler's early trials and triumphs is related by his daughter, Dr. Mary Fitzbutler Waring.

In 1877, a French family named Frivall lived next door to the Fitzbutlers at 1113 West Madison Street in a two-story brick house. There were nine children in the family, ranging in age from two to twenty years. One day the clothes of the third child, Lilian, about sixteen years old, caught fire while she was cooking. Engulfed in a mass of flame and tearing flesh from her hands and body in frenzy, she rushed outside. In the ensuing neighborhood excitement, everyone sent for his or her doctor. In a short time about eight were on the scene. Dr. Fitzbutler was the fourth to arrive and the only one equipped for action. He had brought a large quantity of linseed oil and lime water and a roll of cotton. While the white physicians were debating what course would be best to follow and discussing moving the patient to a hospital, Dr. Fitzbutler went to work. Turning to the assembled doctors he asked, "Will one of you assist here?" The reply was, "We won't work with a Negro." Dr. Fitzbutler steadfastly continued the necessary removal of the child's clothing and tedious work of debridement, and applied soothing dressings. When the patient had at last become calm, the white doctors demanded that Mr. Frivall dismiss the Negro doctor, one of their number saying, "I'll serve you." The father, now irate, replied, "Do you know of anything better?—What do you do?—You stand, you talk, my child dying.—Now hear what you say. Go! Clear out of my house. Dr. Fitzbutler, God bless you, we do what you say."

This patient recovered although about five-eighths of the body surface had been burned, much of it in third degree, and bone had been exposed in places. There was no resulting deformity. Dr. Fitzbutler served as family physician to the Frivals until death when his wife, Dr. Sarah Fitzbutler took his place.
Because race prejudice barred Dr. Fitzbutler from practice in any of the Louisville hospitals and from permission to attend any of the lectures in the medical schools, he early developed an ambition to establish a medical school which would be open to all students, colored as well as white. At its session of 1888 the legislature of Kentucky granted a charter to Dr. H. Fitzbutler, Dr. W. A. Burney and Dr. R. Conrad to conduct in Kentucky the Louisville National Medical College. The charter was signed by the governor, April 22, 1888. Seven years later in 1895 he started a hospital in connection with the school which he maintained chiefly from his private purse. The school gave nursing and pharmaceutical as well as medical training. The famous Flexner report, based on a survey after Dr. Fitzbutler's death, cites a small and scrupulously clean hospital of eight beds connected with the school.

The School published an annual catalogue of which one number, the Seventh Annual Announcement for 1894-95 was available for examination on microfilm in the Moorland Collection of the Founders Library of Howard University.

This catalogue lists Dr. H. Fitzbutler as dean and Dr. W. A. Burney as treasurer. The faculty of twelve was composed of eleven physicians and one jurist, as follows: H. FITZBUTLER, M.D., principles of surgery and materia medica; W. A. BURN, M.D., practice of medicine and obstetrics; RICHARD HARPER, M.D., anatomy, physiology and dermatopathia; W. T. PAYTON, M.D., pathology and ecountica; W. R. ARTHUR, M.D., diseases of children and clinical surgery; W. O. VANCE, M.D., chemistry and toxicology; B. F. PORTER, M.D., etiology and hygiene; S. B. WALLACE, M.D., bacteriology; J. M. ABHY, M.D., gynecology and chemical assistant; FELIX G. FOWLER, M.D., demonstrator of anatomy; C. M. WADE, M.D., dental surgery and histology; HON. JAMES R. W. SMITH, medical jurisprudence.

The brave little school acquired official recognition, beyond its charter, in its native Kentucky. The catalogue cited states that

The Legislature of Kentucky, in 1893, appointed a Board of Health with power to investigate and determine upon the regularity and facilities of all medical colleges in Kentucky, making it the duty of said Board of Health to grant certificates to all graduates of medical colleges, in the State, from regularly conducted institutions teaching medicine and surgery; likewise to prosecute all persons practicing medicine in Kentucky whose medical diplomas were not granted by reputable medical colleges; and that each and every one of the graduates of the LOUISVILLE NATIONAL MEDICAL COLLEGE received a regular certificate from the State Board of Health of Kentucky, and at a regular meeting of the State Board of Health of Kentucky, held April 1891, the LOUISVILLE NATIONAL MEDICAL COLLEGE was endorsed and declared to be a regular legal medical college, commended to Kentucky and to the world.

The admission requirements included a certificate of good moral character, proficiency demonstrated by examination in reading, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, and natural philosophy. Latin and German were recommended as desirable.

The fees for a regular term totalled $67.00 pro-rated: matriculation, $4.00; professional lectures, $25.00; chemical laboratory, $9.00; practical anatomy, $9.00; final examination (and diploma) $20.00. The following curious statement is recorded concerning scholarships:

To bring education within the reach of many worthy persons, where financial facilities might otherwise bar them, scholarships can be purchased, previous to the opening of the term, for twenty dollars, and persons holding scholarships are not required to pay matriculation fees.

Orthography were explained and introductory lectures to the general course of instruction were given.

The regular course lasted three years, but beginning with October, 1895, it was specified that a preliminary course of one year with a preceptor would be required, making four years in all.

The School had a Board of Censors, whose functions and powers are not recorded. It contained some well known names on its roster, which is here furnished:


It appears that very soon after Dr. Fitzbutler came to Louisville, in 1872, he began to take apprentice medical students, in addition to his medical practice and manifold activities in what yesterday would have been called the "uplift" area, but today would be called the civil rights front. In about 1882, W. O. VANCE began the study of medicine in New Allany, Indiana, under the
The preceptorship of Dr. W. A. Burney. In the next year Richard Harper, who had taken some work at Meharry Medical College, came to Louisville and became apprenticed to Dr. Rufus Conrad. This group formed a nucleus for interest in medical education among colored men in the cities of the Ohio Falls.

As early as 1886, the preceptors who were instructing Negro students had an act drafted for establishment of a medical school which would not discriminate on account of color. The act was not passed until 1888, but the preceptors continued their instruction so that when the charter was issued a senior class was approaching graduation.

The first session of 1888-89 was conducted in the United Brothers’ Hall at the corner of Ninth and Magazine Sts. The first class had six graduates, none of whom had studied medicine less than four years, and all of whom had received instruction in other medical colleges, as well as their preceptorial courses. There is nothing to show whether or not any of these students had been dropped from other medical colleges. The first Commencement Exercises were held in 1889, in the Center Street Methodist Church, then said to have been one of the oldest and largest Methodist churches in the country. This was the first occasion on which a medical degree was conferred on a colored man in the state of Kentucky.

By the opening of the second session, 1889-90, the School had secured its own building at 114 West Green Street, purchased by the trustees (Fitzbutler, Conrad and Burney) from the representatives of the previous occupant, the Louisville School of Pharmacy, for which the structure had been built.

Interestingly, there were no regular graduates this year, 1890, as one candidate had passed the examinations but had not studied three years and had to wait a year. Degrees were conferred, however, on two aged practitioners who had been twice as long in the practice of medicine as the State law required of a physician for lawful registration. This situation derived from the dual mode of entry into the profession then possible, namely, through a medical school and/or through a preceptorship.

The names of the graduates of the several classes of the School to 1894 and the roster of registered students at that time is furnished because experience has shown that in so obscure a field as Negro pioneering efforts in medicine, it is of value to place on easily available record all possible facts whenever opportunity presents.
Fitzbutler, Jr., received the M.D. from Northwestern in 1908 and from 1909 to 1923 served as a bacteriologist and general practitioner in the Philippine Islands. His daughter, Dr. Mary Fitzbutler Waring, now of Chicago, after teaching school in Chicago for a number of years, reentered the practice of medicine after taking a second degree from the Chicago Medical College in 1923.

The facts of record make indubitably clear that as fighting practitioner, editor, educator and humanitarian, Henry Fitzbutler was a pioneer whose contributions deserve to be well marked in the annals of American medical history.

It is worth observing that the justly famed Flexner report, by the technique of significant omission, did nothing to bring the real plight of the Negro in medical education to the attention of the American people. The effective ways in which this has been done in recent years, however, have resulted in the dropping of the racial bar in the Medical School of the University of Louisville in 1951. Dr. Fitzbutler wrought well and he may rest in peace.

W. M. C.

The Editor is deeply grateful to Dr. Mary Fitzbutler Waring of Chicago and to Mrs. Dorothy B. Porter, curator of the Moultrie Collection of Howard University for original documents and information used in the preparation of this sketch.

THE SLAVERY "MYTH" IN KY

S a channing, Kentucky, 1977

Slavery in Kentucky has, in addition, traditionally been glossed over with a gauzy romanticism of the “happy darkies” and “kindly massa” school. From the outset, it was fashionable to argue that bondage rested lightly upon the shoulders of Kentucky Negroes. It followed that the masters were more refined and paternalistic than even those of Virginia itself. That mystique served to protect the institution against its critics in both the pioneer and antebellum periods. In fact, while the physical burdens of slavery were less harsh on the smaller plantations and farms here than was true in the Lower South (“down the River”), the notion of Kentucky as a sort of playground for slaves had always been oversold. That was especially true during the first decades of settlement, when frontier realities and the keen ambition of rising young squires often made conditions of life and work and the severity of punishment very hard. In any event, whether harsh or not, slavery was undeniably a crucial ingredient in the process of economic, geographic, and social-class sorting out that occurred in these years. As it provided economic advantage to the few, it offered white supremacy and race control to the masses.
property and position, a disproportionate influence in their states was essential. That had not been difficult in the tight little world of colonial Virginia. The real challenge came when those values and social arrangements were subjected to the strain of westward expansion and a rising adulation for democratic reform. As the first western slave state, Kentucky experienced the tug between free labor and slave, between popular and plutocratic rule long before those stresses preoccupied statesmen to the south. And except for the occasional protests of a few critics, wealth easily triumphed in Kentucky, as everywhere else. Land disputes created a buzz, but engrossment of the best soils proved irresistible. And why worry? There always seemed so much more available.

The slavery question was likewise resolved in favor of the gentry minority. Of course, Kentucky was never a land truly dominated by plantation slavery. But neither was it the promised haven for poor men. Slaves had accompanied whites from the beginning of the settlement, and the black population had grown very rapidly after the Revolution. From bearing supplies and leading wagons, hundreds and then thousands of Negro bondsmen had graduated to clearing fields, planting and harvesting, and helping to construct homes for their masters and themselves. As early as the first federal census in 1790, there were 12,430 Kentucky slaves. Within ten years, that number had increased 230 percent, representing a fifth of the total population. The number of blacks in the state continued to grow, chiefly by importation, at a greater rate than the whites until the 1830s, making up nearly a quarter of the total population. The law of blacks in the state continued to grow, chiefly by importation, at a greater rate than the whites until the 1830s, making up nearly a quarter of the total population throughout most of the period prior to the Civil War. Moreover, black people tended to be concentrated in the distinctive regions of more fertile soil, most noticeably in the Bluegrass. In 1833, however, a law was enacted forbidding further importations, and that, combined with various economic factors, initiated a slowing of the slave population growth rate.

In the early years, there was virtually no resistance to the idea that the richest soils of the promised land would be watered with the sweat of black slave labor. The Virginians in particular were coming in, and it seemed unexceptional that they were bringing their Negro people with them. Some vigorous objections would be raised about the whole business from time to time, but as far as most settlers were concerned, it could best be described as an unthinking decision. Slavery in Kentucky has, in addition, traditionally been glossed over with a gauzy romanticism of the "happy darkies" and "kindly massa" school. From the outset, it was fashionable to argue that bondage rested lightly upon the shoulders of Kentucky Negroes. It followed that the masters were more refined and paternalistic than even those of Virginia itself. That mystique served to protect the institution against its critics in both the pioneer and antebellum periods. In fact, while the physical burdens of slavery were less harsh on the smaller plantations and farms here than was true in the Lower South ("down the River"), the notion of Kentucky as a sort of playground for slaves had always been oversold. That was especially true during the first decades of settlement, when frontier realities and the keen ambition of rising young squires often made conditions of life and work and the severity of punishment very hard. In any event, whether harsh or not, slavery was undeniably a crucial ingredient in the process of economic, geographic, and social-class sorting out that occurred in these years. As it provided economic advantage to the few, it offered white supremacy and race control to the masses.

With much land and enough slaves, the foundation existed for a new form of deferential democracy. Like their future cousins in the cotton and sugar regions of the South, the rising Kentucky gentry sought less to lord it over the less fortunate than to expropriate the richest soils and preserve the right of slaveholding. Right domination was undesirable and, indeed, impossible in the coming age of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, but local and state politics could still be manipulated, in the Virginia manner. Meanwhile, the whole would soon come to be coated with a bright cultural garment that made it all seem natural and inevitable. In a remarkably brief time, rude log cabins were replaced by more impressive brick homes. The lovely Jessamine Creek mansion Chauviere du Prairie, built by David Meade in 1796, was an imposing signpost on the road to benevolent plutocracy. Outside the slaveholding region, there was insufficient wealth to support a "broadcloth and crinoline aristocracy devoted to philosophy and the arts, horse-racing, and
The evidence speaks otherwise; for, while Kentucky had no system of vast plantations, and most of its owners held few slaves, the state's agricultural economy was undeniably dominated by farmers who were slaveholders. Not in numbers—Kentucky's slaveowning families made up only a quarter of the total population; the small, independent yeoman farmer was indeed king, and for years his numbers had been growing more rapidly than that of any other group. But ask how wealth was distributed, and the balance is jolted. The Federal Census of 1860 answers that key question: the average value of Kentucky slaveholders' farms was $8,387, that of nonslaveholders $1,452. In fact, the cash value of slave farms represented more than 70 percent of the total value of all Kentucky farms in 1860, and none of those figures includes the value of the slaves themselves.

The census suggests the answer to such a discrepancy. Farms employing slave labor were more productive, earning substantially more income for their owners. The statistics are startling. Slave farms produced approximately two-thirds of the state's wheat and livestock, more than half of the corn and tobacco, and 95 percent of the hemp sold by Kentuckians in 1860. The explanation is simple: slaveholders' farms were larger and were generally located on better soil. Actually, nearly 60 percent of the cleared, arable land in Kentucky was farmed by slave labor or slaves working alongside whites. Taking statistical comparison one step further, the state's owners of ten or more slaves represented but 2 percent of the rural population; yet, they owned a majority of all slaves, possessed more improved acreage, and produced more of the farm products sold in 1860 than did all the small, nonslaveholding farmers put together. Clearly, if slavery was unprofitable in Kentucky, all agriculture was unprofitable.
Slaves had also occupied a position of unique importance in the state's urban and industrial life. Factories processing hemp, cotton, and wool, which had flourished in Lexington for a time, were largely manned by slaves rented or purchased for those jobs. Though such occupations had declined over the years, those that continued to exist often fell by default to an unusual number of skilled blacks, because whites exhibited a decided preference for the agricultural life. It was, disproportionately, black people who labored on the docks and wagons of Louisville, and it was they who built many of the state's streets, bridges, and canals, and waited on tables in private homes and hotels. The arrival of increasing numbers of European immigrants in the last two decades before the war created competition and tension, and with many rural Kentuckians entrapped by land problems into becoming tenants or day laborers, slavery was under rising pressures on the farm as well as in the city. But so long as "the rich hold labor in contempt, and frequently make the possession of slaves a criterion of merit," as an early writer observed, the institution clung to a peculiar strength in the commonwealth. 15 Slavery, then, was no mere domestic convenience, for ownership was both widespread and a source of economic advantage.

Kentucky's slaves generally lived on farms that were comparatively modest; but while that offered certain benefits, it also meant that white surveillance and supervision—the master's presence—was unremitting. In a way, the field hands on a plantation in the Deep South at least had each other's company in greater numbers and perhaps were better able to work out a sense of separate black cultural life and identity. Even putting that aside, however, the reason for escape too often was no mystery at all. "To be compelled to stand by and see you whip and lash my wife without mercy when I could afford her no protection ... was more than I felt it to be the duty of a slave husband to endure while the way was open to Canada." So wrote famed runaway Henry Bibb to his former Trimble County owner. "My infant child was also frequently flogged ... until its skin was bruised and literally purple. This kind of treatment was what drove me from home and family to seek a better home for them." 19
No matter how cheerful and compliant the slave, the fact was that the fear of the auction block was ever-present. White Kentuckians contributed fully in that, perhaps the most corrupt and corrupting aspect of the whole situation. The entire business was replete with hypocrisy and deliberate fraud. The idea that the trade involved few in number, that selling was never done for mere personal profit but for other compelling reasons, that no "good" Kentucky master would ever sell his people, that black families were commonly sold as units and rarely broken up—those dishonesties and more were built up as integral strands in the fabric of self-deception woven by antebellum whites and perpetuated thereafter.

Kentucky's black population had always been in a condition of dynamic change. By the 1830s, the earlier rapid rate of increase had slowed considerably. The fact that the best lands were largely taken, combined with the economic troubles of the Relief years and the dramatic expansion of the plantation system westward into Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas induced many Kentucky families to move with their property to new homesteads on those more fertile cotton lands. Yet here and there were ominous signs of the slavery to come. Coffles or caravans of slaves in irons could be seen being marched through Lexington or transported on river flatboats bound southward even before 1820. Ten years later, it was apparent that significant numbers of Negroes were being sold to buyers in the lower South. In 1833, responding to antislavery agitation, the Kentucky legislature adopted a law forbidding the importation of slaves destined for sale out of state. Clearly, slaves were being brought into the Kentucky "clearinghouse," probably down the Ohio River from eastern states, to be sold in one of the growing Bluegrass slave markets. Of course, native black men and women were unprotected by the legislation. Every slave was vulnerable to sale from a variety of domestic, interstate causes. An owner might die intestate, leaving his property to be sold at auction by the county sheriff. Incorrigible troublemakers were commonly sold off. Farmers were inveterate trad-
ers, always looking for a sharp deal on a piece of land, a cow—or a slave. Priding themselves on having a higher sense of paternalism than most, many Kentuckians made it clear that they would resist separation of slave husbands from wives, children from mothers; but the threat of bankruptcy could easily make a mockery of such noble resolutions, no matter how sincere.

Such local dangers made the risk of sale enough of a worry for Kentucky blacks. An additional and far more sinister threat, however, lay in the renewed push to maximize cotton production in the lower South in the last two decades before secession. In addition to supplying other staple crops, the South provided most of the world’s raw cotton, and production soared in response to the unusually high prices and demand of the 1840s and 1850s. With the foreign slave trade closed to them, planters had to obtain the laborers needed from within the slave states. As a result, during the single peak decade of the 1850s, more than 43,000 slaves were exported from Kentucky alone, representing nearly 16 percent of her entire slave population. Of course, many of these were predominantly younger men and women, who migrated as part of whole families, white and black, vacating less profitable soils for the deep and loamy plains of a new western estate. But the majority went by way of the auction block, to be degraded—grey hair darkened with boot-black, illness disguised as health, voyeurism gratified—and publicly sold at such market places as Cheapside, across the street from the county courthouse in Lexington.

Inward disgust and outward demonstration of it were but natural. The marvel is, when we come to ponder it all over, that such a degree of considerate acceptance obtained among the master race with regard to many things at odds with ancient custom and established social creeds.

These freedmen’s courts were absolutely essential, under the new dispensation of citizenship and the old code of State laws. But it required clear, solid judgment and the sternest sense of justice to run them fairly. General Fisk was equal to the emergency. He not only saw the courts promptly organized, but he saw them jealously maintained, and great numbers of causes adjudicated by them in a manner which gave satisfaction to all classes. But while these courts were firmly supported and their judgments and decrees enforced, he was using all his influence with the legislatures to induce them to enact laws giving to colored men the right to testify in all the courts; and he constantly assured legislative assemblies that the freedmen’s courts would be abolished as soon as such laws were made. He kept his promise faithfully. The civil rights of the ex-slave came into fair legal recognition sooner than our country had reasonable ground to expect.
NEGRO SCHOOL OPENED IN 1841

The first movement toward the establishment of schools for the training of Negro people was when the Adams School was opened on Woods Alley between Ninth and Tenth Streets, December 7, 1841. There were five pupils and one teacher who was the Rev. Henry Adams. However, in a course of time the school increased and there were four additional teachers added, Annie Lee, Mary Jones Richardson, James M. Priest and J. C. Corbin. In 1864 this school was transferred to the Fifth Street Baptist Church and continued in operation until the public schools were opened.

During this interval there were other private schools established in the city, one by W. H. Gibson, 1847, which was opened on Green Street, immediately west of Fourth, where there was a small building used as a church. Mr. Gibson was out of the city for several years, but returned in 1866 and opened a school in Quinn Chapel, which was then located on Walnut, between Eighth and Ninth. Afterward he located a school on Walnut Street, Between Ninth and Tenth.

There were other schools established after that, one by Henry Henderson in the Center Street Church and one by Aunt Sandy, the Rev. Mr. Brooks and Jessie Davis on Baptist Row, which is now a part of Madison Street. In 1869 the Rev. W. W. Taylor conducted what was known as an elecmosynary school at his home on the same square. This school was taught by Mary A. Johnson, Mrs. Barnett, Nellie Roberts and Miss Fisher. It was missionary in spirit and no tuition was charged. This same year the Ely Normal School was opened under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, under the direction of Professor Pope and a corps of white teachers, which was regarded as the high school.

As early as 1865 there was opened a school taught by Mr. D. A. Straker in what was known as the St. Mark's Church on Green Street near Ninth, which was subsequently removed to Madison Street between Ninth and Tenth and was taught by the Roxborough sisters. Belle Goins taught a private school in 1868 to 1869 on Center Street north of Walnut, and then at the rear of Dabney Page's home, Magazine Street west of Thirteenth. She had several students who afterward became teachers in the public schools.
Madison Campbell, autobiography, 1895

I was born in Madison County, Kentucky, ten miles south of Richmond; a slave of Edly Campbell's, September first, 1824.

I was born and reared between Silver Creek, and those mountains, two miles from Joe's Lick Knob, and about two miles from Silver Creek. I will leave further narration of my home, but will have an occasion to go back and say something more about it afterwards.

I propose now to give the origin of my parents as far as I can recollect, as I had no education when young, and not a chance to keep any written history of my parents. I give this as my own personal recollection and what I was told by my parents.

My old Master, Edly Campbell, bought my mother as a slave girl, about sixteen years old, from one John Reed; my mother's name was Lucy; my father whose name was Jackson, was a slave belonging to one Billy Ball, and was born and raised at Kingston, Madison County, Kentucky.

My father and mother married about the year 1821. I have often heard my father and mother talk about the old fashioned wedding they had in slave times. The white folks would let them have a big supper, then they would part and dance half the night for amusement.

My grandfather on my mother's side, was a slave owned by one Jockey Billy Barnett; his name was Aaron. I recollect him very well. He bought himself in slave time, and enjoyed two or three years of freedom before he died.

My grandmother, on my mother's side, was a slave of Jockey Billy Barnett. He was set free and enjoyed a few years of freedom before he died. My great grandfather on my mother's side was named Tobias. He was a slave of Jockey Billy Barnett. He was set free and enjoyed a few years of freedom before he died. My great grandmother on my mother's side belonged also to Jockey Billy Barnett. Her name was Matto. She was also set free with her husband. I remember of hearing her funeral preached. She died a

My grandfather on my father's side, was a slave of Billy Bows; his name was Daniel; I loved him as I did my father. He lived until after I was married. He died in the triumph of faith. I was at his burial, and shed many tears over his remains.

My grandmother on my father's side, was named Lydia. She was also a slave of Billy Bows. My great grandfather on my father's side was named Pompey, and was also a slave, belonging to Billy Bows, likewise my great grandmother, whose name was Jew. They were all brought into this state from Virginia.
Now I wish to say something about my earliest childhood. I was raised with my old master's white children, and I saw a better time than most slaves in that day. It is a great pleasure to me to look back and think of the pleasure that I enjoyed in my youthful days, although a slave.

I will say something about the growth of the timber on my old master's plantation.

The growth of some part of it was large; tall, white and red oak, some large poplar trees and walnut, hickory, persimmon, dogwood and cherry. There was also on the plantation three large sugar orchards in which I enjoyed a great deal of fun in sugar making time.

There were three white boys, Billy, Archer, and Davie, and six white girls, Polly, Peggy, Nancy, Elizabeth, Hannah and Rachel. All of these were older than I, except three of the girls. My sister Christina was next to me. My mother had nine children. I was the oldest.

When sugar making time would come all of these whom I have named, and my father also, as my old master had bought him to be with the family, would go out into the sugar orchard to open the camp. Some of the larger boys would be put to tapping trees, some to chopping wood. The smaller boys, of whom I was one, and some of the girls would carry sugar water, and the larger girls would boil down the sugar water. The younger children would have a fine time playing, as children do, and occasionally drink the sweet syrup. I often think of the Sundays in the spring of the year, in the months of May and June. Of the great pleasure we children would see, white and black, in going to the big wood's pasture to play, when the dogwood trees had bloomed with their white blossoms, and also the red bud, haw and many other trees were in bloom. We children would romp over the woods.

And play and listen to the hum of the bees, in the white blossoms in trees.

But now I come up to the years of nine and ten. I was now large enough to work, so I was put out into the corn field with my father and three white boys, and I soon must make a full hand to work upon the farm at all kinds of labor, and though put out to labor with other hands, I must think still of the fun I enjoyed in the corn field in my youthful days.

It was the custom in those days in the spring and summer, as soon as we got up in the morning, to go out into the corn field to work, and generally before sun rise. We would work until nine or ten o'clock when horns would blow for breakfast.

We would hear the horns blowing all around in the neighborhood for four and five miles distant.

As I look back through the long years that have passed and remember the scenes of my boyhood, I can almost imagine that I
So well was I attached to those white boys, and so strong their regard for me, that it was sometime before I fairly found out that I was a slave. My old master raised us all very much alike, and if we got into any mischief; if he whipped one he whipped all. The last whipping he gave me was between twelve and thirteen years old. I never had the blood cut out of me by whipping. My old master did not believe it was right to whip a grown man. I never saw much of the barbarity of slavery in my neighborhood. The most I ever seen by me was men and women sent from their families South. I never saw but one man whipped in my life. He and the overseer had fought and his master and the

Overseer hit him some three hundred lashes on his bare back.

Having a knowledge of all these things, I wished sometimes that I had never been born a slave, not knowing what would become of me when old master died. But when a youth, when David Campbell became large enough to send to school, and we were both born the same year, I thought it very hard that he could be admitted to school and I had to stay at home and work, but all this taught me that I was recognized as a slave, yet a strong desire was within me to learn to read, and so anxious was I to learn to read that my father bought me an old elementary spelling book, and as David felt more to me like a brother than my young master, he would give me lessons in my book at night.

I often split up pine knots to make a light by which to learn my lesson. When I had advanced far enough to spell "baker," I gave David fifty cents to learn me to read. My father had learned me to be a basket maker and also to bottom chairs. This is the way I made my little money.

When a boy about the age of seventeen I was very wild, a great dancer of reels and jigs, and would get out among the boys and swear. My parents and the white folks didn't allow us boys to swear in their presence.

One Billy Cornelison lived a neighbor to us, and my cousin, Charlie Elmore, had a wife at his house; they had a boy by the name of Henry. I was very fond of his company and visited his home more than any other in the neighborhood. I particularly liked the family, both white and colored.

Billy Cornelison was taken suddenly ill and only lived a few days. Two of our white girls had gone over to see him one evening; they came back just at dark, and my father and I were sitting in the kitchen. Old mistress asked the girls how he was; they said he was dead. I never had anything to strike me so forcibly in all my life, and a thought came to my mind whether

he was in heaven or in torment. Not knowing anything about church business, as I had not given such things any thought, I asked my father if Billy was in any church. He said, "yes he was in the Baptist Church," and that seemed to give me much consolation and I hoped that he was in heaven.

His death lingered on my mind so heavily all next day, that I began to think about trying to do better. Thoughts came into my mind that I was too young to begin to seek religion and that I had better wait until I was older, and take more of the pleasures of this life. But from that day to this I quit all of my wild ways and bad habits, but still I was not a Christian. I lived a moral sinner for about twelve months.

In the year 1841, I discovered that I was a sinner, and if I died in that condition I would be lost.

My old master did not belong to any church, but believed that Christ died for all men and all men would be saved. And then I began to think about the future happiness of those who died Christians.
But one day while plowing alone and studying about what would become of me if I died in the condition I was in, a thought came into my mind that I had better not depend upon old master's doctrine and that I had better seek the salvation of my soul, and from that I commenced praying.

The colored people had a big meeting appointed about nine miles from where I lived in the month of July, and I decided that I would go to that meeting the next Sunday, and that I would go up and be prayed for. I went to that meeting, and when the preacher called for mourners I did not go up to be prayed for, for somehow my heart failed me. But I was so affected about religion that the preacher discovered it and came to me, putting his hand upon my shoulder, begged me to come to the anxious seat.

This left such a deep impression upon my mind that I never stopped until I found Jesus, precious unto my soul, on the 10th day of September, 1841.

On the day of my conversion I came in from work to dinner; my mother got dinner ready and I sat down to the table, but I was in such deep trouble about my soul that I did not feel like eating anything. My mother looked at me earnestly and asked me why I didn't eat my dinner? I made no reply to her question but felt the tears running down my cheeks. I got up from the table and went away, thinking that while the other boys were eating their dinner I would slip away and pray. I went to an old cave that was a little distance from the house, and got on my knees and tried to pray, but it did not seem to do me any good, in fact I felt worse. I arose from my knees and sat down upon the root of a sugar tree that stood near by. I buried my face in my hands and said, 'Lord have mercy upon me, a poor ungodly sinner,' and immediately I felt the burden give away from my heart, and I felt a zeal of love take place within my heart and felt as happy as I could be.

I felt that I loved everybody in the world and by this, I knew that I had been born of God. During the time that I was in trouble about my soul, I intended when

I got religion to join the Baptist church. I did not know anything about the law concerning the joining of church by slaves, and that I would have to have a certificate from my master to join the church and that a slave had to join the church that his master said.

Now my old master believed in the Methodist doctrine, but did not belong to any church, and when I wanted to join the church he would not let me unless I joined the Methodists.

Now, this was the first 'cross' that I met with after I embraced religion, so I was at a loss what to do. I did not believe in the Methodist doctrine fully, and it was very deeply impressed upon my mind to try and preach the gospel and I knew that I could not become a preacher unless I belonged to some church. Finally I came to the conclusion to join the Methodist church.

So to do the best that I could, I went to old master for a certificate to join the church. He gave the certificate, but forbade any preacher baptizing me by immersion.
In 1839 I was licensed to preach by a white Methodist preacher by the name of Johnson. I lived in the Methodist church until 1858. After I was compelled to join the Methodist church I tried to live up to its rules and obey its doctrines the best that I could. I tried to make an honest Methodist preacher, but the more I read the Bible, according to my belief of its interpretation, I found I could not make an honest Methodist preacher. I could not think that there wasn't but one external baptism, and that was by immersion. I could not believe in the doctrine of falling from grace. I could not believe that infants were scriptural subjects for baptism, according to the scriptures.

Old master died and I had fallen into the hands of Mistress Hannah Campbell her lifetime, so I finally concluded that I would join the Baptist church, for my old mistress had desired to join the Baptists in old master's lifetime, but he had kept her from so doing for twenty years, so I knew she would be willing for me to join the Baptists. She gave me a certificate and

I joined the Richmond colored church under Jacob Bush, in October, 1856. Jacob Bush baptized me in the Baptist faith. At that time he was a slave of Phelan Bush, of Clark county.

In the last of August, 1857, my church sent me to the Tates Creek Association for ordination. At that time, under the law of slavery, a council of colored ministers could not be called to ordain a preacher. It had to be done by a council of white ministers, and you had to get a certificate from your owner, as you could only be ordained by their consent.

I was examined by a council of white ministers, at the white association upon my faith and qualification, and finding me qualified they ordained me.

The council was composed of J. W. Broaddus, Lawrie Creed and Walter Chenault. On the third Sunday in June, 1858, I was called pastor of the United Baptist Church, colored, of Richmond.

I lived at the old home where I was born, from 1828 until 1854. I had never been hired away from that old home but two weeks in all of that time. But old master died in 1857, then there came trying times. My mother, father, brothers, sisters and my sister's children and I, were all advertised for sale. Now, a great many of the white people of our county didn't believe it was right for a colored slave to be allowed to preach, for fear they would persuade the other slaves to run away to the free states.

As I was a preacher it was thought that I should have to be sold to the highest bidder, and there were many threats from the slave traders that they would buy me and send me South.

I was greatly troubled at that time and the only refuge to which I could flee was to take it to the Lord in prayer. I asked Him to protect and shield me from the vengeance of my enemies.

David Campbell, one of my young masters, with whom I had been raised, and who was a great friend of mine, knew that

I was in trouble and that I did not want to be sent away from my old home and family and friends. He talked to his mother about my troubles, and old mistress sent me word by him that I need not be troubled about being sold at the sale. For I was the first slave child born to her, and that I was first nursed from her breast, and that she was going to take me as a part of her thirds, and that no man should ever have me as long as there was health in her body. That gave me a great deal of relief and caused me to believe that there was a reality in prayer to God.

The sale came off in August, 1851, and four of my brothers, my mother, one sister and three of my sister's children were sold. My father, one of my sisters and myself fell to old mistress. Old mistress allowed me some privileges; old master never allowed his slaves to own a horse. They might own hogs or a cow, but never a horse.

I had been preaching ten years, and often my appointments on Sunday would be eight and ten miles from home and I would
walk that distance and preach and walk back to my wife's house the same day, and rise Monday morning and walk home to my old master's house, and make a hand equal with the others hands all the week at hard labor. But old mistress allowed me to buy a horse; that gave me great relief.

She did not keep house but two years, for her children persuaded her to give up keeping house, rent out the farm and hire us all out and she live among her children. That was a great cross to me, but it finally proved to be for the best.

My wife and children belonged to Palestine Ballard, and my white folks always allowed me to go to see my family twice a week. I concluded I could live anywhere my wife and children could, and I got Mr. Ballard to hire me.

I lived at that time twelve miles from Richmond, in the year 1854. The same year Mr. Ballard became head of the county and moved my family down to Richmond. I got him to hire me in 1854 in order that I might be with my family and I concluded that I would be a hireling as long as old mistress lived.

The law in Kentucky at that time was so that a slave could not hire himself from his master without some one to stand between them. So I asked David Campbell to hire me from his brother, and I hired myself from him at one hundred dollars a year for eight years.

In the meantime old mistress died and I then had to be sold, but in that time I met with another cross and trouble. Mr. Ballard met with reverses and my wife and children had to be sold. His brother B. Ballard bought my wife and three of the youngest children, and for some three years I hired my wife and myself until we kept house ourselves.

As the Lord would have it, I had to be sold, but I had gained favor with Col. Billy Rhodes, who was the Commissioner of the county at that time, and he had to settle the estate of our people, and also a William White, a very rich man, whom I once thought was an enemy of mine, but he proved to be a great friend. I bought myself at $233, in October, 1883.

At that time my wife and I had a large family of fourteen children, of which eight were boys and six girls, and of that number eight are still living.

I shall now speak of my troubles with Mr. William White, while at my old master's. At my old master's sale William White bought my brother, Green Berry. He was my oldest brother and I loved him very dearly. It was said that at that time William Berry owned nearly a hundred slaves, and also that he was a very hard master. So for this cause, I was sorry to see my brother fall into his hands, but the negro traders were about to buy him at the auction block and send him South, but the white hearers all agreed that Mr. White should have him at a certain price, and he was knocked off to him. Well, rather than see him sold and sent down South, I much preferred him to be sold to Mr. White, and he lived with him two years.

Mr. White was a man that wanted all of his slave men to have wives at home. My brother Green had a wife at preacher Stivers'. He officiated at his wedding. Mr.

White had a foreman who was one of his slaves, by the name of Irvine, and on one Friday evening Mr. White and wife were absent from home on a visit, but he had told his foreman to tell brother Green to go to his house and bring all of his clothes home, and that he must take a wife there at his home.

On Saturday evening Green came up from his master's place to where I lived, which was about a mile and a half from where he lived. My sister was washing down at the old stone spring house; my father was down there also. They sent up to the house for me to come down there, and when I went down, there sat my brother Green, and as soon as I saw him, I knew from his countenance that he was in trouble and it so frightened me that I was almost afraid to ask him what was the matter. But I finally asked him, and he said, "Mat I am going to run away and try to go to the free states." I asked him why he was going, and had Mr. White been beating him? He said, "no, but he is going to make me leave Samira and take a wife at..."
and I will die first before I will do it.

Now, here was a heart full of trouble for me. I knew I was a preacher and was the oldest brother, and if he aimed to go to the free states, whether he got there or not, Mr. White would drop deep suspicion on me, as he knew I could read and he might believe that I could write, although I could not write any at that time, and he might believe that I had a hand in aiding him to get away; and he being one of the richest men in our neighborhood, I knew he would be a dangerous enemy against me. I therefore began to persuade my brother to go back home and to talk to Mr. White, and try and get him out of the notion of trying to separate him and his wife, but he declared that he would never go back home again. I found that he was determined to go away, so I shook hands with him and told him that if he was determined to go, to go and the Lord be with him. There was a man by the name of Billy Hill, a slave of widow Hill, who went with him. Hill's white people had taken him when a small boy down to Maysville to help drive stock, and Billy had told brother Green that at any time he wanted to run away to go to the free states he would go with him, for he had never forgotten the way down to Maysville.

So Billy and Green met that Saturday night and started for the free states; they started from preacher Stivers', where Green had his wife, Simara. He shook hands with his wife, kissed his baby and left.

When Mr. White came home and found Green gone, he put out a reward of $50 for him, thinking that probably he was somewhere in the neighborhood. There was great excitement in the neighborhood looking for him, but they could not hear anything about him.

In about two weeks Billy Hill came back and told Mr. White that Green was aiming to cross the river at Maysville and to go into the free states. Mr. White dispatched to Maysville and advertised for him and they caught him. Mr. White went after him, and when he came back he said that he had sold him down South.

Sure enough, some of the neighbors thought that I had a hand in sending him away. This was a heavy trouble upon me, for I did not know at what time I might be taken away from my family and sent down the river. I took my troubles to the Lord and prayed day and night for Him to fight my battles for me.

So one morning as I was going down towards Mr. White's, I met him in the road. It was my custom in slave days, when I met a rich man to call him master. So I spoke to him and called him master, and told him that I wanted to talk to him about my brother Green, if he would permit me to do so. He said, "Yes, I will permit you just the same as if you were a white man." I said, "Master William, Green is my brother, and although we are called negroes, I love him as well as you love your brother, and I heard that you got him and sold him down the river." I took his horse by the bridle and looked him right in the face. He said, "Yes, Mat. I did get Green, and I sold him to the traders, but I left it to Green's choice, whether he would rather come home and take a good whipping, go on to his work, or be sold to the traders. He said to me that he had rather be sold to the traders, and that he had started to run away from me. I would never have confidence in him again. So I sold him."

Mr. White then said to me, "Mat let me say to you that your master Bill Campbell told a lie on you. He told me that he went to Mr. James Ballard's, to your wife's house, and tracked you and Green out in the woods and saw where you had sat down on a log and saw the greasy paper where you had given him some thing to eat, and at the time he told me that I found that Green was a hundred miles from home. Now, Mat, Green told me that you knew that he was going to run away, and that he came to your mistress' place that Saturday evening and you begged him not to run away, but to go back home and try and reason the case with me and that you thought that would be the best for him. He said to me he was sorry that he did not take your advice. Now Mat, that will be
an honor to you the longest day you live, knowing you are a preacher and an older brother than Green, you trying to instruct him to do right and to come back home to me, as I had paid a large price for him. Mat I will be your friend as long as I live and I want you to appoint a meeting at my house and come and preach to my black people, and you shall always be made welcome. I appointed a meeting at his house and went and preached among his slaves, and he would always come out to hear me preach. Now all this caused me to still have more faith in God, and strengthened me in the belief that He was a God that would answer prayer when you pray earnestly to Him.

Mr. White thought so much of me that he bought three shares in me, knowing that I had to be sold at my old mistress' death.

On the Sunday before I was sold he sent for me to come up and preach the funeral of one of his old favorite servants. After preaching, he told me that I had to be sold at the sale next week, and asked me what

I was going to do about it. I told him I could not do anything about it, but would have to do as they willed. I further said that I had served out my old master's and mistress' time and would like to buy myself if I could get him to be a friend to me. He said that he intended to buy me himself, but as I looked to him to be a friend, he would be a friend, and said that he and Col. Rhodes, who was commissioner of the sale, would buy me out. He gave me a check on the bank for ten dollars, and came to the sale and spoke in my behalf, so all went well with me.

Now, dear reader, I want to say something about my ministerial work in the year 1843.

I had been a public speaker about three years. I lived ten miles from Richmond and the church that I am pastor of now. The old colored ministers of the county concluded that they would buy them a piece of ground and build a church of their own. Among the colored people at that time, the leading colored preachers were Edmond Martin, and Bob Irvine, and although they were Baptists and I a Methodist at that time, they took a great interest in me, especially Edmond Martin, who became pastor of the church when it was built.

The ground where the church now stands belonged to a man by the name of Tom Robinson, a colored man, whose master had set free Charles Miller, who was one of the oldest members of my church, and whose name was Robert Miller. He bought the ground for sixty dollars, but under the law at that time, slaves could not own real estate, so some white man had to be the trustee of our property. Mr. Thompson Burnam, Sr., father of Major Curtis F. Burnam, was chosen to be the trustee, when the deed was drawn. Edmond Martin had it deeded to the Baptist denomination, colored, but agreed that if all the other denominations would donate means to help pay for it, they would divide the time with them. This was some of my first public work as a minister, when I started in the ministry. I was appointed by the first pastor of the church, Edmond Martin, to fill an appointment for him over in Garrard county, as he was sick. I met with one of the first troubles that I had ever had in the ministry. As Jesus had said to his disciples, 'Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely; for my
sake rejoice and be exceedingly glad, for
great is your reward in heaven, for so per-
secuted they the prophets which were be-
fore you." These words came before me
in that trouble.

I went to fill the appointment. As I
lived in the county ten miles from Rich-
mond they sent two of the committee from
town out to that meeting. Their names
were John Pierson and Jordon Black.
After preaching I was to make a collec-
tion for the benefit of the church, and send it to
town by them.

It was a pretty day and I had a large
congregation, and after preaching I made
a collection of seven or eight dollars. The
people spread dinner in the church for
the preachers, and while we were eating some
one said that there was a white man at the
door who wanted to see me. When I went
to the door, a white man by the name of
Jack Wily, sitting on his horse, asked me
who had permitted me to hold meeting
there, and he threatened to kill me if I
ever held another meeting there.

A colored man belonging to George
Ross, walked up at this time, his name was
Cash, and told him that Mr. Billy Lackey
had given the colored people permission
to hold a meeting there, and we invited
Madison Campbell to come and preach for
us, and he is out of his own county, and
don't you curse him, you curse me. Wily
pulled out his knife and commenced to
curse Cash. Cash got two rocks; he was a
very stout man, and when I looked back,
for I had gone to get my horse, and was on
the horse, when I looked and saw so many
men trying to hold him, to keep him from
Wily, that I could scarcely see him—but I
got away and did not get hurt.

I was very uneasy, for fear my old mas-

ter would hear of the fuss that had occurred
at my meeting, for he was opposed to
my preaching, for he did not believe a man
could preach unless he was educated, and
he did tell me at one time that I must not
try to preach any more, but I said to him
that I felt that I was called of God, and
sent to preach and as I could read the
Bible, I felt it my duty to try. I said to
old master, that I never had sauced him in
my life, and I never intended to do so and
that I was not going to neglect my work in
going to my meeting and I can not prom-
is you that I will not preach any more;
rather than to do so, you can give me a
chance to pick my master, and you can sell
me. He said he would sell me. He told
my old mistress what I had said. Now my
old mistress professed to be a christian,
and I believed she was. She said to old
master, that if he sold me because I was
preaching, she would be afraid that God
would send a curse upon that plantation
and she would be afraid to stay on it.

Well, he never heard of the trouble I
had at my meeting and he never said any-
thing more against my preaching.
I joined the Baptist church. At that time they had called the Rev. John S. Irvine as the third pastor of the church, and in 1857 the brethren saw that my influence among the people was greater than that of Rev. Irvine, although he was pastor of the church and as they wanted to rebuild the church they thought by my influence they could tear down the old log church that they had built, which was sixteen by eighteen feet, but being so small, they put an addition to it, so it was about eighteen feet square.

This caused bitter feeling between Rev. Irvine and I, as he was the pastor of the church, and I was only preaching under him, and they would always put me first in collecting money for the church, and this caused him to say harsh words against me but I bore it all and went on in the discharge of my duty the best that I could.

But after we had the brick on the ground and other material and were about to commence building, we met with another difficulty and that was this: the other denominations forbade us taking the house down, unless we would pay them a certain part that they claimed in the house.

We proposed to them that if they would let us build peaceable we would give them a share in the new house, the same as we did in the old one. But the Calvin Baptists and Methodists would not agree to it, and sold us their share.

We employed Mr. William Caperton, father of James Caperton, to defend our suit for us, at $50. When the circuit court came up the suit was called by Judge William Goodloe. He called for the deed and when he examined it, and found Thompson Burnam first trustee of the property, and as the colored trustees the names of Edmond Martin, who was the first pastor of the church, and John Person, Adam Williams and Nelson Rodes, who were all United Baptists, and at the death of Thompson Burnam, old Mr. Burr Deatherage a white man, and a United Baptist, was appointed trustee in his place. Judge Goodloe decided that as there were no other names to the deed but the United

Baptists, that the property was ours.

We then went forward to rebuild. We built a half story brick church, thirty five by fifty feet. In 1857 the church had been ordained by a Presbyterian white Baptists.

In 1858 we met with another serious trouble. The church concluded that they would call me as pastor in the place of Rev. Irvine, and as he had friends as well as myself, on the regular church meeting day, the third Sunday in May, they set apart that day to call a pastor. I would not go to the church, but the Rev. Irvine went. They voted for us both and I was chosen pastor of the church by a large majority.

But the Rev Irvine and his friends contended that my friends had not acted fair with them in the election and so they had quite an excitement over it. My friends and his finally decided to call a council of white brethren to decide the matter. They sent for Dr. Chenault and William Cusie.

They came, and after hearing the dissatisfaction of them all, they instructed them to put it off until the next church meeting, the third Sunday in June, 1858, and that all the members should come on that day and vote by private ballot, and both of the white brethren should be there to see that it was a fair election. This brought up a great deal of confusion among the members during that month.

My friends advised me that whatever I heard, or whatever was done for me, to hold my place and say nothing. I took their advice and did so. When the time came the members came in from all parts of the county, as our members were scattered throughout the county.

I met Bro. Irvine that morning and we decided that neither of us would go to the church that day and whatever the members decided we would abide by it; and that we would both live friendly together.

So in the evening the report came that I was chosen pastor by a large majority.

I met with Bro. Irvine and I saw at once that he was very much confused and I tried to console him the best that I could, but he became so dissatisfied that he left the church and joined the Methodist church.

The next year the church sent me as a
m. Campbell joins Bap ch 1856: struggle for control

M. Campbell, autobiog, 1895

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messenger to the Tates Creek Association, and I was very sorry to have to report in the letter that Bro. Irvine had left the church because I had been called as its pastor. But a little while after, he became dissatisfied in the Methodist church and came back to join the Baptist church again. He had said some very hard words against a number of the members and they were not willing for him to join our church. At that time our church was very strict in enforcing its rules and one was, that a member must be excluded or received by a unanimous vote. He made an effort twice to join and they refused him. I finally sympathized with him and went to work among the members who were opposed to him, and told them that it was a dangerous thing to stand in the way of a member when he had made a christian acknowledgement, and I was afraid God would be displeased if we refused to take him in, so when he came to join again they accepted him.

I must now give you some idea of my work as a minister when I was a young man.

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Ministerial work of M. Campbell, 1844, while a methodist

M. Campbell, autobiog, 1895

In 1844, when I was a member of the Methodist church, I began to preach at a church called Bethlehem meeting house. The Methodist preacher whose name was Armstrong, liked me very much and he would open the doors of Bethlehem church and invite me to come and preach for him. I would walk from my wife's house to Bethlehem, which was about eight miles, and preach once a month unless it was very cold weather.

I held meetings there for ten years and during my preaching there a great number of converts were added to the church, but as I was not ordained I was not allowed to baptize any one, but I was allowed to open the doors of the church and receive members and report them to the white Presiding Elder and he could baptize them.

Finally the Methodists held a quarterly conference and decided that as I held meetings there so regularly and had taken in a great number of converts that they would allow me to assist the Presiding Elder in baptizing the candidates for the colored people, for often some of the colored people would prefer baptism by immersion.

Frequently the white neighbors would become dissatisfied with the meeting in the neighborhood and threaten to break it up. But Mr. Armstrong, who lived in the neighborhood would come and preach with me. Finally some wicked person finding that they could not break it up in no other way, set fire to the church and burned it down. But the Lord always provides a way for those who put their trust in Him. "Many sorrows shall be to the wicked; but they that put their trust in the Lord, mercy shall compass them about."

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In 1858 I held a protracted meeting in the neighborhood of Miss Sallie Yates'. The meeting became so interesting that the white people all over the neighborhood became interested in it that they opened their doors for us to hold meetings. From that protracted meeting I baptized 150 candidates. The meeting commenced about October and closed about Christmas.

While a great number of the white people were in favor of the meeting there were others who opposed to it, and it was often said among some of them that Mr. Campbell was running the negroes crazy, and that the neighbors had better buy him from his old mistress and send him down the river. But God always stood by me and I paid no attention to the threats that were made but continued to preach on to the best of my judgment. At that time I was hiring my time from my old mistress and paying her one hundred dollars, ($100) a year. I was working for Alexander Tribble. I hired to him in order to be with one of his slaves, whose name was David Tribble, a man of God, and one that I loved. I shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter.

One night while meeting was being held at Miss Sallie Yates', one of Mr. Tribble's slave women professed religion. Her name was Hester. She went home that night and the next morning she was overcome by the spirit of God. She went into Mr. and Mrs. Tribble's room praising the Lord and telling them that the Lord had converted her soul. Mrs. Tribble became angry and said that I was running the negroes crazy.

I went home the next morning and found Mr. Tribble very angry. He said that his negroes must all stop going to that meeting and if I did not stop the meeting I would have to quit working for him. I did not say anything to him but went and tried to hire to another man. A day or two after that I met him in his pasture and asked him what I had done that he should talk to me as he did that morning; and if I had not worked for him for nearly a year and if at any time I had neglected my work to go to my meeting? He said no, and that I had always made him a good hand and that he had nothing in the world against me; that he had hired me by the month and I was often called away to preach the funeral of the colored people who died in the neighborhood, and when he settled with me he never charged me for the time I had lost. But he said his wife did not understand the way the negroes got religion and that she was angry that morning and that she was the cause of him speaking to me the way he did that morning.
1859 MASTERS IN RICHMOND AREA AGREE TO LET SLAVES BE BAPTIZED

M. Campbell, autobiog, 1895

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I could not baptize any candidate without a certificate from his master. The church at Richmond, of which I was pastor, was the only church that I had under my control and all who joined my church had to join at Richmond.

About this time there was great confusion in the country about John Brown being hanged at Harpers Ferry for trying to free the negroes. And a great many of the slave holders were opposed to the colored people joining the church at Richmond for fear that in meeting there with the town negroes they would hear something about freedom and put mischief into their heads and cause trouble.

Finally the leading slave holders of the neighborhood held a meeting at Richmond to take into consideration what was best to do in the matter. Some suggested that they put out sentinels all through the county and send the leading negro preachers down the river and keep the negroes close at home.

Some of the better thinking slave holders suggested that it would be best for the masters to give their slaves certificates and let them come to town and join the church. They thought that would be the best way to keep the negroes quiet. They all agreed upon that and I received 150 certificates from the owners of the slaves, and in May 1859 I baptized at the first baptism fifty-seven. There was said to be present at that baptism over seven thousand people, white and colored, and from time to time I baptized in Mr. Bronston's pond some two thousand five hundred candidates.

M. CAMPBELL BUYS FREEDOM 1863; HIRES WIFE, WORKS FOR ARMY AT NICHOLASVILLE; RETURNS TO RICHMOND 1865

M. Campbell, autobiog, 1895

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In 1863 after I had bought myself (my wife and three children belonged to Tiberius Ballard), I hired my wife and kept house in Richmond. At that time the war was going on and they were drafting men into the army. I did not feel like going into the service and I did not feel like taking arms to kill my fellow-man. Neither did I care to run any risk of being killed.

Mr. B. Ballard, who was a Union man, was chief clerk at the government post in Nicholasville. He wrote to me and said if I would come over there and bring my wife and keep house for the clerks he would insure me $600 a year. I thought as all men had to go into the government or have something to do with it, I preferred to go in that way.

I took my wife and children and moved over there and we kept house for the clerks for 14 months. They found the money and we kept a table for them and served such things as they liked to eat. I hired in the service for thirty to thirty-five dollars a month. The law was that a slave in the government service was to have half his wages, so my wife got half her wages and her master the other half.

While there I became very popular among the colored people and officiated in the Baptist church there for fourteen months. My wife would bake cakes and pies and sell them to the soldiers. At the end of fourteen months we accumulated six hundred and sixteen dollars.

We came back to Richmond in April 1865. I purchased a home with the money and am living in it at the present time.
M. Campbell, autobiog., 1895

In 1860 all the slaves were emancipated. I then began my hardest work in the ministry with brother David Tribble, whom I met in 1840. At that time I lived in the Methodist church and he was a Baptist.

But we took a liking to each other and whenever I had an appointment within his reach he would be there with me.

In 1854 I moved to Richmond from the country. We became associated together more frequently and when I joined the Baptist church the third Sunday of October 1860, our friendship became more closely cemented. We were then worshipping in a little brick house in Richmond of which I have spoken before. We concluded that we would build some churches in the country in different parts of the county. My idea was to try and build a church in the neighborhood where I was born and reared, so that my people in my old neighborhood could see some of the work that I had done for the cause of Christ. Bro. David Tribble and I went up in that neighborhood and held a meeting and sought where we could purchase land and build a church.

Mr. Ben Terrill, who lived in the neighborhood, and an old acquaintance of mine, heard through the colored people that I wanted to purchase a piece of ground on which to build a church, so he sent for me and when I went he said that as I had preached for his colored people in days of slavery, and although he was not a member of any church, he liked me and if I was trying to do good for my people he would sell me one acre of ground for one hundred and eight dollars.

I appointed a monthly meeting there which was one mile from my old home and eleven miles from Richmond. I went about in the neighborhood and preached from one place to another and collected money to pay for the ground and to build the church. Everywhere I went to preach David Tribble was with me and he was also one of my leading deacons at Richmond.

We soon got the money and paid for the ground and built the church, a box house twenty-five by forty feet, and we named the church, the New Liberty church.

I preached at that church until 1873 and baptized during that time one hundred and twenty-five of its members. In the neighborhood of Kirksville there was a thick settlement of colored people and they asked me to come down and preach for them and help build them a church. I put Bro. Sidney Shearer, a young preacher that I had ordained from the Richmond church, as pastor of the church at New Liberty, and Bro. Tribble and I appointed a meeting down in the neighborhood of Kirksville and began to preach and raise money to build the church.

Mr. George Kennard, a very wealthy white man, owned four or five acres of ground below Kirksville. There was a pretty grove on it and he said that if I had a stand or platform made there I might
m campbell, autobiog, 1895

He notified Mr. Jones of the same, and he and his wife came to Richmond and gave us a deed for the land and we paid them for it.

We built a frame church on the land, thirty-five by fifty feet, and named it the Mt. Pleasant church. We built it in 1873 and in 1875 we dedicated it. The dedication sermon was preached by Elder J. Slaughter, of Danville, and Rev. Ruben Lee, of Georgetown.

Now, by this time the members of the church in Richmond began to become dissatisfied with their old church and thought that as God had blessed us and we had become to be free people, and as the church was too small for our congregation, we thought of building a larger house in which to worship.

When I became pastor of it, it consisted of 175 members, but up to 1873 its membership numbered about five hundred. I went into an agreement with the members, that we would rebuild the church. We raised the money and opened a brick yard and made and burned the brick on the ground. In 1874 we tore down the old house and built the new church. It is forty by sixty feet, with a nine foot basement a sixteen foot ceiling above, with a tower in front one hundred and forty feet high. The building cost about nine thousand dollars. After the building was completed Brother David Tribble and I concluded that we would build another church in the northern part of the county, on Otter Creek, about nine miles from Richmond. I went up in that neighborhood and began preaching. They had a little school house built of poles. I held meetings in that for five or six months.

I baptized some eighteen or twenty members. In 1876 I called a council at that place, and there I organized a church and named it the Otter Creek Baptist Church.

During my ministerial career up to this time I have baptized about three thousand persons. Up to the time in which I now write, I have pastored the Richmond church for thirty-five years, and during that time I baptized at the New Liberty church for seven years; at Kirksville for twenty-two years; at Beattyville, in Lee county, and at various other places in this county.

We met in council with a number of messengers from other churches in this and other counties, and organized a district association. We had formerly belonged to the South District Association. It was a very large association and it met at Keene, Jessamine county, Kentucky, in July 1873.

Some trouble arose in the association about the Independent Baptist church at Lexington. The First Baptist church of Lexington accused that church of holding open communion, but failed to bring sufficient proof that they did hold open communion.

Elder Peter Johnston, pastor of the Nich.-
I shall again trespass on your kindness, dear reader, by going back again to some more of my work in the Divine Service of the Master. I preached three years in the neighborhood of Waco, Madison county, in a little school-house, that the white people had given us to preach in, and I baptized a good many members out there. This was about the year 1887.

I also preached seven years at Bethlehem meeting-house, in Madison county. This was while I lived in the Methodist church, although I was not ordained at that time, but was permitted to open the doors of the church and receive members. I seemed to be so earnest at work in the service out there that the ministers of the white Methodist churches would call on me to help baptize their colored members, as they all preferred to be baptized by immersion. They would say the ceremony and I would plunge them under; as it is up to this date, I have baptized about 3,500 souls.

I will now give you a few more of my experiences in preaching the gospel.

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely: For my sake rejoice and be exceeding glad, for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

About the year 1846, I went over into Garrard county to a Mr. William Lackey's school house to fill an appointment for old M. CAMPBELL: ACCTS OF TROUBLES, ATTACKS WHILE PREACHING, 1840s-50s

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Bro. Edmond Martin (who was the first pastor of the Richmond United Baptist church) and to collect money to pay for the first church we built. After I was through preaching and had collected some money, the sisters had some provisions spread on the ground for us to eat and while I was eating a white man by the name of Jack Wyllie came in to the crowd and inquired for the preacher who appointed the meeting there. I stepped out of the crowd and told him that I did. He asked me who gave me leave to appoint a meeting there. I told him that I was out of my county and the people here sent for me to come and hold meeting. He began to curse me and said if I appointed the meeting there my life was his. This was the first time I was ever interrupted in holding meetings. There was a colored man, an acquaintance of mine, in the crowd who took my part in the matter and threatened to whip the white man if he did not stop cursing me. The white man had the colored man arrested, but as we were all peaceable and quiet in our meetings there, and as the white man had started the quarrel, the colored man's master had the case dismissed.

"Cast thy burden on the Lord; He shall sustain thee," "He shall never suffer the righteous to be removed."

The second trouble that I encountered, although it was averted by the mercy of the Lord, was at Waco. On my usual Sunday for holding services we met as accustomed to do and proceeded to hold services. The Sunday previous to the one now mentioned some colored men had sold whiskey and otherwise created disturbances. On the Sunday morning spoken of previously, three white men, by name, Pete Ellis, a negro trader, Tom Ellis, his brother, and Tom Dudley, all of the same neighborhood, got together and decided that they would whip the preacher and that would break up the Negro meeting. I did not know their intentions and for what they had come to the meeting. I took my text from the 5th chapter of Paul's letter to Rome, 8th verse: "Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all
men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men, unto justification of life." I preached upon the fall of man, and his reconciliation to God. The three white men spoken of came in and sat down behind the door, and I thought they had come in to hear the preaching. Before I was through with my sermon I noticed that one of them was crying, and directly they all got up and walked out of doors. After preaching I extended an invitation to sinners to come forward and be prayed for; quite a number came up. Before we dismissed the meeting the brethren called for a collection for me, and the three white men all came in and put in a half-dollar apiece, and the meeting after all was a quiet one. Afterwards two of those men came to me and one of them said, "Mat, did you know you made me cry at one time?" I said no sir, I did n't. Tom Ellis then told me that he and his brother Pete and Tom Dudley, had heard that the Negroes sold whiskey at my last meeting before the one mentioned, and had made a disturbance. "We all concluded

...
lieve the name of one was Lane; anyway they went off and reported that a crowd of Negroes were at old man Jenkins holding an unlawful assembly, selling and drinking whiskey; and they also told Major Bob Harris, who was magistrate in that neighborhood. He hated a free Negro; and he had a great many slaves and did not allow them to go about a free Negro. So he wrote out an arrest for all who had attended the meeting, in hopes that he could have his own Negroes whipped, for some of them were there. The constable was riding a day or two hunting up those who were present, but as the Lord would have it they did not find me, and I was very glad that he did not, for my master was opposed to my preaching anyway, but even if the constable had come for me he would not have let them whip me, because he did not whip his slaves and would not have allowed others to do it. But Ephraim Mobley had some slaves that went to that meeting, and several others also, who had slaves that attended the meeting, sent to town and employed a lawyer to attend the trial.

POLITICAL REMINISCENCES OF M. CAMPBELL; HOPE FOR FREEDOM

I will now give my recollections and views of political affairs from as early as I can remember. The first President that I recollect was the last term of General Jackson; the next was that of Martin Van Buren. Very few of my people could read in slavery days and they knew very little about political affairs. But the old people always had it in their minds that some day they would be free, yet they could not draw an idea how it was to be. Some of them had an idea that the Queen of Morocco, had a great deal of money and she being a Queen would fetch over a great amount of money and buy them all. I remember when but a small boy, being at a corn shucking one night (the black people would meet together and shuck out a man's corn) they would spread the corn in a great long row; they would then pick out a man to be general of the corn pile, and he had a large
Conservative and Republican. All four of these parties had candidates for the Presidency. Lincoln who was the candidate of the Republican party was elected, and during his administration we were set free. Then I decided within my mind as long as that party stood as it was, that I would be a Republican; and now, although I am an old citizen of Madison county, I have many warm friends who are Democrats. I have yet to censure any man for his political principles. Several times I have been chosen as a delegate to the Republican Conventions, but I have never taken much interest in politics. I always thought that preaching the gospel was my business and I have made it my study for fifty-three years.

FITZBUTLER CLAIMS SEAT ON SCHOOL BOARD (Dec 1883)

The Daily Louisville Commercial, Dec 6, 1883, p 4

"The City Charter Strong in His Favor--What the Board Should Have Done When Mellet Became a Councilmanic Candidate.

Dr. H. Fitzbutler last evening sent in the following card, which is intended as an explanation of the claim to election as a School Trustee in the Tenth ward, set up by him:

In your reports of the city election of Tuesday last, referring to the Tenth ward, you say:

"Jack Mellet had a walk-over in the Tenth ward, and Dr. Trunnell succeeded in capturing the position of School Trustee, defeating that noble, energetic, powerful and indefatigable colored candidate, Dr. Fitzbutler. To the contrary notwithstanding Ben. Mitchell's withdrawal the night previous, many of that popular gentleman's friends insisted upon voting for him."

This is an incorrect statement. I find no fault with what you call me, but as a matter of justice, I want it understood that I made the race to fill the vacancy that occurred when Mr. John Mellet became a candidate for Councilman, and was not opposed to Dr. Trunnell, I never said or did aught for or against his election and should not have made the race had I not known that two School Trustees were to be chosen for the Tenth ward of the city of Louisville at the election last Tuesday, December 4, 1883 (see city charter, pages 115 and 116, Section 1, and page 39, Section 85, Please do the justice to give this a place in your paper. H. FITZBUTLER.

Reference to the sections of the city charter cited by Fitzbutler would seem to establish the strength of his claim. Section 85 gives the Board of School Trustees power "to fill all vacancies in their board occasioned by death, removal, resignation or other cause, occurring in the interim of the general elections." Section 1 of an act to amend the charter of the city of Louisville, approved April 19, 1873 prescribes the eligibility of
The Daily Louisville Commercial, Dec 6, 1883, p 4

School Trustees, and declares that "if after election, any member of the board * * * shall become a candidate for or accept any office, the holding or discharging of which would render him ineligible, his seat shall thereby be vacated and the vacancy supplied," as provided by section 85 above cited. Section 88 of the charter declares that no person shall be eligible as Trustee of the city schools "who is a member of either board of General Council.'

Construing these sections in the light of the facts connected with Fitzbutler's recent race, tends to make out a good ease in his behalf. Jack Mellet, prior to the last election, was a School Trustee in the Tenth ward and upon becoming a candidate for Councilman his office as Trustee was immediately vacated under the amended charter and the provisions of section 88. This vacancy was thus created in the interim of a general election, and the School Board failing to discharge their duty under section 85, and make an appointment, thereby confirmed and continued the vacancy. Dr. Trunnell was a candidate for election to fill in the regular expired term of the Trustee in the Tenth ward, and Dr. Fitzbutler was running to fill the vacancy caused by the nomination of Mr. Mellet to an office which disqualified him from being any longer a School Trustee.

Notwithstanding the impression that Dr. Trunnell beat Fitzbutler in the contest by getting a majority of the votes cast, it seems that both are elected, as they received the largest number of votes over the only other competitor."

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CONVICT LEASE SYSTEM; CONDITIONS OF KY PRISONS c. 1880-81

In Kentucky the management of the State prison seems to be in a stage of transition. Facts that need no mention here make allusion to it a particularly delicate task. Yet the writer may not assume that any one would desire that the truth be left unsaid. Upon the candor and generosity not only of Kentuckians, but of all the communities whose prisons come under this review, must the writer throw himself, trusting to find his words received in the same spirit of simple good citizenship in which they are offered.

After long experience with the Lease System, there was passed in May, 1880, an "Act to provide for the government, management, and discipline of the Kentucky penitentiary," by which the prison passed back from other hands into those of the State's appointed officers. The Lease System was not discarded; but certain very decided modifications were made in it, leaning toward the Contract System. The report made by the prison officers and board, eighteen months later, bears a general air of the sad confusion that commonly belongs to a late and partial extrication from disaster. It affords a retrospective view of the old system extremely unflattering; but it also gives evidence that certain State officers, conspicuously the Governor, were making an earnest and sagacious effort to reform the entire penal system of their commonwealth. Yet it seems plain again that they are not a little handicapped by that false popular idea of the prison's place in the State's governmental economy, upon which the Lease System thrives while the convict falls into moral and physical ruin and society's real interests are sold for old rags. It may be assumed that there is a reserved determination on the part of those who have taken the matter in hand, to raise the work of reform to the plane it should occupy as soon as the general sentiment can be brought to require it; but, meantime, the State's penal system has risen, from something worse, only to the level of the system in North Carolina.

The officers whom the State, pursuant to its scheme of renovation, placed in charge, put that scheme into practice, to use their own words, "whenever the costs of doing so involved only a small outlay." The building that contains the prisoners' cells, found "infested with all kinds of vermin known to institutions of the kind," with bad ventilation and rat-eaten floors was purged, by convict labor, with coal-oil, fire, whitewash, and tar. The grounds around the women's quarters, "low and marshy, covered with water, in rainy weather, ankle-deep for days." were filled
Long rows of shanties or sheds, ... unsightly and inflammable in the extreme," long used in the hackling of hemp, were torn away. The hospital and chapel were cleaned and kept clean. Religious services were regularly afforded by an official chaplain and at intervals by a Catholic priest, and Sabbath instruction gradually took shape with (let it be said to their praise) members of the Governor's own family in charge. The diminutive and dilapidated library was put into shape and new books were added. But from here on, the friends of the prison could only pray for aid and relief. The principal industry continued to be, as it had been for many years, working in hemp, under circumstances that made it a distressing and unhealthful hardship. On the 1st of last January, 350 men were working in that department without ventilation or bath, and, says the warden, "the dust so dense that it is frequently impossible to recognize a man twenty feet distant." "It is certainly an act of common humanity that the evil created should be counteracted by good and ample bathing facilities." In the hospital, as a fit adjunct to the hemp department, there were, in 1881, 144 cases of inflamed eyes and 202 of acute bronchitis. The kitchen was not adapted to the proper cooking of the prisoners' food, and the hospital's response was 616 cases of acute disease of the bowels and 101 of impoverishment of the blood.

There was an entire absence of an intelligent trained reformatory treatment, in accordance with a knowledge of criminal character, recognition of the criminal's unforfeited rights, and proper prison discipline. In this shape stood matters at the beginning of the year 1882, as viewed from without. The inside history can only be conjectured; but we get one glimpse of the convict's sentiment toward his choking, blinding, life-shortening daily task in the fact that, within the eighteen months of the new régime, five men purposely mutilated their hands so as to compel the amputation of fingers, and two others cut off, each, a hand at the wrist. What the fortunes of the convicts leased out upon railroad construction were and are, we are given no clue by which to tell; the report contains no returns from them, and we have only the same general assurance that all is well that is given as to those in Tennessee and North Carolina.

BRIEF ACCT OF TEACHING ACTIVITIES IN COLUMBUS, KY, 1868

linda w. slaughter, the freedman of the south, 1969 (1869)

p 131/ taken from the journal of a teacher in Columbus, Ky, 1868.
Says a "large, rudely constructed school-building" has just been built. There is a high school for those who do work during the day. There are 150 children in Sunday school. The citizens of Columbus bitterly oppose the education of blacks. Many outrages against blacks.
Charles Henry Phillips was pastor of the Center Street C.M.E. Church in Louisville. In Jan 1892 a committee of black citizens urged Phillips to speak out against the separate coach law. His views were published in the Lou Commercial Jan 28, 1892.

"He desires to follow in the wake of his white brother; and when he is measured by the depths from whence he came to the heights of elevation to which he has attained, his material and educational development challenges the admiration of his enemies, the esteem and respect of his friends.

"The wonder is, not that the Negro has done no better, but that he has done so well since emancipation. The Southern white man and the Negro know each other. They sustain relations to each other that are inseparable. Whatever injures one will prove detrimental to the other. The relation between the whites and the blacks in this State is indeed friendly and both races desire the perpetuity of this pleasant relationship. Kentucky has an opportunity through her Legislature at this time to give itself a great name by checking in its incipiency and by choking to death the two or three separate bills that have been introduced in the Legislature looking toward the introduction of the separate car system, in this great State.

Kentucky should not follow other Southern States that are trying this system. Our State is in touch with Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and West Virginia. It is the gateway to the North, and once the home of the immortal Henry Clay, who, as early as 1797, openly portrayed the evils of domestic slavery, the spirit of which still lingers to blight the happiness of the Negro and keep alive the prejudices of the white man against his brother in black. Clay, by his resistance to odious, alien, and seditious laws enacted in 1798-99, manifested the disposition to resist every restraint upon freedom. Kentucky cannot afford to take a step backward. A law separating the whites and the blacks in 1862 would have been in order and in harmony with the times. But now that thirty years have elapsed, that with the mutations of fortune and the vicissitudes of time the condition of the Negro has been changed, let it not be supposed that there is more friction now than then between the races.

"If it was not necessary to pass such a law then, from whence does the necessity of such a law arise now? The Negro does not make the laws by which he is acquitted of crime or
by which he is found guilty. Whether willingly or reluctantly, he must submit to the strong arm of the law.

"Now they rise up as one man and ask the Legislature to seal with disapproval the measure that tends to discriminate against them. The separate car law would be odious to us even if accommodations were equal. It is the principle involved. The law means separation on account of color.

"The Negro protests against the enactment of such a law not because he desires social equality per se; not because he desires merely to be in the same coach with the whites. But because the passage of such a law would add nothing to the material interests of the State; because it is unnecessary and can only appease a popular prejudice; because in Arkansas, where such a law exists, the whites are getting tired of its existence as the Negro rides without being over crowded while the whites are crowded and often must stand for lack of seats; because such a law, to say the least, is humiliating; and because its enactment would exhibit a depreciation of the lasting debt of gratitude which the white man of Kentucky, as well as the South, owes the Negro.

"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless millions

mourn.' Have our Legislators forgotten the record the Negro made during the Civil War days? Was he not left at home to take care of his 'mistress' and her children while her husband fronted the mouth of cannon, the point of swords and bayonets for a cause which if successful was not to better, but make

worse the condition of the slaves? Did he interfere with the chastity of the weak and helpless sex? Did he apply the torch to the barn, or in any way betray the confidence imposed in him by his owner? Let our white friends at Richmond, Virginia, who are attempting to erect a monument to the memory of faithful slaves during the war, tell us. Let the Legislature of Kentucky show us in a substantial way that, as we cannot help ourselves, it will prove itself the defenders of our civil rights, which are too sacred to be denied us.

"If prejudice is in the way, let us crush it or rise superior to its contagion. Gentlemen at Frankfort, hear the appeals that come to you from every nook and corner of our commonwealth; declare the separate car bill not only inimical to the best interests of both races, but is contrary to the spirit and
BLACK LOU MINISTER, C H PHILLIPS, SPEAKS OUT AGAINST SEPARATE COACH LAW jan 1892

chas henry phillips, from farm to bishopric, autobiog, 1932

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genius of our new Constitution.

"If, gentlemen, you can act in harmony with these views and similar convictions which will reach you from all over the State, you will make a great record for yourselves and for your State; a record that will elevate Kentucky to a sacred niche in the grand temple of history, an inspiration and glory forever."

This appeal and similar ones did not avail. Kentucky has her separate coach law for all railroads but no discrimination is made in the street car system of the State.

Kentucky, because of its proximity to Ohio and Indiana, could very easily be the first Southern State to repeal its obnoxious Jim Crow Law. Who knows but that it may yet lead "The Advancing South" in that direction?

LEX BLACK WOMAN SOLD SOUTH, ESCAPES TO LEX, HELPED BY BLACKS 6522

levi coffin, reminiscences, 1879

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The subject of this sketch, one of those good old darkey auntsies whom we have all known or heard of, was brought up in Lexington, Kentucky. She was a slave, a house servant, and had a kind and indulgent master and mistress, to whom she was much attached. She had the principal charge of household affairs. Her husband belonged to another person in the neighborhood, but was often permitted to visit her. They had a family of several children, and were as happily situated as it was possible for slaves to be. They knew that they were liable to be separated and sold away from each other, and this disturbed their happiness. At last the dreaded misfortune came to them. The husband was sold, and taken to the far South, and the wife never saw him nor heard from him afterward. This was a terrible shock to Aunt Rachel, and had it not been for her children, she said she would have prayed to die. But for their sake she bore her grief, not thinking that she would ever be called upon to part from them, or to experience deeper pangs of sorrow than those she had already known.

She knew not what was in store for her. Two years afterward her old master and mistress died, and she and her children were sold at public sale. The children were bid off by citizens of Lexington, but Aunt Rachel was sold to a Southern slave-trader. Now, indeed, came trouble. No one but a mother who has been separated from the children she loves can understand the depth of her distress, or sympathize with the anguish of her heart. Aunt Rachel was torn away from her children and taken South in a gang of slaves, which the trader had bought for the Southern market. In Mississippi she was sold to a cotton planter, and immediately set to work in the cotton field. She had never been accustomed to out-door work, and could not keep up with the other cotton pickers. For this she was cruelly punished, and her allowance of food reduced. Finding that her strength was failing her under this hard treatment, she resolved to run away, and try to make her way back to her old Kentucky home. She hoped, if she lived to get there, to prevail on some of her white friends at Lexington to buy her, and thus enable her to stay near her children. She thought of the great distance she must traverse, and
of the dangers and hardships of such an undertaking, but she said to herself: "It is death to stay here, and I had rather die in the attempt to get away."

It was now the beginning of summer, and she thought she could live on berries and fruits the most of the time. She slipped off one night and made good headway during the hours of darkness, hiding in the cane-brakes when daylight appeared. The next night she ventured to the negro quarters of a plantation, and got some provisions. Her long and toilsome journey was attended with much danger and suffering, and occupied the most of the summer. She finally reached her old home in Lexington, Kentucky, and secreted herself with a friend. She did not dare yet to make herself known to her children, lest it should lead to her detection, but sometimes could hardly control herself when she saw her youngest child, a little girl three years old, playing in the adjoining yard. She remained in concealment for some time, while her colored friends tried to find some one in Lexington who would purchase her. They were unsuccessful in their attempts, and it was deemed unsafe for her to remain longer in the place, as it had by this time become known to a number of the citizens of Lexington that she had escaped from her master and was there. She thought she would start northward and try to reach Canada, but while her colored friends were making arrangements for her journey to the North on the Underground Railroad, she received the alarming intelligence that her master from Mississippi had arrived in Lexington in pursuit of her. He had had no clue to her whereabouts, but judged that in her flight she would be guided by that instinct which leads one across rivers and mountains to the spot endeared by associations of home and kindred.

Soon after reaching Lexington he learned that she was secreted somewhere in the town. He offered a reward for her capture, and a diligent search commenced. The police were on the alert, and poor Aunt Rachel was soon captured and dragged to jail for safe keeping. Her master was greatly incensed because she had run away, and put him to so much trouble and expense in pursuing her, and was very abusive and threatening in his language to her. He gave her a few keen cuts with his whip, as tokens of what was in store for her, and told her he would

have his pay out of her when he got home; he would double her task, and if she did not perform it he would cut the hide off of her with his whip.

Aunt Rachel trembled but made no reply; she knew that she was in his power. Handcuffs were put on her wrists, and a chain with a heavy ball fastened around her ankle. Thus ironed, she lay in the jail for more than a week, while her master was engaged in buying a small company of slaves for his plantation in Mississippi. When ready to start South, he hired a wagon in which to transport his slaves to Louisville, at which point he intended to put them aboard a downriver boat. Aunt Rachel was placed in the wagon, with her heavy irons on. After a tiresome day's travel, they stopped in front of a tavern, where they intended to spend the night. It was quite dark, for they had been compelled to travel some time after night-fall in order to reach a place where they could find quarters. While her master went into the house to see about getting entertainment, Aunt Rachel gathered up the ball and chain in her manacled hands, slipped out of the

hind end of the wagon, and slid down into a deep ravine near the road. She crouched under the side of the bank and lay as still as death. She was soon missed, and the search for her began. Her master, and those he called to his assistance, ran in every direction, with lighted lanterns, looking for her, but they overlooked her hiding-place. She was so near, almost under the wagon, that they did not think of searching where she lay. She remained perfectly still, except the tumultuous throbbing of her heart; and this she thought would surely betray her when those in search passed near her hiding-place.

Finally, all became quiet, and the search seemed given up for the night. Then Aunt Rachel gathered up her chain and crawled off into the woods, making her way through the darkness as fast as her fetters would allow. She did not venture to follow any road or beaten path, but wandered on through the woods, as best she could, for two or three miles. Being quite weary under the weight of her irons, she stopped to rest. It was cool weather, late in the fall, and she soon felt chilly. Looking about, she discovered some hogs lying snugly in a leafy bed under the side of a large log, and frightening them away, she crept into their warm bed. She now
felt comfortable, and soon fell into a refreshing sleep that lasted an hour or two. When she awoke she felt quite refreshed, and ready to pursue her journey. Her situation was indeed forlorn. She had eluded the grasp of her master, but manacled as she was, how could she ever make her way to freedom and safety? Must she not perish of hunger in the lonely woods? How could she free herself from her hand fitters, and from the heavy chain that was chafing her ankle and making it sore? As she reflected on these questions, distress filled her mind, and she wept. She knew of no friend but God, and she prayed to him in this hour of need; she asked him to guide and help her. She seemed to feel his presence with her, in answer to her petitions, and a glow of comfort warmed her heart. She moved on, to look for a safe place where she might hide during the day, and came to a small stream of water, on whose banks were a number of large stones. She placed two stones close together and laid her chain across them, then lifting another stone in her fettered hands, she managed by repeated blows and by frequently turning it, to break the chain; thus freeing herself of the greater part of it, and of the heavy ball. Several links, however, were left hanging to the band riveted around her ankle; from this she could not free herself. She lay in the woods during the day, and at night ventured to a house where she saw some colored people. She was kindly received, and furnished with food. The man succeeded in getting her handcuffs off, which was a great relief to her, but having no file, he was unable to relieve her of the iron band on her leg. This colored brother gave her directions for her journey, and put her on a route that would reach the Ohio River, opposite Madison, Indiana. He even ventured to take two of his master's horses out of the field, and help her on her way several miles.

The next night her progress was slow on account of her manacled ankle, which by this time was swollen and very painful. Some time before daylight she ventured to approach a hut, which was situated near the road she was traveling. She discovered a negro man kindling a fire, and made herself known to him. He received her kindly, and his wife ministered to her needs. She remained secreted during the day at this hut, and at night felt strengthened and ready to pursue her journey. The man had a file, and succeeded in filing off the rivet, and loosening the band from her leg. He then applied what simple remedies he had at hand, and succeeded in some measure in assuaging the pain and swelling of the ankle. At night this kind friend helped her on her way, and conducted her to the house of a colored man, who lived near the Ohio River, below Madison. This man was a slave, but had a kind and indulgent master, who allowed him the use of a skiff, and permitted him to go over the river to trade. Aunt Rachel prevailed upon him to take her across the river that night, and he landed her near Madison, directing her how to find a settlement of free colored people near that place. At this settlement she fell into the hands of a trusty colored man, who lived about ten miles out in the country, where he owned a good farm, and was comfortably situated. Aunt Rachel found a quiet home at his house, which was fortunate for her, as she was now almost unable to travel. The chafing of the iron band around her ankle had caused inflammation, and made a very painful sore. She was able, however, to move about enough to do housework. She remained at this place all winter, unmolested. In the spring a fugitive was captured in the neighborhood, and Aunt Rachel and her friends became alarmed for her safety. She was put on the Underground Railroad, and brought to our house at Newport. She was anxious to remain with us for awhile, hoping that by some means she might hear from her children, concerning whom she was very anxious. She thought she would be safe from pursuit, for her master in Mississippi would not be likely to spend much more time and money looking after her. My wife needed help at that time, and agreed to hire her for a few weeks. We soon found her to be one of the best housekeepers and cooks we had ever employed. She was careful and trustworthy, and exemplary in all her ways. We became much attached to her; indeed, the neighbors and all who
LEX BLACK WOMAN SOLD SOUTH, ESCAPES TO LEX, HELPED BY BLACKS 6522-E

levi coffin, reminiscences, 1879

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knew her had a great deal of respect and liking for Aunt Rachel. Every one who heard her story, as she related it in simple yet thrilling language, felt a deep interest in her case. She said with us more than six months, and would have remained longer had it not been considered unsafe. Some Kentuckians were scouting about through our neighborhood looking for fugitives. They made their headquarters at Richmond, at a hotel which was a well-known resort for negro hunters. Aunt Rachel became alarmed, and we thought it best for her to go on to Canada, where she would be safe. A good opportunity in the way of company for the greater part the way offered just then, very fortunately.

A committee of men and women Friends, appointed by New Garden Quarterly Meeting to attend the opening of a meeting at Young’s Prairie, Michigan, were just about starting on this mission. Aunt Rachel was acquainted with most of them, and wished to accompany them, and they were very willing to engage in Underground Railroad work, though the Quarterly Meeting had not appointed them to that service.

We provided Aunt Rachel with warm and comfortable clothing for her journey to the North. A well-filled trunk was placed in one of the carriages, and Aunt Rachel took her seat by one of the women Friends. She presented the appearance of a sedate and comely Quaker woman, quite as suitable to be appointed on the committee as any of the company. Aunt Rachel traveled very agreeably with this committee to Young’s Prairie, Cass County, Michigan.

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She remained at the Friends’ settlement there for several days, and was then sent on the mail coach to Detroit. At that city she called on some people to whom we had directed her, and they sent her across to Canada. She found employment in the homes of white families in Windsor and Norwich, where she remained for several months. Then she married a respectable colored man by the name of Keys, who owned a comfortable little home.

ATTEMPTED ESCAPE OF 12 SLAVES; ONE RETURNED FOR SISTERS ETC 6523

levi coffin, reminiscences, 1879

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Louis Talbert was an intelligent colored man, who belonged to a slaveholder living in Kentucky, a few miles back of the Ohio River, above Madison. Louis was not content with being a chattel that could be bought and sold, but kept planning how he might gain his freedom. For several years he had quietly and shrewdly been gaining all the information he could in regard to that land of liberty he had heard of so often, and at last concluded to make the attempt to reach it. He ventured to divulge his secret to several of his trusty friends and fellow-servants in the neighborhood, and twelve of them agreed to join him in the attempt to gain freedom. They met frequently, late at night, in the woods or some other secluded place in the neighborhood, to consult together and to make their plans. The chief difficulty that they would have to encounter in their journey was the Ohio River—they had no way of crossing it, and knew not what to do. Finally, Louis Talbert, who was the leading spirit among them, suggested the construction of a raft. This at once solved the problem, and the time to start was agreed upon. On the appointed night the party made their way to a point on the river bank, selected by Louis. Having some suitable tools with them, they soon prepared two logs and pinned them together. When the little raft was launched upon the water, it was found that only two persons could ride on it at a time. Their expectations of all getting across that night were disappointed, for it was late when they reached the river, and only six had been transported to the Indiana shore when daylight warned the party to seek concealment. They hid in the thickets, on each side of the river, during the day, and when night came the remaining six were safely ferried across. But this delay operated against them, and came near proving fatal to their hopes. When so much valuable property was found to be missing in the neighborhood they had left, it created great excitement among their masters and other slaveholders. A large company started out to hunt for the runaways, and crossed the river at various points, in order, if possible, to intercept them in their flight. The second night, when all the fugitives were safely over the river, they started on their way northward through Indiana. They made but little progress
ESCAPE OF 12 SLAVES; ONE RETURNED FOR SISTERS ETC

before day began to dawn, and soon had to seek places in the hushes, where they could remain in safety during the day. By this time, some of the hunters had got ahead of them, and had given the alarm, and offered large rewards for their capture.

In the counties of Indiana bordering the Ohio River, fugitive slaves were in as much danger of being captured as on the other side of the river, for there were many persons on the look-out for them who hoped to get the rewards offered by the slaveholders in such cases.

The next night Louis and his companions left their hiding-places, but being pinched with hunger, they sought to obtain some food before starting on their journey northward. They went to a house to buy some provisions, not thinking that they were in great danger. But a large party of hunters were in the neighborhood, and were soon apprised of their presence. The fugitives were closely pursued by a large party of armed men, the party from Kentucky having been joined by a number of ruffians in the neighborhood, who were as eager in the chase as they would have been in a fox or a deer hunt.

Louis and his companions ran in different directions, and endeavored to hide in the woods and corn-fields, but most of the party were captured, only Louis and three others succeeding in making their escape. After traveling several nights, during which time they suffered much from hunger and exposure, they reached my house. We received and cared for them, and they remained with us several days, resting from their fatiguing and anxious journey. They were then put on the old reliable road leading to Canada, and reached that country in safety.

Louis remained there about one year, then returned to Indiana, and staid a few days at my house. He said he was on his way back to Kentucky. He had two sisters still in bondage, and was determined to make an effort to bring them away. They belonged to a man living about thirty miles back from the river. Louis felt much anxiety about them, as they were young women grown and were regarded as valuable property by their master. He feared that they would be sold to traders and taken to the far South, as such property was in demand and would bring high prices. I tried to dissuade

agreed to make the effort to gain it under the leadership of Louis. The plans were all made, both men and women being in the party who were to attempt to escape.

Louis went several nights to the place where his sisters were, and watched about the house, trying to get an interview with them, but they were house-servants, and were kept in at night so closely that it seemed impossible for him to make himself known to them and talk with them without discovery.

One moonlight night as he was watching the house, trying to attract the attention of his sisters, their master saw and recognized him. The signal for pursuit was at once given and the alarm raised. A neighbor who had several bloodhounds was summoned, and the dogs were put on the trail. By this time, however, Louis had reached the woods, and being well acquainted with the country, he knew how to choose the paths that would be most difficult for the pursuers. Louis knew how to charm the dogs, and he received no harm from them.

He baffled his pursuers and made good his escape, bringing with him four or five of his slave friends, including two women. Thus, though he failed to
get his sisters, his mission was not entirely unsuccessful. He made his way to the Ohio River with his company, and finding a skiff they crossed in safety to the Indiana side. They then proceeded as rapidly as possible to a station of the Underground Railroad, and that line soon brought them to my house. They remained with us a short time, and were then forwarded to Canada.

After seeing his friends safe in that country, Louis returned to Indiana and attended school at a manual labor institution, in Randolph County, called the Union Literary Institute. It was chartered by the State of Indiana for the benefit of colored students. Louis remained here nearly two years, making satisfactory progress in his studies and gaining the esteem of all who knew him. During vacation in the first year he made a second attempt to rescue his sisters from slavery, but was again unsuccessful in getting them, though he succeeded in bringing out of bondage another company of his friends. He still did not abandon the hope of rescuing his sisters.

At the school which he attended, Louis became acquainted with M. W., a young white man who lived in Hamilton County, Indiana. To him Louis communicated his resolve to make another effort to get his sisters out of slavery. M. W. became so much interested in the matter that he agreed to accompany Louis on his next trip into Kentucky.

Some months afterward Louis went to Westfield, Hamilton County. He was then on his way to Kentucky to make another attempt, and reminded his friend of his promise, but M. W. had just been married and declined to go. He directed Louis to the house of J. Pennington, who lived in the neighborhood. This Friend tried to discourage Louis from making the attempt; telling him that he would risk his own liberty and might not achieve that of his sisters. But Louis was determined to go, and made a confidant of a young man by the name of N. W., who was interested in his case and who agreed to accompany him. They made all their plans and appointed the time for starting. They were to take the train at Indianapolis and go to Madison, then cross into Kentucky and proceed secretly on their mission. These arrangements were made a week or two before the time fixed for starting, and might have been successful had not N. W., in the meantime, unwisely made a confidant of one of his acquaintances at Indianapolis, telling him all the particulars of the case. This friend in turn confided the whole matter to another person living in Indianapolis, who knew Louis' master in Kentucky, and who immediately wrote to him, giving all the particulars, and telling him the day and hour that Louis intended to take the train at Indianapolis for Madison.

Louis' master, as soon as he received this information, gathered a posse of men and started to Indianapolis, arriving there the night before Louis was to start South. He obtained a writ for arresting his slave and put it in the hands of an officer, then, with the witnesses who were to prove his property, he waited to capture Louis as soon as he should come into the depot.

The next morning Louis, who was all unconscious of the danger he was going into, walked into the depot to get aboard the train and found himself confronted by his master. He could not save himself, either by resistance or flight, and soon found himself heavily fettered. N. W., who was to accompany him, was a short distance behind, but seeing the excited crowd in the depot and learning that Louis had been captured, he turned back and went immediately home and told the news to Louis' friends.

Louis' master said to him: "I would have paid any price to get hold of you, and now that you are in my power, I will make an example of you. You have carried off thirty-seven thousand dollars' worth of slave property."

Louis had been a very successful missionary among the slaves in Kentucky. Beside bringing a number out of the house of bondage, he had directed others how to get on the Underground Railroad and go right through to Canada where they would be
free. They had listened with deep interest to his stories of Canada and liberty, and frequent stampedes of slaves from that part of Kentucky was the result.

Louis' master took him back to Kentucky strongly bound, and exhibited him in fetters in many towns and public places in that section of the country, in order, as he said, to make an example of him, and to intimidate other slaves who might have thoughts of running away. But the master soon found that he had a troublesome piece of property on his hands. He did not dare to turn Louis loose and set him to work, for he might stray off and take a good deal of valuable property with him, of his own kind. He kept him bound for several weeks, waiting for a favorable opportunity to sell him, and finally disposed of him to a Southern slave-dealer for the sum of seven hundred dollars. This was considered a low price, but there was some risk in buying such a shrewd, wily fellow as Louis, who had dared to run away from his master.

Louis was taken on board a steamboat, with other slaves, to go down the river to a Southern slave market. He was kept bound for several days on the journey, but managed to gain the confidence of his master, so that his fetters were taken off and he was allowed the same privileges that the other slaves had. His master knew that he would not be likely to sell so well if he was kept bound, for the purchasers would think he was a dangerous fellow, and undesirable as a piece of property.

As soon as Louis was turned loose he began to look out for a chance to escape. They were now near the mouth of the Ohio River, and Louis was very anxious to make his escape from the boat before they entered the Mississippi River, at Cairo. But he found no opportunity, and they were soon on the broad stream of the Mississippi. The night after they reached this river, Louis determined on a plan of escape. A small boat or yawl was tied to the rear end of the steamboat and floated in the way up the river by land. After walking some distance he came to a farm, and discovering several negro huts he ventured to approach one. He was kindly received and furnished with a supply of food. He gained some information about the country between that place and Cairo, and pursued his journey. He lay by during the day, and traveled at night until he reached the Mississippi River, some distance above Cairo. He suffered from hunger and various hardships, but found some true friends among the slaves near the river. Here he rested awhile in safe concealment, then was helped across the river into Southern Illinois. In this section fugitive slaves found few friends, for most of the settlers were from slave States, and were disposed to capture all runaways. Through this country Louis cautiously made his way in the night season, venturing now and then to call at a house and beg for food. In a few places he found friends, and was enabled to rest in safety, and recruit his strength.

Thus he slowly made his way through Illinois into Indiana, and arrived at the house of Levi Pennington, in Hamilton County, just three months from the day he first called there. Friend Pennington was much surprised to see him, having heard of his capture at Indianapolis, and of his being taken back to slavery by his master. After resting awhile here, Louis returned to school and resumed his studies.
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John White was the slave of a man who lived in Kentucky, just opposite Rising Sun, Indiana, on the Ohio River. He married a slave woman, the daughter of her master, who lived in the neighborhood, and they had several children. He was very much attached to his family, and visited them as often as he was permitted by his master. Hearing one day that his master intended to sell him to the far South, and knowing that he would thus be separated from his family, he determined to run away. Carrying his plan into execution he crossed the river into Indiana, where he had some friends—free colored people—and by them was directed to my house at Newport. Here he remained some weeks, and my deepest sympathies were aroused in his behalf. He was naturally very bright and intelligent, but his mind seemed overclouded with gloom at the prospect of leaving his family in slavery. He finally started toward Canada, stopping on the way at Raisin Institute, near Adrian, Michigan, a school open to all, irrespective of color, where he met that noted abolitionist and noble-hearted woman, Laura S. Haviland, having been directed to her by me.

He remained in Canada several months, but being anxious and concerned about his family, resolved to return to his abolition friends in the States, to see if something could not be done, and accordingly came back to Raisin Institute, in Michigan. It was then winter and not a suitable season to make an attempt to rescue his wife and children, so he remained at the institute during the winter and spring, and attended school. He was very eager to learn, and made rapid progress in his studies.

In the summer he returned to my house, at Newport, and consulted with me regarding the project he had so much at heart. A messenger was sent to his colored friends, at Rising Sun, to see if arrangements could be made with them to aid his family in escaping, but nothing definite could be determined upon. Not willing to give it up, John White remained several months at Newport—working and attending school, and in the winter ventured to go to Cincinnati, hoping to make arrangements with the colored stewards of the Louisville and Cincinnati packets, with whom he was acquainted, but

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failed in this. He then returned to Michigan, where he remained a year or two, continuing his education at the Raisin Institute, but never forgetting his anxiety about his wife and children, and his hope to see them free.

His story finally so enlisted the sympathies of Laura S. Haviland that she resolved to aid him in his desire, and, with that purpose in view, went down to Rising Sun and introduced herself to John's colored friends, who were, by the way, almost white.

Disguising herself, she went with one of the women across the river into Kentucky, ostensibly to pick blackberries. Going to the house where John's wife lived, the colored woman introduced Laura Haviland as her aunt, and the mistress gave John's wife permission to accompany them in their search for blackberries. This afforded the opportunity which had been so long desired, and the wife soon heard the message from her long lost husband, and was made acquainted with the plans for the escape of herself and her children.

During this interview the arrangements were all

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made and the time fixed, and on the appointed night John crossed the river from Rising Sun, and brought away his wife and six children from their place of bondage. This was the opportunity for which he had worked and prayed so long, and success seemed at last to have crowned his efforts. But alas! it was only a gleam of light before a darker night.

Reaching the river they entered a skiff, and attempted to row across to a point above Rising Sun, where a wagon was to meet them, but the water was high and the current swift and strong, and in spite of their efforts, they floated down the river some distance below Rising Sun, and were unable to reach the landing where the wagon was waiting.

Daylight coming on, they hid in the thickets and remained there all day, and at night unwisely ventured out into the high road. There had been ample opportunity for the master to gather a posse of men and start in pursuit, and the fugitives had not proceeded far when they found themselves hemmed in between two companies of pursuers. The wife and children were recaptured, but John sprang into the thickets and managed to elude the pursuers. He could not protect his family by staying with them; he would only be caught himself, and he
sought safety in flight, but the cries of his wife and children rang in his ears, and the thought of their anguish lacerated his heart.

He lay out in the woods several days, and then made his way to the hut of a free colored man, where he obtained food, of which he was sadly in need, being almost famished. Here he was found and captured by Wright Ray, a noted negro-hunter, of Madison, Indiana, who was in search of other fugitives at that time. He took John to Madison, then across into Kentucky, and lodged him in jail. When questioned, John had the shrewdness to give—not his own name—but that of a fugitive with whom he became acquainted in Canada. He said that his name was James Armstrong, that he was the property of the widow Armstrong, of Augusta, Kentucky, but had lived several years in Michigan. Wright Ray pretended to go to the widow Armstrong, and buy her slave James at a low price "as he ran," and then told John that if he had any friends in Michigan who would raise the money in a certain time, that he would sell him for three hundred and fifty dollars. At John's request the sheriff wrote to an address in Michigan, giving this information, and the letter came into the hands of Laura S. Haviland. Though all the names were fictitious, she concluded that the person referred to was John White, and immediately took measures to obtain his liberty. She came to our house—we were then living at Cincinnati—and told her story, intending to go on to Madison, Indiana, cross over into Kentucky, and see if the slave in jail was really John White. I persuaded her to remain, and sent instead, my nephew, M. C. White, giving him letters to Judge Stevens, of Madison, and other noted abolitionists, who might be of service to him in his mission. He went to Kentucky, found that the slave in question was John White, and then entered into negotiations to obtain his freedom. In the presence of Judge Stevens, of Madison, he made a contract with Wright Ray to pay the three hundred and fifty dollars on the following conditions: Wright Ray was to bring John White to Madison, and place him on board the packet bound for Cincinnati; the money was to be deposited with the clerk of the boat, and be paid over when John was safely delivered to his friends in this city.

M. C. White then returned to Cincinnati, and made known the success of his mission. I borrowed the money—as Laura S. Haviland had not time to obtain it before she started—and sent him back to Madison. The terms of the contract were carried out, and John White arrived at Cincinnati. The boat came in before daylight, when the clerk who had the money in charge was asleep, but M. C. White informed Wright Ray that he would take John up town and return at eight o'clock to pay over the money.

As soon as John reached my house he was concealed, as it was not thought safe for him to be seen in the streets, lest he might be recognized by some one who had seen him in Kentucky.

Then, following my instructions, M. C. White returned to the boat and told Wright Ray that he was ready to pay over the money, but informed him that the slave was not the person he (W. R.) thought he was, that he was a free man (taking the ground that all men are free until they forfeit their liberty by crime), and that if he received the money, he would be guilty of kidnapping, and must risk the consequences. Ray, however, decided to take the money and it was paid over to him. Lawyer Jolliff, and I obtained a writ as soon as possible—which was at nine o'clock—and placed it in the hands of an officer with instructions to arrest Wright Ray, but when the officer went to the boat Ray was not to be found. We immediately forwarded the writ to Judge Stevens, at Madison, and Ray was soon afterward arrested at that place and lodged in jail, where he remained several months, awaiting the opening of court. The case would, without doubt, have gone against him had it been tried, but the presence of John White as prosecuting witness would have been necessary, and his friends feared to risk his freedom, so the case was allowed to go by default.

John returned to Michigan, almost broken-hearted. All his endeavors to gain the freedom of his wife and children had been in vain, and he never saw them again. They were shortly afterward sold and separated, the master taking a price for his own daughter.
We heard from his own lips, while visiting at his house in Canada. He had formerly been the property of a man living in Kentucky, who found him to be a trusty servant, and frequently sent him on business errands some distance away. Jackson was married to a woman who was the property of another man, but his master hired her time, and the husband and wife were permitted to live together. They had one child at the time the story begins.

One day Jackson was sent away to a distant market with his master's team, and while he was gone his wife and child were sold by his master to a Southern trader, who removed them to a place about thirty miles distant, where the gang of slaves was gathered, preparatory to starting South the next day. The wife, torn so suddenly from home, was frantic with distress, and prayed to God to trouble her husband's heart that he might know something was wrong, and come to her rescue. Her prayer was answered, for her husband had a strong presentiment on the day mentioned that all was not well at home, and not being able to account for it, hastened his return and learned the facts. Taking two of his master's horses that night, he started in pursuit; rode all night and just before daybreak reached the place where his wife was. She had slept none, but had prayed through all the hours of darkness, and so confident was she that her prayer would be answered that as she lay in the cabin with the rest of the gang of slaves, she kept her head turned in the direction where her husband would come, and listened intently for the sound of his horses' feet. When she did hear him, she took her child in her arms, slipped out quietly in the dark, and joined him. There was no time for explanation or rejoicing then; they were still in the midst of danger and must fly to a place of safety before they uttered the feelings of their full hearts. Mounting the horses, and riding at full speed, they made some distance before the growing light of coming day warned them to seek a hiding-place. They concealed themselves in the woods all that day, and pursued their journey northward during the night.

Finally, they reached the banks of the Ohio River, and leaving the horses, they crossed to the other side, where they found friends who directed them on their way. In the northern part of Ohio, they stopped in a quiet settlement, where the people were abolitionists. Here they had a good situation

offered them, and thinking they would be safe from pursuit in this secluded neighborhood, they accepted the offer and went to work.

Here they remained several years, very happy in their humble home, and here two more children were born to them. By their industrious habits and good conduct they gained the esteem of those around them, and seemed secure in the protection of so many friends. The law, however, still regarded them as slaves, and they learned in time that they were not safe, even on the soil of free Ohio.

An agent, sent out from Kentucky in search of other fugitives, came into this neighborhood, and recognizing Jackson, lost no time in conveying the news to his master. As soon as he received the intelligence, the master gathered a posse of men and came in pursuit. They pounced upon the unsuspecting family and were dragging them back to bondage, when Jackson's friends learned what had happened and came to the rescue. Hastening to the county seat, they obtained a writ, and pursuing the party arrested the master for kidnapping, and brought them all back to the Court-House for trial. Shrewd lawyers were employed, who picked a flaw in the writ which the master had obtained, and the slaves were released. The master hastened to renew his writ, intending now to gain full legal possession of his property. But Jackson's friends were wide awake, and did not risk another arrest. They hurried the fugitives from the Court-House by a back way, through an alley, to a place where a wagon and two swift horses—procured for the occasion—were in waiting. They were quickly stowed in the wagon, then the driver took the reins, and off they went at full speed. The master and his posse pursued them, but in vain. Jackson and his family were conveyed to the lake that night, and put on board a steamer. They crossed safely to Canada, and made their home in Gosfield County.
At the time he related this story, Jackson was living on land of his own, in a house erected by the industry of himself and family, and surrounded by peace and prosperity. He and his wife often related to their children the story of their early hardship and suffering, and when they contrasted their present with their former lot their hearts overflowed with gratitude to God for his protecting and guiding care.

While at Fort Malden, on Lake Erie, we heard of a brave woman named Armstrong, who had recently gone back to Kentucky and rescued five of her children from slavery. We were anxious to see her and hear the story from her own lips, and accordingly visited her at her home in Colchester, about ten miles below Malden. She was a portly, fine-looking woman, and we were much impressed with the noble expression of her countenance. She told us that about two years before she and her husband, with their youngest child, a babe a few months old, made their escape from Kentucky. Their home in that State was about ten miles from the Ohio River, at a point opposite Ripley, the home of that worthy divine and noted abolitionist, John Rankin. After crossing the river, they found friends who helped them on their way to Canada.

They gained freedom for themselves, but they were not happy; they had left seven children in slavery. The mother wept and prayed over their fate, and planned continually how they might be rescued. She felt that she must make some attempt to bring them away, but her husband thought of the risk and danger attending such an effort on her part, and tried to dissuade her from going. She said: “I inquired of the Lord concerning the matter. I prayed most all night, and the Lord seemed to say, ‘Go.’

‘Next morning I told my husband I was going, that the Lord would go with me and help me. I had all my plans laid; I dressed in men’s clothes, and started. I went to our friends in Ohio, and had all the arrangements made for a skiff to come over to the Kentucky side. I took by-ways and through fields to old master’s farm, and got there in the early part of the night. I hid myself near the spring, and watched for my children, for I knew some of them would come to get water. I had not been there long before my eldest daughter came. I called her name in a low voice, and when she started up and looked round, I told her not to be afraid, that I was her mother. I soon convinced her, and her alarm passed away. I then told her my plans, and she said she could bring the rest of the children to
MOTHER, FATHER, CHILD ESCAPE; RETURN FOR OTHER CHILDREN

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me when master and mistress got to sleep. The night was very dark, and that favored our plans. She brought all the children to me but two; they were sleeping in the room with old master and mistress, who had gone to bed, and she could not get them out without raising the alarm. I started with the five, and hastened back to the river as fast as we could go in the dark. We found the skiff waiting for us and soon crossed. On the other side, a wagon was ready to take us in, and the man with it drove us a few miles to a depot of the Underground Railroad. Here we were secreted during the following day, and next night were forwarded on to another station, and so on from station to station till we reached Sandusky, where we were put on board the Mayflower—called the Abolition Boat. We landed safely at Fort Malden two weeks ago, and are out of old massa's reach now. The Lord did help me, and blessed be his holy name!"

She said she had made arrangements with her friends in Ohio, living near the river, to try to get her two other children and send them to her, and she had faith that they would succeed.

28 FUGITIVES ESCAPE KY WITH AID OF WHITE ABOL

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One company of twenty-eight that crossed the Ohio River at Lawrenceburg, Indiana—twenty miles below Cincinnati—had for conductor a white man whom they had employed to assist them. The character of this man was full of contradictions. He was a Virginian by birth and spent much of his time in the South, yet he hated slavery. He was devoid of moral principle, but was a true friend to the poor slave.

The company of twenty-eight slaves referred to all lived in the same neighborhood in Kentucky, and had been planning for some time how they could make their escape from slavery. This white man—John Fairfield—had been in the neighborhood for some weeks buying poultry, etc., for market, and though among the whites he assumed to be very pro-slavery, the negroes soon found that he was their friend.

He was engaged by the slaves to help them across the Ohio River and conduct them to Cincinnati.

They paid him some money which they had managed to accumulate. The amount was small, considering the risk the conductor assumed, but it was all they had. Several of the men had their wives with them, and one woman a little child with her, a few months old. John Fairfield conducted the party to the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Big Miami, where he knew there were several skiffs tied to the bank, near a wood-yard. When I asked him afterward if he did not feel compunctions of conscience for breaking these skiffs loose and using them, he replied: "No; slaves are stolen property, and it is no harm to steal boats or anything else that will help them gain their liberty." The entire party crowded into three large skiffs or yaws, and made their way slowly across the river. The boats were overloaded and sank so deep that the passage was made in much peril. The boat John Fairfield was in was leaky, and began to sink when a few rods from the Ohio bank, and he sprang out on the sand-bar, where the water was two or three feet deep, and tried to drag the boat to the shore. He sank to his waist in mud and quicksands, and had to be
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pulled out by some of the negroes. The entire party waded out through mud and water and reached the shore safely, though all were wet and several lost their shoes. They hastened along the bank toward Cincinnati, but it was now late in the night and daylight appeared before they reached the city. Their plight was a most pitiable one. They were cold, hungry and exhausted; those who had lost their shoes in the mud suffered from bruised and lacerated feet, while to add to their discomfort a drizzling rain fell during the latter part of the night. They could not enter the city, for their appearance would at once proclaim them to be fugitives. When they reached the outskirts of the city, below Mill Creek, John Hatfield hid them as well as he could, in ravines that had been washed in the sides of the steep hills, and told them not to move until he returned. He then went directly to John Hatfield,

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a worthy colored man, a deacon in the Zion Baptist Church, and told his story. He had applied to Hatfield before and knew him to be a great friend to the fugitives—one who had often sheltered them under his roof and aided them in every way he could.

John Hatfield also knew me and knew that I was a friend to the slave. I had met him several times, and was acquainted with the plan of his operations in the South, but I was opposed to the principles on which he worked. I will have occasion to refer to him at another time and will explain more fully his plans, and the reason why I opposed his operations in the South. When he arrived, wet and muddy, at John Hatfield’s house, he was scarcely recognized. He soon made himself and his errand known, and Hatfield at once sent a messenger to me, requesting me to come to his house without delay, as there were fugitives in danger. I went at once and met several prominent colored men who had also been summoned. While dry clothes and a warm breakfast were furnished to John Fair­field, we anxiously discussed the situation of the twenty-eight fugitives who were lying, hungry and shivering, in the hills in sight of the city.

Several plans were suggested, but none seemed practicable. At last I suggested that some one should go immediately to a certain German livery stable in the city and hire two coaches, and that several colored men should go out in buggies and take the women and children from their hiding-places, then that the coaches and buggies should

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form a procession as if going to a funeral, and march solemnly along the road leading to Cumminsville, on the west side of Mill Creek. In the western part of Cumminsville was the Methodist Episcopal burying ground, where a certain lot of ground had been set apart for the use of the colored people. They should pass this and continue on the Colerain pike till they reached a right-hand road leading to College Hill. At the latter place they would find a few colored families, living in the outskirts of the village, and could take refuge among them. Jonathan Cable, a Presbyterian minister, who lived near Farmer’s College, on the west side of the village, was a prominent abolitionist, and I knew that he would give prompt assistance to the fugitives.

I advised that one of the buggies should leave the procession at Cumminsville, after passing the bury­ing-ground, and hasten to College Hill to apprise friend Cable of the coming of the fugitives, that he might make arrangements for their reception in suitable places. My suggestions and advice were agreed to, and acted upon as quickly as possible, John Hatfield agreeing to apprise friend Cable of the coming of the fugitives. We knew that we must act quickly and with discretion, for the fugitives were in a very unsafe position, and in great danger of being discovered and captured by the police, who were always on the alert for runaway slaves.

While the carriages and buggies were being procured, John Hatfield’s wife and daughter, and other colored women of the neighborhood, busied them­selves in preparing provisions to be sent to the fugi­tives. A large stone jug was filled with hot coffee, and this, together with a supply of bread and other provisions, was placed in a buggy and sent on ahead of the carriages, that the hungry fugitives might receive some nourishment before starting. The conductor of the party, accompanied by John Hatfield, went in the buggy, in order to apprise the fugitives of the arrangements that had been made, and have them in readiness to approach the road as soon as the carriages arrived. Several blankets were provided to wrap around the women and children, whom we knew must be chilled by their exposure to the rain and cold. The fugitives were very glad to get the supply of food, the hot coffee
especially being a great treat to them, and felt much revived. About the time they finished their breakfast the carriages and buggies drove up and halted in the road, and the fugitives were quickly conducted to them and placed inside. The women in the tight carriages wrapped themselves in the blankets, and the woman who had a young babe muffled it closely to keep it warm, and to prevent its cries from being heard. The little thing seemed to be suffering much pain, having been exposed so long to the rain and cold.

All the arrangements were carried out, and the party reached College Hill in safety, and were kindly received and cared for. But, sad to relate, it was a funeral procession not only in appearance but in reality, for when they arrived at College Hill, and the mother unwrapped her sick child, she found to her surprise and grief that its stillness, which she supposed to be that of sleep, was that of death. All necessary preparations were made by the kind people of the village, and the child was decently and quietly interred the next day in the burying-ground on the Hill.

When it was known by some of the prominent ladies of the village that a large company of fugitives were in the neighborhood, they met together to prepare some clothing for them. Jonathan Cable ascertained the number and size of the shoes needed, and the clothes required to fit the fugitives for traveling, and came down in his carriage to my house, knowing that the Anti-Slavery Sewing Society had their depository there. I went with him to purchase the shoes that were needed, and my wife selected all the clothing we had that was suitable for the occasion; the rest was furnished by the noble women of College Hill.

I requested friend Cable to keep the fugitives as secluded as possible until a way could be provided for safely forwarding them on their way to Canada. Friend Cable was a stockholder in the Underground Railroad, and we consulted together about the best route, finally deciding on the line by way of Hamilton, West Elkton, Eaton, Paris and Newport, Indiana. West Elkton, twenty-five or thirty miles from College Hill, was the first Underground Railroad depot. That line always had plenty of locomotives and cars in readiness. I agreed to send information to that point, and accordingly wrote to one of my particular friends at West Elkton, informing him that I had some valuable stock on hand which I wished to forward to Newport, and requested him to send three two-horse wagons—covered—to College Hill, where the stock was resting, in charge of Jonathan Cable. I said: "Please put straw in the wagons so that they may rest easy on the journey, for many of them have sore feet, having traveled hastily over rough ground. I wish you to get to College Hill to-morrow evening; come without fail."

The three wagons arrived promptly at the time mentioned, and a little after dark took in the party, together with another fugitive, who had arrived the night before, and whom we added to the company. They went through to West Elkton safely that night, and the next night reached Newport, Indiana. With little delay they were forwarded on from station to station through Indiana and Michigan to Detroit, having fresh teams and conductors each night, and resting during the day. I had letters from different stations, as they progressed, giving accounts of the arrival and departure of the train, and I also heard of their safe arrival on the Canada shore.
A slave family of ten, consisting of a man and his wife, and their eight children, some of them grown, lived in Kentucky, about fifteen miles from Covington. Their master, in order not to prevent their attempting to cross into Ohio and escape, often told them that he intended to set them free, and assured them that they should never have to serve any one but him. Aunt Betsey, the mother of the family, was a trusty old servant, and he repose considerable confidence in her, giving her a standing pass, and sending her frequently to Cincinnati with a wagon and two horses, to take vegetables to market. She faithfully fulfilled all her duties, and though often urged by her colored friends in Cincinnati to escape while such good opportunities were allowed her, she refused to do so, trusting that her master would do as he had promised, and that all her family would be free. But she learned, after awhile, that he intended to sell some of her children, and became fully convinced that there was no hope of the fulfillment of his promise. She had not been allowed to go to the city for some time, and she feared her pass would be taken from her, and that she would not be permitted to go to the city any more. But undismayed at these discouragements, she began to plan for the escape of the whole family. Her husband, more timid than herself, and much less energetic, was afraid to make the attempt, for he thought they certainly would be captured and brought back, and their condition would then be worse than ever. She urged it so much, however, that he finally yielded and consented to go, leaving all the arrangements to her. One night when her master and mistress had retired, and there was no one about who would act as a spy on her movements, she got out the horses and wagon, and prepared a load, as if she were going to market; first putting their clothing and bedding in the bottom of the wagon, then piling vegetables on top.

In the evening she had asked a little white boy who lived in the neighborhood, if he did not wish to go to the city with her, and he, pleased at the prospect of seeing so large a place as Cincinnati, eagerly accepted her invitation. She told him she would take him that night, but he must not mention it to his parents, lest they should not let him go.

He was on hand at the hour of starting, and the whole party got into the wagon and started on their journey. Aunt Betsy drove the horses over the road which she had usually traveled on her way to the city, and just before daylight came to the town of Covington. Before entering it she stopped the team, unloaded the vegetables, secreted her husband and children among the clothing and bedding, and then scattered the vegetables smoothly over the top. Her husband's fear and indecision had increased during the journey, and his courage entirely failed him when they neared Covington.

He wanted to go back, and only the firmness and decision of his wife compelled him to go on.

Aunt Betsy, having seen her family stowed away out of sight, mounted the seat again, with the white boy by her side. When they reached the ferry, she handed the reins to him, and took them again when they were across the river. The ferrymen asked her no questions, for they had often seen her going to market, and supposed that she had the pass she usually carried. After reaching the city, she drove to the house of a colored friend on North Street, where there was a dense colored population, and the wagon was unloaded as soon as possible. The bedding, etc., were stored in the basement of a colored Wesleyan church, and the family scattered among several friends, where they could find places of safety and concealment. Aunt Betsy then drove into Broadway, and after going several squares stopped the team, and told the white boy that she must go to the market and that he must remain and watch the horses.

I had been duly notified of the arrival of the party, had already received some of them into my house, and was now applied to for further assistance. I soon planned an arrangement by which the team could be returned and no clue gained to the whereabouts of the fugitives. A colored man went to a German who could speak but little English, and hired him to drive the team across the ferry to Covington, telling him some one would take charge of it there. When they reached the wagon, they found...
the little boy crying; he said he was tired of waiting for Aunt Betsey, she was gone so long to market.

The master next morning, finding his slaves gone, started in pursuit, and when he reached Covington he found the team, the little boy and the German driver. The child could tell nothing, except that he had gone to market with Aunt Betsey, and that she left him to mind the horses and did not come back. The master had the German arrested, but as he knew nothing about the affair, except that he had been hired by a colored man whom he did not know, to drive the team across to Covington, he was soon discharged. The master continued his search in Cincinnati; he informed the police, and had them on the alert; offered a large reward for the fugitives, and did all in his power to find them, but could gain no clue to their retreat.

A close watch was kept on every road leading out of the city, and the friends of the fugitives dared not move them in any direction for more than a week. At last we hit upon a plan to get them out in disguise, in open daylight. The males were disguised as females, and the females as males, and thus attired they were seated in elegant carriages, and driven out of the city at different points, exactly at noon, when most of the people were at dinner. Those who were on the look-out for a company of frightened, poorly dressed fugitives, did not recognize the objects of their search, for it was quite common for the colored gentry to go out riding in that style. They were taken about thirty miles from the city, and thence proceeded by night travel to Canada. Their bedding and clothing were boxed, and shipped to a trusty friend in Detroit.

HUSBAND, WIFE ESCAPE TO CINCIN, AIDED BY BLACKS

They were placed in a garret chamber and locked up, none but myself and wife knowing of their presence in the house.

Their escape was discovered in the night, and the master with a posse of men started immediately in pursuit. They crossed the river between Covington and Cincinnati, about the same time that the fugitives were crossing below the city. Supposing that they had not had time to cross yet, the pursuers watched the river for some time, in hope of capturing them, not knowing that they were safely ensconced in our garret. Finding himself foiled, the master then went to Covington, and had handbills printed, offering four hundred dollars' reward for his property. Jack and Lucy were worth a thousand dollars each, and the pursuers, finding their money, at once made a wide circuit, to prevent them from escaping, and scattered about the city, and one of them soon came into my hands.

A vigilant search was made for several weeks, but no less vigilant were we who secreted the fugitives. From a small window in their room, Jack and Lucy...
HUSBAND, WIFE ESCAPE TO CINCIN. AIDED BY CIN. BLACKS

1 coffin, reminiscences, 1879

saw their master passing up and down the street in front of the house, and often some of his company passed by, late at night, as if reconnoitering, but no attempt was made to search the premises. After keeping Jack and Lucy secreted in our garret for two weeks, during which time the ladies of the Anti-Slavery Sewing Society provided them with clothing, the hunt seemed to be over and it was decided to send them on to Canada.

FEMALE ESCAPES WITHOUT CHILDREN, AIDED BY WHITE, BLACK

1 coffin, reminiscences, 1879

Sally, an intelligent woman of brown complexion, belonged to a couple of maiden ladies who lived in Covington, Kentucky, having become their property by inheritance. She had been well trained in household work, and was an excellent cook and housekeeper, besides being skillful with the needle. Her husband, who belonged to another family, had been sold from her when her youngest child was a few months old, leaving her with five children, all girls. He was taken to the far South, and she never heard of him afterward. Sally’s eldest two daughters were hired out, but the three younger ones, being too young to be put out to service, were left with her at home.

Sally was a good and faithful servant, and had never suffered the sting of the lash, or other abuse. Her mistresses, probably to dissuade her from taking advantage of her proximity to a free State and running away, often told her that they intended to set her and her children free, but the time was deferred from year to year. Sally often reminded them of their promise without getting any satisfactory reply, and she began to feel that its fulfillment was “mighty onsartain,” as she expressed it, but she had no thought of being sold until her mistresses called her into the house, one morning, from the kitchen and told her that she and her youngest three children were sold, and would be taken away that day. She said this announcement was like a thunderbolt; it struck her dumb. She almost fell to the floor before her mistresses, but they did not seem to pity her, or to pay any attention to her. When she found speech she begged to be permitted to go and see her two girls who were hired out, but her mistresses refused her request, and ordered her to go up-stairs to the room where she slept, and pack up her own and her children’s clothes, in readiness to start away with her new master. When Sally reached her room up-stairs she set her wits to work to find a way to escape. She managed to get out of the window on to the kitchen-roof, then on to an adjoining shed-roof, from which she slid down to the ground in the back yard. She then slipped out the back way and ran to the house of a widow lady living near by, whom she knew to be friendly, and hastily told her sad story. The lady deeply sympathized with her, and being a mother she could understand the distress she felt on her chil-
FEMALE ESCAPES WITHOUT CHILDREN, AIDED BY WHITE, BLACK

/ p. 346 (?nd?/)

Children's account. She concealed Sally in a safe place, thinking that the children would not be taken away unless the mother was found.

Sally was soon missed, and a diligent search was made for her. The news spread through the neighborhood that Sally had deserted, and a company of men started in pursuit, anxious to capture the runaway slave. They searched among the colored people, thinking she had taken refuge there. They did not think of her being so near her home, and thus overlooked her place of concealment. In the afternoon, when the ardor of the search seemed to have abated a little, the widow lady came over to Cincinnati to consult with some of her friends, whom she knew to be abolitionists, in regard to Sally.

William Casey, a worthy colored man who was a good manager in such matters, was consulted and a plan was soon agreed upon. Sally was to be dressed in men's apparel and taken about midnight to a point in the upper part of Covington, near the Licking River, where William Casey would be to receive her, and bring her across the river. Sally being a small woman, it was somewhat difficult to find men's apparel to fit her, but with her friends' assistance the widow obtained a suit of black summer cloth belonging to a youth, which she took home with her. Sally donned the suit and made a presentable appearance in it, but it was rather thin for the season, it being cool weather in early spring. The undertaking was a hazardous one, both for Sally and for William Casey, for the bank might be watched, but Sally's liberty was at stake, and Casey, who was ever ready to aid his people when in distress, felt it his duty to risk his own safety in order to rescue her from slavery. Sally's lady friend sent a trusty companion with her to the place appointed, and as the night was dark they escaped detection, and the whole arrangement was completed without discovery.

/ p. 347/  

William Casey brought Sally directly to our house on the corner of Franklin and Broadway, near Woodward College.

FEMALE ESCAPES WITHOUT CHILDREN, AIDED BY WHITE, BLACK

/p 350/ Sally and Coffin learned that Sally's children had been sold to a man living in Lexington. /p 351/ Coffin and friends attempted to purchase Sally's youngest child from him the Lexington owner, but were unsuccessful. "Sally finally was finally sent on to Canada alone."
Lived in Newport, no children. Ellen could read, a member of the white Baptist church in Cincinnati. They had $300 in deposits in the Newport bank. Their owner had financial reverses and decided to turn over his slaves to his creditors. Ellen found out about his plans. She went to Cincinnati to talk to a church member about her problems. Ellen decided to run away; Louis very reluctant. Louis sent to Cincinnati for eggs by Ellen (which she did often). Lewis was to put his coat on the dock with the eggs to make it appear he had jumped in the river (apparently in distress). Ellen & her mistress rushed to Cincinnati upon hearing the news. Ellen encouraged to make her escape soon. Ellen got permission to cross the river again, and escaped. Doing well in Canada.

Not far from Louisville, Kentucky, there lived a slave whom I will call Jim. He had a wife and one child, who belonged to a different master, a person living in Louisville. Jim's master was more indulgent than some slaveholders, and allowed him the privilege of visiting his wife frequently. Jim's parents having grown old, and become worthless, in the sense of property, had been emancipated by their master, and as they could not, according to the law of Kentucky, remain in that State and be free, they had been sent to Ohio, and had settled at New Richmond, twenty miles above Cincinnati, where some of their relatives, free colored people, were living. After they had lived here a year or two, Jim solicited the privilege of going to see them and carrying some presents to them. The work of the summer was over and he had accumulated a little money, enough to pay the expenses of the trip. After some deliberation, his master consented to give him a pass for a week's absence, and permitted his little brother, about twelve years old, to go with him to see their parents. He thought there was no danger of Jim's not returning promptly, for he knew that he was much attached to his wife and child, and thought that he would not leave them.

But Jim had other thoughts in his mind; he had a yearning to be free. Although he had a kind master he knew that his situation was liable to sudden change. His master might die, or become involved in debt and be obliged to sell him, or his wife and child might be sold away from him. These thoughts Jim had revolved in his mind for some time, and he now resolved to make a bold stroke for freedom. He also had a plan for aiding one of his friends, a slave, whom I will call Joe.

Joe was the property of a man living about thirty miles from Louisville, but being cruelly treated by his master he ran away, and secreted himself among some colored friends in that city. Jim's plan for aiding Joe was to nail him up in a goods box, and ship him to New Richmond, pretending that the box contained some things which he was taking to...
his parents at that place. By the aid of some of his colored friends this was accomplished without attracting suspicion. Joe disposed himself as comfortably as he could in the box, the cover was nailed on, and it was directed to Jim's father at New Richmond, in care of Jim himself. Then it was conveyed to the wharf on a dray, to be placed on board the Cincinnati packet as freight for New Richmond. Jim had gone to the boat before and paid the price of passage for himself and little brother to Cincinnati. He showed his pass to the captain and informed him that he had a box to take with him to his father, on which he wished to pay the freight to Cincinnati in advance. This was satisfactory to the captain, and the weight being marked on the box, which was now on the wharf, Jim paid the freight required. The mate ordered the box to be rolled on board, but Jim took hold and helped the deck hands carry it on deck, and saw that it was placed right side up. The boat arrived at Cincinnati before daylight next morning, and landed at the foot of Main Street. Jim wished to know if his friend was all right, and watching his opportunity when the deck hands were engaged in another part of the boat, he leaned down and whispered through a crack in the box, "Joe, is you dar?"

The answer came back, in muffled tones: "I's hyar, all right."

The wharf of the Maysville packet line, where Jim was to take passage for New Richmond, was at the foot of Broadway, two squares above, but the boat was not yet in. Jim had the box containing his friend conveyed on a dray to the upper wharf, where it had to lay several hours in the hot sunshine. As soon as the boat arrived and her freight was discharged, Jim had the box put on board, watching carefully to see that it was right side up. At four in the afternoon the Maysville boat started. Jim walked the deck impatiently, feeling much anxiety about Joe, and watching eagerly for the sight of his destination. The boat reached New Richmond about sunset, and Jim paid the charges on his box of live freight, and had it rolled off on regard to his safety. It was decided that he must go to Canada immediately, via the Underground Railroad, and that the line leading through Cincinnati was the best for him to take. One of the abolitionists who knew me offered to bring Joe to my house the next evening in his buggy. He had a swift horse, and by starting early in the evening he reached my house about ten o'clock at night. The next day I obtained a ticket to Sandusky for Joe, and put him aboard the night train. I learned afterward that he arrived safely in Canada.

Jim remained a few days with his parents at New Richmond, then came to Cincinnati, and called at my house to inquire about his friend. He told me the particulars, which I have given, of Joe's journey in the box, and also confided to me his own intentions. He said that the time for which his pass was good had not yet expired; he had several days to spare, and he thought of taking a trip to Canada to see how his friend Joe was prospering. If he liked the country himself, he thought he would not return. I asked him about his wife and child; would he leave them in slavery?
1 coffin, reminiscences, 1879

He replied: "I hope to get them to Canada before long. I have been talking with the steward on board the Cincinnati and Louisville packet. He is a trusty fellow, and well acquainted with my wife. He will go to see her and tell her that I have gone to Canada to prepare a home for us, and that she must try to join me."

I said: "But it may be difficult for her to get away with her child."

Jim replied: "We have a white friend living in Louisville who will plan for her if she will apply to him."

Jim then went to the Louisville packet, where he had left his little brother. He paid the fare of his brother to Louisville, and had a private understanding with the colored steward; then a short time before the hour for the boat to start, he told his brother that he had some business up town that he must attend to before starting, and hastily left the boat. His brother supposed that he would soon return, but the boat went off without Jim.

Jim returned to my house and took the train that evening for Sandusky. I told him that according to the laws of Ohio he was already free; that when a slave was brought into this State by his master, or came here with his master's permission, the law would protect him if he chose to remain. But if Jim's wife ran away and came to him here, the law could not protect her; she would be liable to be captured and taken back to slavery.

Jim concluded that he would try the English dominions, and reached Canada in safety. When his wife received the message that he had sent her, she resolved to follow him as soon as she could find an opportunity to make her escape. She consulted with Jones, of Louisville, and a few months afterward he managed to get her safely on board the packet for Cincinnati, and telegraphed to me to go to box 73 and take charge of his papers till called for. I knew by the number that the state-room designated was in the ladies' cabin, and that the fugitive was a woman.

According to arrangements previously explained, she, with her child, was brought to our house, and the next night was forwarded to Canada, where she joined her husband in safety.

COLORED TEACHERS' ASSN ESTABLISHED 1877; ORIGINS NORMAL SCH

paul w l jones, hist of ky normal & industrial sch, 1912

Hon. H. A. M. Henderson,* Superintendent of Public Instruction, in 1877, called a meeting of colored teachers of the State for the purpose of organizing an association. Teachers rallied to this call, organized the Colored Teachers' State Association, and elected Prof. John H. Jackson, of Lexington, Ky., President.

The first meeting of the Association was held in Danville in August, 1878, and in his annual address Prof. Jackson advocated the establishment of normal schools for the instruction of colored teachers. He said that no public school system was complete without teachers' training schools, that teaching was a profession requiring earnest, thorough and skillful training, and that no man or woman could successfully instruct others who had not been intelligently prepared for that work. Prof. John Miller Maxwell and Prof. William M. Jackson seconded his remarks. The matter thus brought before the people was afterwards discussed at many meetings of the Colored Teachers' State Association and wherever there was a gathering of progressive colored citizens.

On October 15, 1885, a call for a convention of colored citizens of Kentucky to discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the race in the State was issued by Rev. William J. Simmons, A. M., D. D., Jordon C. Jackson, William H. Steward, A. W. Titus, E. W. Glass, G. W. Gentry and others. The Convention met in the St. Paul A. M. E. Church at Lexington on November 20th. Rev. Simmons was elected Chairman, and Prof. James S. Hathaway, Secretary. Others prominent in the convention were: John W. Bate, Danville; William H. Steward, Louisville; E. W. Glass, Hopkinsville; George W. Bolling, Elizabethtown; A. W. Titus, Berea; D. A. Walker, Mt. Sterling; Jordon C. Jackson, Lexington; Charles H. Parrish, Louisville; A. C. Brent, Hopkinsville; J. W. Hawkins, Newport; R. E. Hathaway, Lexington; and William H. Ward, Louisville.

Many matters of interest to colored people were discussed, and on November 27th, resolutions were adopted asking the General Assembly for better public schools and a normal school, and pleading for equal rights for all citizens and for an opportunity to set their grievances before that body. A committee of
The committee appointed to present this petition to the General Assembly and a committee of colored citizens of Frankfort met in Frankfort on January 26, 1886. The Legislature was then in session and granted to these joint committees the privilege of holding their meetings in the Hall of Representatives of the State Capitol. Colored people from all parts of the State gathered there, and many members of the Legislature were present and took part in the proceedings. Prof. William H. Mayo, Principal of the Clinton Street Public School, Frankfort was Chairman of these meetings, and Mr. A. C. Brent, Hopkinsville, was Secretary.

The next day, January 27th, the convention in a body called on Governor J. Proctor Knott and Superintendent of Public Instruction Joseph D. Pickett, and these officials promised to support any movement that would help the colored people of the State. The Joint Committee on Grievances and Propositions of the two houses of the General Assembly, Hon. A. S. Berry, Chairman, received the committee of

M. College (now State University of Kentucky), Lexington, and that while Berea College and State University, Louisville, had normal training departments, these two schools did not receive a dollar from the State. When he had concluded his address, he was warmly congratulated by members of the Senate, and many of them then and there promised him their support to any movement for the uplift of his race.

A few days later a bill to establish “a State Normal School for Colored Persons” was introduced in the Senate. It passed both houses of the Legislature by large majorities, and was approved by Governor J. Proctor Knott** on the 18th of May, 1886.

COLORED TEACHERS' ASSN ESTABLISHED 1877; ORIGINS NORMAL SCH 6533-A

paul w l jones, hist of ky normal & industrial sch, 1912

twenty was appointed to present these resolutions to the Legislature, and of this committee Rev. Simmons was chairman and spokesman.

Concerning education in their petition to the Legislature the convention said: "As no educational system is complete without normal schools and such other educational facilities as will best contribute to the greatest development of a people of the State, we request that normal and agricultural and mechanical and other schools be established for our people, with the same facilities as are accorded to other schools, or our students admitted to those already established. We also request the abolition of the law which discriminates in the raising of funds for the erection of school houses, so that all may be erected out of a common fund as the educational system is supported out of a common fund. We are in favor of compulsory education, and request the passage of such a law, believing it will be beneficial to all citizens of the State."

COLORED TEACHERS' ASSN ESTABLISHED 1877; ORIGINS NORMAL SCH 6533-B

paul w l jones, hist of ky normal & industrial sch, 1912

twenty with distinguished attention. The resolutions were then read in the Senate, and Rev. Simmons spoke to the members of that body. His address was a strong, logical, and convincing appeal. After speaking of the public school system, he said:

"Let us turn our attention to the question of normal schools. As to the necessity of normal schools in a system of education, we need not insult your intelligence by debating their propriety or non-propriety. Their usefulness is universally accepted as a clinching argument in their favor. The fact, however, remains that Kentucky has none for her colored teachers' training. By referring to the common school report of 1880-81, by our very distinguished State Superintendent of Public Instruction, he says (page 243): 'To provide for the education of a child without providing a proper educator, is poor economy. It is inconsistent.' Normal schools should be planted for all; but we pray for ourselves because we have none. Your provisions for the common schools must, therefore, be supplemented by normal schools, or money wasted on incompetent teachers."

Dr. Simmons* pointed out the fact that such schools were maintained by other States, that a normal school for white people existed in A. &

M. College (now State University of Kentucky), Lexington, and that while Berea College and State University, Louisville, had normal training departments, these two schools did not receive a dollar from the State. When he had concluded his address, he was warmly congratulated by members of the Senate, and many of them then and there promised him their support to any movement for the uplift of his race.

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The object of the school as stated in the act "shall be the preparation of teachers for the colored public schools of Kentucky." An appropriation of $7,000 for the purpose of erecting a recitation building was granted, and an annual appropriation of $3,000 for the payment of teachers was allowed. The following Trustees were named: Hon. Joseph D. Pickett, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Chairman, ex-officio; Hon. J. G. Simmard, Lexington; Col. John O. Hodges, Lexington; and Hon. C. U. McBryde, Bowling Green.

The city of Frankfort, through its council, Col. E. H. Taylor, Jr., Mayor, donated $1,500 for the purchase of a site for the school and for cleaning the grounds and making preparations for the erection of buildings. A brick building of two stories for recitation purposes was erected and arrangements were made for opening the institution in the autumn of 1887.

The site consists of forty acres of rolling land and is on a high hill to the east of the city. The entrance to the campus is from the Lexington Frankfort turnpike and is about one mile from the old State Capitol. The beautiful landscape view is unsurpassed and excites the admiration of all whose privilege it is to behold it. The main buildings of the school are located on this site.

The Recitation Building stands on one of the highest points on the campus, and, when viewed from a distance, has the appearance of an old German castle. It contains eight class rooms, a physical and chemical laboratory, an office, and a chapel, and is well adapted to the purpose for which it was designed.

**BRIEF BIOGRAPHY WM J. SIMMONS**

Oct. 31, 1890. Rev. Simmons was for a short time the editor of the "American Baptist," a weekly church paper, published at Louisville, and through its columns first suggested the meetings which resulted in the organization of the National Baptist Association and the Kentucky Baptist Women's Educational Board. He was the first President of the National Association.
On October 11, 1887, with Prof. C. C. Monroe, A. M., as Assistant, and Mrs. Mary B. Monroe as Matron, President Jackson opened the doors of the school for the admission of pupils on its present site, since known as "Normal Hill." The frame cottage in the rear of the Recitation Building was erected in the fall of 1887. Fifty-five students were in attendance the first session of the school. Seeing that at the next session this number would be increased, Miss Ida Joyce (now Mrs. John H. Jackson) was elected to a position as teacher by the Board of Trustees. The same year (1888) the house now occupied by the President was built. Eighty-eight pupils were enrolled during the session of 1888-89.

In 1890, in order to secure the Federal appropriation under the "Morrill Law," temporary departments of agriculture, mechanics and domestic economy were organized, and in 1891, permanent organizations having been effected, Prof. Monroe became Professor of Agriculture, Prof. Moses A. Davis, Professor of Mechanics, and Mrs. Ida Joyce Jackson, Instructor in Domestic Science. Rev. William A. Creditt, D. D., was elected an instructor in the Normal Department.

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**BRIEF BIOG JOHN H. JACKSON**

Paul W. Jones, Hist of Ky Normal & Industrial Sch., 1912

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John Henry Jackson, A. M., 1887-1898, and 1907-1910

Born in Lexington, Ky., October 31, 1850. 
Received his early education in the schools of his birthplace, A. B., Berea College, 1867; A. M., 1870. 
Principal of Public Schools, Lexington, Ky., 1874-81; 
Principal of Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Mo., 1881-87; President of Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, 1887-98; 
President of Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., 1898-1901; for some time Deputy Assessor, Colorado Springs, Colo.; 
President of Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, 1907-10; in real estate business, Columbus, Ohio, 1910-11; Editor of "The Demonstarator," Mount Bayon, Miss., 1881-82; 
Author of "A History of Enderby," 1897; M. C. A., Columbus, O. (This is a fictional biography for the purpose of this example.)

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College of Business, Real Estate Columbus, Ohio, 1915.
JAMES SHELDON HATHAWAY, A. M., M. D., 1900-1907, and 1910—
Born in Mt. Sterling, Ky., March 29, 1859. His primary education was received in the schools of his native city. He entered Berea College in 1876, and graduated in 1884 with the A. B. degree. A. M., ibid, 1891; M. D., State University (Louisville National Medical College), 1897. Tutor in Mathematics and Latin, Berea College, 1884-85; Instructor in Mathematics and Latin, Berea College, 1885-93; Professor of Natural Science and Agriculture, Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, 1893-97; Principal of High School, Maysville, Ky., 1897-1900; President of Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, 1900-07; in business at Richmond, Ky., 1907-10; President of Kentucky Industrial Institute, 1910—

CHAPMAN COLEMAN MONROE, A. M., Natural Science, 1887-91; Natural Science and Agriculture, 1891-1893
Born near Georgetown, Ky., October 16, 1859. He attended private subscription schools in Scott County, Ky., till he was twelve years of age, when he moved to Lexington, Ky., and entered the school conducted by the American Missionary Society (now Chandler Normal School). He finished the course of that school and then studied two years under private tutors. In 1879 he taught a district school in Fayette County, Ky., and from 1880 to 1887 he was Principal of “Hall” (now Russell) School, Lexington, Ky.; Student in Natural Science, University of Illinois, Summers of 1891 and 1892; Professor of Natural Science, Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, 1887-91; Professor of Natural Science and Agriculture, Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, 1891-93; Principal of Polytechnic Institute, Lexington, Ky., 1893-96; Principal of High School, Owensboro, Ky., 1896-1904; Principal of High School, Evansville, Ind., 1904-05; Editor and Publisher of “Southern Teachers’ Advocate,” 1905-08; Principal of Graded School, Mayfield, Ky., 1908-09.
us, cong, senq, 42d cong, 1 sess, 1871, "memorial of committee appointed at meeting of colored citizens of frankfort, mis doc No 49, serial 1467

FRANKFORT BLACKS PETITION CONGRESS REGARDING OUTRAGES 1871

us, cong, senage, 42d cong, 1 sess, 1871, "memorial of committee appointed at meeting of colored citizens of frankfort, mis doc No 49, serial 1467

MEMORIAL

of

A COMMITTEE APPOINTED AT A MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS OF FRANKFORT, KY., AND VICINITY,

PRAYING

The enactment of laws for the better protection of life.

APRIL 11, 1871.—Ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

We, the colored citizens of Frankfort and vicinity, do this day memorialize your honorable bodies upon the condition of affairs now existing in the State of Kentucky. We would respectfully state that life, liberty, and property are unprotected among the colored race of this State. Organized bands of desperate and lawless men, mainly composed of soldiers of the late rebel armies, armed, disciplined, and disguised, and bound by oath and secret obligations, have, by force, terror, and violence, subverted all civil society among colored people; thus utterly rendering insecure the safety of persons and property, overthrowing all those rights which are the primary basis and objects of the Government, which are expressly guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States as amended. We believe you are not
FRANKFORT BLACKS PETITION CONGRESS REGARDING OUTRAGES 1871

US, CONG, SENATE, 42D CONG, 1 SESS, 1871, 'MEMORIAL COMMITTEE COLORED CITIZENS OF FRANKFORT,' MIS DOC NO 49, SERIAL 1467

FAMILIAR WITH THE DESCRIPTION OF THE KU-KLUX KLANS RIDING NIGHTLY OVER THE COUNTRY, GOING FROM COUNTY TO COUNTY, AND IN THE COUNTY TOWNS, SPREADING TERROR WHEREVER THEY GO BY ROBBING, WHIPPING, RAVISHING, AND KILLING OUR PEOPLE WITHOUT PROVOCATION, COMPPELLING COLORED PEOPLE TO BREAK THE ICE AND BATHERS IN THE CHILLY WATERS OF THE KENTUCKY RIVER.

THE LEGISLATURE HAS ADJOURNED. THEY REFUSED TO ENACT ANY LAWS TO SUPPRESS KU-KLUX DISORDER. WE REGARD THEM AS NOW BEING LICENSED TO CONTINUE THEIR DARK AND BLOODY DEEDS UNDER COVER OF THE DARK NIGHT. THEY REFUSE TO ALLOW US TO TESTIFY IN THE STATE COURTS WHERE A WHITE MAN IS CONCERNED. WE FIND THEIR DEEDS ARE PERPETRATED ONLY UPON COLORED MEN AND WHITE REPUBLICANS. WE ALSO FIND THAT FOR OUR SERVICES TO THE GOVERNMENT AND OUR RACE WE HAVE BECOME THE SPECIAL OBJECT OF HATRED AND PERSECUTION AT THE HANDS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. OUR PEOPLE ARE DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES IN GREAT NUMBERS, HAVING NO REDRESS ONLY THE UNITED STATES COURT, WHICH IS IN MANY CASES UNABLE TO REACH THEM.

WE WOULD STATE THAT WE HAVE BEEN LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS, PAY OUR TAXES, AND IN MANY PARTS OF THE STATE OUR PEOPLE HAVE BEEN DRIVEN FROM THE POLLS, REFUSED THE RIGHT TO VOTE, MANY HAVE BEEN SLAUGHTERED WHILE ATTEMPTING TO VOTE. WE ASK, HOW LONG IS THIS STATE OF THINGS TO LAST? WE APPEAL TO YOU AS LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS TO ENACT SOME LAWS THAT WILL PROTECT US, AND THAT WILL ENABLE US TO EXERCISE THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

WE SEE THE SENATOR FROM THIS STATE DENIES THERE BEING ORGANIZED BANDS OF DESPERADOES IN THE STATE; FOR INFORMATION, WE LAY BEFORE YOU A NUMBER OF VIOLENT ACTS, OCCURRED DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION. ALTHOUGH HE, STEVENSON, SAYS HALF A DOZEN Instances OF VIOLENCE DID OCCUR, THESE ARE NOT MORE THAN ONE-HALF THE ACTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS HERE A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION COMPOSED ONLY OF REPUBLICANS; NOT A SINGLE REPUBLICAN CAN JOIN THEM. WHERE MANY OF THESE ACTS HAVE BEEN COMMITTED, IT HAS BEEN PROVEN THAT THEY WERE THE MEN, DONE WITH ARMS FROM THE STATE ARSENAL. WE PRAY YOU WILL TAKE SOME STEPS TO REMEDY THESE EVILS.

DONE BY A COMMITTEE OF GRIEVANCES APPOINTED AT A MEETING OF ALL THE COLORED CITIZENS OF FRANKFORT AND VICINITY.

HENRY MARIS,
TEACHER COLORED SCHOOL,
HENRY LYNN,
LIVERY STABLE KEEPER,
H. H. TRUMBO, GROOER,
SAMUEL DEMSEY,
B. SMITH,
B. J. CRAMPTON, BARBER,
COMMITTEE.

MARCH 25, 1871.

1. A mob visited Harrodsburg, in Mercer County, to take from jail a man named Robertson, November 14, 1867.
2. Smith attacked and whipped by regulators in Nelson County, November, 1867.
3. Colored school-house burned by incendiaries in Breckinridge, December 24, 1867.
4. A negro, Tim Macklin, taken from jail in Frankfort and hung by mob, January 28, 1868.
5. Sam Davis hung by mob at Harrodsburg, May 23, 1868.
7. George Rogers hung by a mob at Bradfordsville, Marion County, July 11, 1868.
8. Colored school exhibition at Midway attacked by a mob, July 31, 1868.
9. Seven persons ordered to leave their homes at Stanford, Kentucky, August 7, 1868.
10. Alex Woodford, aged 60, badly beaten by disguised mob; Mary Smith Curtis and Margaret Mosby also badly beaten near Keene, Jessamine County, August, 1868.
11. Cabo Fields shot and killed by disguised men near Keene, Jessamine County, August 2, 1868.
12. James Gaines expelled from Anderson by Ku-Klux, August, 1868.
14. Noah Blankenship whipped by a mob in Pulaski County, August, 1868.
15. Negroes attacked, robbed, and driven from Summerville, in Greene County, Auguest 21, 1868.
17. J. A. Montford hung by a mob near Coger's Landing in Jessamine County, Auguest 24, 1868.
18. William Glasgow killed by a mob in Warren County, September 5, 1868.
20. Two negroes beaten by Ku-Klux in Anderson County, September 11, 1868.
22. Mob attacked Cumins's house in Pulaski County; Cumins, his daughter, and a man named Adams killed in the attack, September 19, 1868.
23. United States Marshal Meriwether attacked, captured, and threatened with death in Larue county by mob, September, 1868.
24. Richardson's house attacked in Cornishville by mob, and Crabshaw killed, September 29, 1868.
us cong. senate, 42d cong, 1 sess, 1871, 'memorial committee colored citizens of frankfort,' mis doc No 49, serial 1467

53. Man named Shepherd shot by mob near Parksville, October, 1863.
54. Regulator killed George Tanakley, in Lincoln County, November 2, 1839.
55. Ku-Klux attacked Frank Searcy's house in Madison County; one man shot, November, 1869.
56. Searcy hung by mob at Richmond, Madison County, November 4, 1839.
57. Ku-Klux killed Robert Mershon; daughter shot, November, 1839.
58. Mob whipped Pope, Hall, and Willet, in Washington County, November, 1839.
59. Regulators whipped Cooper, in Pulaski County, November, 1839.
60. Ku-Klux ruffians outraged negroes in Hickman County, November 20, 1839.
61. Mob take two negroes from jail, Richmond, Madison County; one hung; one whipped, December 12, 1869.
62. Two negroes killed by mob while in civil custody, near Mayfield, Graves County, December, 1869.
63. Allen Cooper killed by Ku-Klux in Adair County, December 24, 1869.
64. Negroes whipped while on Scott's farm, in Franklin County, December, 1869.
65. Mob hung Charles Fields in Fayette County, January 20, 1870.
66. Mob take two men from Springfield jail and hung them, January 31, 1870.
67. Ku-Klux whipped two negroes in Madison County, February, 1870.
68. Simon hung by mob near Kingston, Madison County, February, 1870.
69. Mob hung, then whipped, Douglas Rodes, near Kingston, Madison County, February, 1870.
70. Mob takes Fielding Walker from jail at Winchester, February 19, 1870.
71. R. L. Byrom hung by mob at Richmond, February 18, 1870.
72. Perry hung by mob near Lancaster, Garrard County, April 5, 1870.
73. Negro hung by mob at Crab Orchard, Lincoln County, April 6, 1870.
74. Mob rescue prisoner from Somerset jail, April 5, 1870.
75. Mob attacked A. Owen's house, in Lincoln county; Hyatt killed and Saunders shot, April, 1870.
76. Mob releases five prisoners from Federal officers in Bullitt County, April 11, 1870.
77. Sam Lambert shot and hung by mob in Mercer County, April 11, 1870.
78. Mob attacked William Palmer's house, in Clark County; William Hart killed, April, 1870.
79. Three men hung by mob near Glasgow, Warren County, May, 1870.

CONTROVERSY OVER BLACK ORPHAN'S HOME (May 1881) IN LOU

The Daily Louisville Commercial, May 3, 1881

"COLORED AND WHITE.

A Matter That Should be Considered by the Trustees of the Public Schools, as Well as by The Board of Directors of Colored Orphans' Home.

An Interesting Paper From George W. Brown.

A colored man is teaching in the public schools who hates the entire white race. He is Secretary of the Colored Orphans' Home Society, and editor of a colored newspaper, and presses his doctrine of hatred to white people in all three of these institutions. I allude to Otis Adams, the youngest son of the late Rev. Henry Adams, who was thirty-five years pastor of Fifth-street Baptist church, and the greatest and best colored man that it was ever my lot to know, either in or out of the pulpit. C. F. Adams is about 23 years old, and is afflicted with the idea very common to our people, namely, that God put him here to lead somebody. It seems that he has studied his father's history with the view of contrasting it, and thus far has succeeded well. When he left school he went to Cincinnati and tried to pass for white; and while his complexion is very fair—even fairer than a great many pure whites—his hair is wooly, and if allowed to grow, would betray him. Now he had denied his own people, who loved him so dearly (only on his father's account), and was not received by the whites, so, the change of race being a failure, a change of base became necessary, and he would rather be a "nigger" that a poor white man; so, without money or friends, he returned to Louisville, at which time I was connected with the School Board, I aided him in getting a position as teacher in the Western colored school, where he soon gained the reputation of whipping the blackest pupils the hardest.

As an editor, I'll give a sample of his teaching through his paper, the
Bulletin, June 28, 1879—the closing remarks of an editorial on the troubles of the colored people in the South:
"Would to God that a thousand boats would go there and take every negro from the South; that pestilence would again plant its iron heel there; that famine would not stay its hand until this infamous course of action, engendered by slavery, conceived by prejudice, and nourished by ignorance and lust, shall be forever impracticable in America."
This, too, is an evidence of his hatred of the whites, with whom he once tried to be identified.

At a mass meeting in Quinn Chapel last summer, when we were canvassing the additional school-tax question, in which the colored people took a lively interest in its favor for the reasons one was from a sense of gratitude to the Board of Trustees of the public schools who had dealt liberally and kind with the colored schools, and the other was the hope of facilitating the equalization of salaries among white and colored teachers, as many of the trustees had expressed themselves willing to do upon the ground of simple justice. Coupled with this was the Finzer brothers proposition to give a thousand dollars to the Colored Orphan's Home in the event of the election of Mr. Baily as Marshal of Chancery Court, which was the only time the colored churches ever united on a local issue—"school-tax and Baily." And while we carried the measure and the man, we are still hoping for the equalization and the thousand dollars. At this meeting in the course of speech making, C. F. Adams gave notice to the school trustees, two of whom were present, (Drs. Thompson and Gilbert) that when school opened again it was his purpose to make a raid upon the Female High School with the girls from A grade from the Central Colored School. I held that such an act would be insubordination...
inviting Prof. Betholomew to deliver at the next meeting his famous lecture on primary teaching, a thing as much needed by Mr. Adams as any teacher in the service, and yet he opposed it with great violence and gave his reasons in the following words, as I was so informed: "I hate a white man so that I can't bear to hear one talk." Prof. Betholomew is one of the first educators in the State and is able to lecture the best white teachers, besides he is a good and true friend to the colored educational interest, and had much to do with giving our teachers a start when our schools were in their infancy. When I learned of this conduct on the part of C. F. Adams I was sorely grieved, because I knew how kindly disposed the Professor was to our colored teachers. They are invited to come to him whenever they feel the need of his advice, as he has always the need in a position to serve them since our school began. Again I went to his brother John, with whom the door for advice is always ajar. I said, "If you can't induce Cyrus to desist from his expressions of wholesale hatred to white people he will break his own neck and do the cause of the colored people great disgrace." I did not mean that breaking his would be any damage to the colored people, but the danger lay in the probability of his being mistaken for a representative man, as he was a teacher in the colored public schools, Secretary of the Colored Orphans' Home Society, and editor of a colored newspaper, John said his brother was acting very foolishly, and that he was sorry for it, as he could not talk to him about those things without his flying off the handle. Then I talked with members of the Colored School Board and told them what I had heard about Adams at the Colored Teachers' Institute in regard to Prof. Betholomew. I told them they should talk to him and show him the injustice he is doing.

The colored board by abusing white people only for being white. The gentlemen of the colored board said that Adams knew nothing of our relations with the White people; that when our teachers needed help most, and found it ready in Prof. Betholomew, Adams was in Ohio trying to pass for white. I said, "Well, he ought to resign and put himself in a position where his abuse would be at his own risk instead of that of the management of the colored schools and Orphans' Home," for I am not one of that kind that hate a white man because he is white or love a black man because he is black. If a white man is just and fair I will forgive him for being white and respect him. If black man is low and mean I will despise him, even if he is thrice black. I love the black race better than any other, and love the white race for what they do for us. I have said it before and say it now that if the white people of Louisville should withdraw their support from the colored people there is not one colored preacher or colored school teacher that could live in the city six months except upon what they had previously saved. This white-man hater makes no difference between the white people that are friendly to our race and those that are not. It was by the aid of white people that we have forty colored teachers employed and that we have any colored public schools at all. It was by the aid of the white people that our wayward youth have the benefit of the House of Refuge. It was by the aid of the white people that enjoy the full benefit of the street cars. It was by the aid of the white people that our poor and afflicted enjoy the benefit of the City Hospital and Alms-house-by the aid of white people's money exclusively that an Orphans' Home at all.

When the Hon. B. H. Bristow was Secretary of the Treasury under President Grant, at my own request he made Horace Morris steward of the United States
CONTROVERSY OVER BLACK ORPHAN'S HOME (May 1881) IN LOU

The Daily Louisville Commercial, May 3, 1881

Marine Hospital; Wm. Rankin conductor of the elevator in the Custom-house and W. H. Gibson United States Gauger. Upon my recommendation, by the kindness of Mayor Jacob, Madison Morris was made chief janitor of the City Hall and messenger to the Mayor. By the kindness of Mayor Baxter W. R. Ward holds the same place today. Upon my recommendation James Moody got his place in the United States Court. Wm. Steward, George Evans, George A. Shafer and James Harris all got their places in the postoffice upon my recommendation of them to white people. O. B. Jones, Jesse Merriwether, J. W. Adams and myself all got our appointments as United States Storekeepers directly through Col. J. F. Buckner.

The above mentioned are public men and in public institutions. Now, when we come to individual and private affairs it goes farther and cuts deeper, for this involves the welfare of thousands of our people, who, without the assistance of white friends, could not live at all. I have been in public service in this city for more than twenty-five years and had an opportunity to know the relations between the whites and our people, and how well I have improved that opportunity the public can judge by what I say about it.

I mention these things to show how dependent we are upon the white people after all, and the utter folly ofcourting their ill-will. These white-men haters (I use the plural because Adams is not alone, and his adherents, though few, whom the public shall know in their turn), had better stop and see if their course is best even for themselves. I do not believe there is a colored man in the city who had a place worth keeping that he does not owe it to a white man, or a set of white men, and those who have business of their own are no less dependent.

As for Adams' hatred to the white people and love for the blacks, I do not believe it sincere in either; but it is a mistaken idea of selfishness. He does not care for any but himself, and seems to think that by abusing white people he can be a leader of the blacks and make many subscribers--for--his--papers. He should not be retained in the public schools as a teacher, because he is misleading the young mind and misrepresenting the colored citizens. He has native ability and fair attainments, but blacks honor and judgement. Our people in the South have suffered more from such teachers and leaders as Adams than from all other causes combined since the war. At a meeting of the State Educational Society, which met in Central School building, last August a year, composed mainly of colored teachers, in discussing a resolution to make a raid on the Female High School with the girls of the colored A. grade, which, I think, he offered himself, he advised the colored people to take revolvers and demand their rights for public places, and, if resisted, shoot their way in. And while the things I say of Adams are known to the colored School Board and the Board of Directors of the Colored Orphans' Home, but it is due to them also that I say that a very small portion, if any, indorse his sentiments; and yet they are chargeable with injustice to the school and the home by keeping this practical enemy of both in office.

My position in this matter is a peculiar one. For many years I have been regarded by the white as a representative man of my race, for which reason some of my people have labored hard and said much regardless of truth to prove that I was not; and while I never claimed to be, nor quarreled with our people about the matter, I am unwilling to allow the colored people to rest in a light so ridiculous as the conduct and teaching of Adams, as a leader, would make them appear. For, be it said to their credit, there is
not one in ten that share his sentiments. They only regard him as an un­fortunate, unreliable, disjointed batch of contradictions, and tolerate him on the account of the great service his father did this community. Such is my opinion, and the same spirit of justice which prompts its expression for­bids my allowing the whites being placed in a false light regarding our people by designing parties. The white people are liberal and kind to our people beyond their own comport, and without hope or desire for reward. As Financial Soliciting Agent for the Colored Orphans' Home for six months, I have worked altogether among the whites, and the responses have been general, regardless of religion or politics. And in all this time never met by one white man to refuse. As I have been the channel through whom their kind­ness flowed to the colored orphans, I could least of any colored man in the State afford to be passive and allow them to be abused and misrepresented by our people without even an excuse. I think my information on the sub­ject, will justify the assertion that the relation between the white and colored people of Louisville is as good as it is anywhere and the good people of either side should not allow this fact to be distorted.

The high standing of the colored people of Louisville is much the result of the teaching of his father thirty years ago, who was the real leader of his people, and a true teacher. And his influence was not confined to his church or race, for he commanded the ear and respect of the best citizens, and taught them that the colored people were worthy of their respect and confidence, and hence the good relations.

Now suppose C. F. Adams should succeed like his father in getting control of the young mind, holding the views that he does, and raise a crop of colored citizens like himself, what will the harvest be?

Now, the white people don't need any colored champion, but the welfare of colored people, especially the schools and the orphans, depends much upon a proper understanding with the whites, and this we cannot have with Adams as a teacher and Secretary of the Home; for when the fact of his policy is known it will be universally condemned by all sensible people, and the public will not understand why he is kept in office.

As Adams' personal friend for two years, I have urged upon his brother John and members of the Board of Visitors, to induce him to change his policy for the good of his people, or keep his mouth shut for his own good. The continued opposition to his course on my part has only resulted in making him a personal enemy, who will lend himself to any plot or clan to affect my stand­ing in the community. But honesty, like virtue, has its own reward, and I am not dependent upon Adams or his adherers for my standing, for while I am right, I can take care of myself.

A man who professes to be a friend of the black man and says he hates the white man, is a friend, and not a friend to any man.

The Bulletin is owned and edited by John Q. and C. F. Adams, but John says that he did not approve of his brother's course in the matters above re­ferred to, and I repeat it for his benefit. I have said the colored people of this city did not approve of C. F. Adams' course. Now, if any of them will notify me that I have made a mistake as to individuals and give me the name or names, I will publish a correction and, an apology over my own signature, as I don't wish to do any one injustice. I denounce his course as being prejudicial to the best interest of the colored people, and him, as an un­faithful guardian of the orphan, in his abuse of their best friends without a cause.
False teaching is a great evil, and I hope the colored schools may be spared of it. I also hope the orphans will be relieved of the obstruction to the stream that flows from the giving hand.

GEO. W. BROWN.
Agent Colored Orphans' Home. Residence 398 First street.


The Covington Board of Education provided for negro education in 1873. The City Charter was amended as follows: "The Board of School Trustees of the City of Covington, ... are authorized ... to establish and maintain schools for the negro children of the city in such numbers and localities as in their judgment will furnish sufficient educational facilities for the colored children of the city. ... under the same control, rules and regulations as govern other schools of the city."

"In August, 1873, the Board of Education employed one negro woman teacher at a salary of thirty dollars per month." School began the following month in September 1873 in one room of the old Second District School on Greer Street, which had previously been a school for white children. "This marked the beginning of negro education in Covington."
On March 24, 1775, Boone camped for the night in the gently rolling forest country just outside the modern town of Richmond, in Madison County. The many small hills and tiny ravines offered perfect cover to any hostile force; and the next morning, as Boone's camp lay sleeping, there was a volley of Indian arrows, and Indians came rushing in, waving their tomahawks.

Half awake and wholly terrified, the white men snatched their rifles and ran from the smoldering camp fire to the shelter of darkness and the forest. Once in safety, Squire Boone found that he had seized his jacket instead of his powder horn and shot-pouch. Half naked, and with no means of defense, he crawled about in the darkness with his useless rifle until he could find his brother and borrow ammunition. Captain Twitty had been shot through both knees, so that he could not move. As the Indians burst into his tent to scalp him, a bulldog leaped at one brave, knocking him over. A second brave hastily tomahawked the dog. Then both vanished, leaving Twitty without further injuries. His negro slave Sam, hit by a rifle ball in the attack, leaped to his feet with one spasmodic effort, then fell dead into the camp fire. Felix Walker, though badly wounded, was able to join the scramble for the underbrush.

When the uproar at the camp had ceased, Daniel Boone gathered up his scattered men and went back. The Indians had gone, having stolen a few horses but nothing else. The expedition stood guard till broad daylight, but the attack was over.

Walker and Twitty were so badly wounded that travel was impossible. The others built a hasty log fort—long known as "Twitty's Fort"—and here they waited while Boone made simple medicines from woods plants and nursed the wounded men with what Walker describes as "paternal affection." Twitty soon died and was buried beside his negro slave. Rough stones set in the ground, still mark their graves.

Three days later hunters out for provisions came upon "Samuel Tate's son," who told how his camp, at some distance...
1775 ATTACK ON BOONE'S CAMP; BLACK MALE KILLED; BLACK FEMALE SOUNDS 2D ALARM

JOHN Bakeless, master of the wilderness, 1939

The moon from Boone's, had also been fired into. The little group had foolishly lighted a fire without posting guards and were busy with the usual nightly task of drying moccasins when the Indians shot into them. Two were killed. The rest scattered carelessly through the woods. The moonlit night and a late fall of April snow made it easy for the Indians to track them down. Samuel Tate himself escaped only by running down an icy stream, still called Tate's Creek in memory of the episode.

When Squire and Daniel Boone reached the scene, they found "two men killed and scalped." Boone at once sent word to other scattered parties to assemble at the mouth of Otter Creek.

His men were appalled. Kentucky was by no means so "pleasing and rapturous" now as it had seemed a few days earlier. The weaker spirits in Boone's party packed up and started for home. One man remained in the forest, still afraid to come into camp. As a woman slave of Colonel Callaway's went out to gather firewood one morning, she saw the poor wretch peeping from behind a tree, apparently unable to make up his mind.

When Felix Walker was well enough to be moved, he was put into a litter between two horses—one in front and one behind—and the party pushed on toward the Kentucky River. As they came into the river bottom, they caught a cheerful glimpse of Kentucky's wealth of game. A herd of two or three hundred buffalo were moving away from the licks around two mineral springs, "some running, some walking, others loping recklessly, with young calves playing, skipping and
Daniel knew Indians, and he also knew when he had had enough. He did not believe the bullets so far had been meant to kill, but only to warn him. The next shots would be aimed to kill. He halted in his tracks. No chance of escape was left. He prepared to surrender to his red brothers.

Slipping behind a tree, he placed his rifle in front of it as evidence that he would not resist. The braves came up, laughing, disarmed him, shook hands warmly, and marched him off. The Indians were naively delighted with their capture. This was no ordinary white man, but the great hunter himself, long known to them by reputation. They all set off together for the Indian camp on Hinkston's Creek, not far from the Blue Licks.

As they came into camp, Boone stared in amazement and horror at what he saw. In a sheltered part of the valley blazed a fire thirty or forty feet long, and around it sat a party of more than a hundred Shawnee warriors, fully armed. Boone looked quickly at their faces. All were painted for war. The chief approached, a short and sturdy warrior, past middle age.

It was Blackfish. The war chief himself had taken command of the party. This, Boone must have realized instantly, was no ordinary raid.

As he looked around, he saw that not all were Indians. With the warriors about the fire were several white men, hardly distinguishable from redskins in their rough woods dress. Worse and worse. White brains were directing red savagery. There was Charles Beaubien, a French-Canadian whom the British employed as Indian agent. There was Louis Lorimier, French-Canadian trader, whose post in Ohio was a center for the Shawnees and who had enormous influence in the tribe. Worst of all, here were the “white Indians,” George and James Girty, brothers of the notorious Simon whose mere name spread terror along the American frontier.

There was even a negro slave named Pompey, who later in the year was to fight with the Indians at the long siege of Boonesborough. According to one account, the negro had escaped from the Kentucky settlements and joined the tribe voluntarily. More probably, he had been captured in some raid and held as slave by the Indians, who often kept negroes
and sometimes traded in them.

Boone must at first have supposed he had been captured by an isolated raiding party of a few adventurous warriors. As he looked at the savage group stretched out by the fire or rising curiously to see the prisoner, he knew the full extent of the danger.

The presence of white men showed that the attack had been carefully planned and encouraged by the British. The band was strong enough to overwhelm Boonesborough in a few hours. It might even be able to capture the other settlements, surprising them one by one. Boone was calm as usual as the painted warriors led him up to Chief Blackfish, but behind the quiet blue eyes his brain was working furiously.

"'King" Cornstalk, the great chief of the Shawnees, had been wishfully murdered by irresponsible American soldiery while in an American fort on a mission of peace only three months before. The Shawnee war party was now out to take revenge on the nearest and weakest of the Big Knives' settlements. Indian justice demanded revenge—it did not matter on

which individuals vengeance fell so long as somebody belonging to the offending tribe of the Big Knives suffered. The British had astutely taken advantage of Shawnee indignation to spur the Indians on. Hence the unusual venture on the warpath in midwinter, contrary to all custom.

The distinguished prisoner received a hearty, if somewhat sardonic, welcome. The Indians shook hands, uttered the usual greeting, "How d' do," or "How d'y," patted him on the back, made much of him, and laughed mightily over his capture.

Among the chiefs who gathered about him Boone recognized the leader of the band who had captured him nine years before, and boldly greeted him by name:

"'How d' do, Captain Will?"

Captain Will was greatly surprised, but when reminded of his earlier captures showed no resentment at Boone's previous escape. Instead, he shook hands once more, with increased cordiality. Thereupon all the warriors who had already shaken hands did it all over again with the utmost gravity.

This friendly reception meant nothing in particular. Some-
times it was merely an ironic prelude to torture and death at the stake. In this case it may have been entirely sincere, for there was always a faintly chivalrous note in Daniel Boone’s warfare with the Indians. He hated killing. He was never cruel himself (there is no record that he ever took a scalp), and he was never the victim of cruelty. The Indians admired him, were invariably pleased on the rare occasions when they outwitted him, were delighted to have caught him this time, and later obstinately refused to give him up, even for cash. Daniel Boone was as good a woodsman as any of them, and a far better shot. Such men were valuable in any camp. The Shawnees regarded him as a prospective ornament to the tribe and made no secret of their plans.

With the negro Pompey as interpreter, Blackfish explained that his band was going to attack Boonesborough, and then inquired who the men at the salt springs were. His scouts had by this time discovered them. Seeing that his first attempts at evasion did no good, Boone admitted the salt-makers were his own men. Blackfish blandly announced that he would go down

and kill them right away.

Daniel Boone did some quick thinking. The fortifications at Boonesborough, he knew, were in their usual bad condition. According to one story, a whole side of the stockade was still missing and there were only two blockhouses. With nearly thirty men at the salt camp and the relief already outside the fort on the way thither, the almost empty settlement would hardly be able to resist assault. The settlers, entirely off guard, could be taken by surprise and easily killed. Even if the Indians spared their lives, the very best that could be expected was a long march with helpless women and children through bitter weather, with prolonged captivity at the end for those who did not die of hardships, torture, or the tomahawk.

The salt-making party were now some distance away, and the Indians were not at the moment heading in their direction, but Blackfish’s scouts had seen them. Boone’s little party would probably also be taken by surprise, just as he had been himself.
On the other hand, there was still a chance to save Boonesborough. The Shawnee was an intrepid daredevil, but Indian nature is rarely persevering, especially in cold weather. Give the warriors one small success to boast about, and they would very likely decide they had done enough and go quietly back to Ohio.

With the friendliest air he could assume, Boone told Blackfish he would himself go with him and persuade the young men to surrender. Blackfish must guarantee that they should not be tortured or forced to run the gauntlet. The latter ceremony was usually inevitable whenever a new captive was brought into a village.

Boone further explained that it was too cold to move the women and children now; but in the spring it would be easy enough to take them to Detroit. Blackfish agreed, but added that if Boone failed to persuade his salt-makers to surrender, his own life might be the penalty.

Next morning the war party set off. By noon they were within two hundred yards of the salt-makers and had entirely surrounded them without being discovered. Boone was then sent down a hill toward them through the snow, under surveillance of warriors following a little way behind him but near enough to shoot in case of treachery.

The spring had been flooded with fresh water for some days and the salt-makers, unable to work, were resting quietly in camp. Boone's absence occasioned no uneasiness. Scouts or hunters were likely to stay in the forest for days at a time and the other two scouts were also still out. Seeing men approaching through the woods, the salt-makers looked up from their blankets, supposing it was the relief coming in from Boonesborough. Then, seeing Indians, they leaped for their rifles.

"Don't fire!" yelled Boone. "If you do, all will be massacred."

Hurriedly he explained: "You are surrounded with Indians and I have agreed with these Indians that you are to be used well and you are to be prisoners of war and will be give up to the British officers at Detroit where you will be treated well." A militia lieutenant had been left in command. Under his orders, the salt-makers formed a circle and stacked arms. A larger circle of warriors then emerged from the woods on all sides, surrounded them, and ordered them to sit down. In-
including Boone himself, the haul of prisoners was either twenty-seven or twenty-eight, two salt-packers and two scouts being absent.

The Indians now held council to determine whether they should kill their prisoners in spite of promises. There was no possible excuse for such treachery; but it was exactly what the American soldiers had done to Cornstalk, and the war party had come out to avenge his murder. They proposed to spare no one but Boone. He would be useful at Boonesborough in the spring.

White, red, and black sat down together in the council. For two full hours the solemn debate proceeded, as warrior after warrior rose and spoke, for mercy or for death. The negro Pompey, sitting by Boone, translated for him, but in so low a voice that the other prisoners could not hear. With no knowledge of Shawnee, none of them had the least idea that their lives depended on the outcome of the ceremonious Indian council. The white agents whom the British had sent along sat silent through it all, but Daniel Boone was permitted to make the closing speech. Sixty-six years later, one of the salt-makers repeated what he remembered. It was not a speech likely to be forgotten:

"Brothers!" said Boone, as Pompey turned his words, sentence by sentence, into Shawnee. "What I have promised you, I can much better fulfil in the Spring than now; then the weather will be warm, and the women and children can travel from Boonesborough to the Indian towns, and all live with you as one people. You have got all the young men; to kill them, as has been suggested, would displease the Great Spirit, and you could not then expect future success in hunting nor war; and if you spare them they will make you fine warriors, and excellent hunters to kill game for your squaws and children. These young men have done you no harm; they were engaged in a peaceful occupation, and unresistingly surrendered upon my assurance that such a step was the only safe one; I consented to their capitulation on the express condition that they should be made prisoners of war and treated well; spare them, and the Great Spirit will smile upon you."

This was the first speech the startled prisoners had understood, and now for the first time they realized the peril they were in. The war club passed from hand to hand as the vote
was taken, under the eyes of the captives. Fifty-nine warriors dashed it into the ground, as a vote for death; sixty-one let it pass as a token of mercy. There is a story that they let Boone go. The group of reckless, brutal young braves who wanted blood had lost. Blackfish, who had allowed Pompey to trans­fer for Boone, had won. The older chiefs seemed to approve.

All had turned out exactly as Daniel Boone had hoped. The Shawnees were entirely satisfied. Here was a big haul of prisoners and plenty of glory—plenty of profit, too. Prisoners were useful as slaves and could be sold to the British for cash. Why go on to Boonesborough through the snow and risk a hard fight for nothing, when they could now slip safely back to Ohio with prisoners, much glory, and no losses?

Boone is said to have pretended conversion to the British side. The pretense would have been credible enough, for even Simon Girty had served for a time with the Americans before joining the British, and Boone himself had been a Colonial officer under the British flag in 1774. He could point to the surrender of his men as proof of his conversion, and he painted an alarming picture of Boonesborough's strength. The fort was far too strong, he said, for any war party of this size to think of capturing. Why not let it alone for the time being, and return later with a larger band?

Blackfish was greatly impressed. When he actually did come back, six months later, he brought four or five hundred warriors.

In vain did their white comrades urge the Shawnees on to the attack, while Boone and the other prisoners listened in an agony of suspense. Charles Beaubien was disgusted with Boone's success. He doubted that the garrison of Boonesborough was any stronger than his own band. With Boone's large party absent, he argued, it was probably weaker. Capture would be easy.

Beaubien was entirely correct. But "the Savages could not be prevailed on to attempt the Fort, which by means of their
prisoners might have been easily done with success," as the British lieutenant-governor at Detroit, Henry Hamilton, later complained. He did not know that it was Boone who had thwarted his whole enterprise.

Boone had, in fact, played his part altogether too well. He convinced the Indians and thereby saved the settlement. Blackfish probably expected that with his prisoner's intervention he could eventually take the town without even fighting for it. But what deceived Boone's enemies also deceived some of his friends. There was no chance for Boone to take his own men into his confidence. They had no knowledge of his plans. And his devious play-acting roused suspicions of his loyalty.

Once the retreat with the prisoners had been decided on, it was promptly carried out. Three hundred bushels of salt were thrown away. Then the war party filed off to the north through

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The long line of Indians straggled into view over the hill, displaying the British and French flags. Making no further effort to conceal their presence, the invaders immediately sent their English-speaking envoy, the negro Pompey, into the clearing with a flag of truce. The black messenger climbed on the cornfield fence and waved his white flag as he hailed the fort, asking if Captain Boone were there. The Shawnees had rather expected him to get lost and die in the woods, though a white man living with them had been sure that he would go "straight as a leather string, home."

The settlers let Pompey hail again before they answered. They did not want to appear too eager. But when he called once more, Boone himself answered, "Yes."

This presence once recognized, Pompey shouted that Hamilton expected Boone to fulfill his promises and surrender peaceably. The Indians had letters from the lieutenant-governor, and they wanted Daniel Boone to come out and get them.

The leaders inside the stockade took hurried counsel together and then yelled across the stockade to Pompey that no one would come out; but that he might bring the letters up to the
INDIANS ARRIVE FOR SIEGE OF BOONESBORO: POMPEY CALLS FOR BOONE 6545-B

j bakeless, master of the wilderness, 1939


have let you go at any time, and rendered you every assistance."

It was no time for Sheltowee to express incredulity. He did, however, at length venture to ask Blackfish why the Shawnees had not fought more stoutly when surprised in a minor skirmish a few weeks before. Blackfish said nothing, but clapped his hands in quick repetition to imitate rifles. The white men's fire had been too fast.

Blackfish handed over a letter and proclamation from Hamilton, urging surrender, warning against the folly of resistance, pointing out that Indians were hard to control and reminding Boone that resistance would probably end in a massacre. Boone explained to Blackfish that he had been away so many months that he was no longer in command. He told the Indians that "there great virginia father had sent them a bigger Captain since there friend Boone had been with them; and that he wold not surrender the fortress, notwithstanding there friend Boone wished them to do so."

Going back to the fort, Captain Boone presently emerged with Major William Bailey Smith, elaborately attired in scarlet uniform and "macaroni hat" complete with ostrich plume. This,
Their boldness, in the face of a large Indian force, spoke for itself. The Kentuckians encouraged the delusion. Colonel Callaway and quietly staged a sly little masquerade. Women, children, even the slaves were dressed up, armed and kept moving about inside the fort. Great numbers of heads, or at least hats, were perpetually popping over the stockade or bobbing about behind it; and a man with a head, two hands, and two or three hats is as good as Cerberus when the copper-colored census-taker has to observe from bushes across a clearing over which rifles will soon be cracking.

All the hats and hunting shirts in the settlement were pressed into service and it is said that dummies were rigged up to make the showing more impressive. The big fort gate was kept wide open to let the Indians see the fictitious multitude. Pompey seemed unduly eager to get close to the fort. He might easily have found out too much and had to be warned to keep his distance or he would be shot.
The Indians began digging a mine from the river bank under the
court at Boonesborough. To observe what the Indians were up to, the
pioneers built a "rude watchtower" above the fort.

"From the protection of its upper story / watchtower/ the lookouts
could now peep over the edge of the steep banks and they instantly con­
ferred the garrison's worst fears. They could actually see the fresh
earth being dumped into the river. Day and night reliefs of riflemen
watched from the tower, but the Indians were too sheltered to be picked
off. Pompey, the negro, occasionally bawled out a demand for surrender,
or engaged in an exchange of bad language with the men in the blockhouse.

The pioneers concluded the only option they had was to countermine.

Soon each side could hear the other digging. The Indians gave
up without getting in through the mine.

Settlers got hurt pretty regularly, but few were killed; and a
bullet wound was common enough in those days. Boone is
credited with a remarkable shot, very likely fired from the
watchtower. The Shawnees' negro, Pompey, had been industri­
ously sniping from a tall tree, and was doing his best to pick
off people moving within the stockade, over which, from his
lofty perch, he could fire easily enough.

"You black scoundrel," muttered Captain Boone as he raised
"Old Tick-Licker," his heaviest rifle, which fired a one-ounce
ball, "I'll fix your flint for you!"

At the crack of the rifle, Pompey came tumbling out of the
tree, dead. When the siege ended, his was the only body found.
The Indians had hidden or carried off their own dead, as usual,
to prevent scalping, but no Shawnee cared in the least what
had happened to the black body or woolly scalp of a negro slave.
Dead or alive, a warrior's honor was safe if he still had his scalp.
ANTAGONISTS YELL AT EACH OTHER DURING SIEGE; WHERE'S POMPEY?

j bakeless, master of the wilderness, 1939

p. 222/

Sometimes the blockhouses yelled back taunting inquiries of their own. What had become of Pompey? Everyone knew well enough he was dead.

At first the replies were evasive. Pompey had gone for more Indians. Pompey had "gone hog-hunting"—after the settlers' swing, which roamed the woods. One brave called:

"Pompey nee-pun." (Pompey is asleep.)

Finally, toward the end of the siege, they admitted:

"Pompey nee-poo." (Pompey is dead.)

It was just another of those little Shawnee jokes. The two words were near enough alike for a pun.

SLAVES BOONE OWNED

j bakeless, master of the wilderness, 1939

p. 324/

Though not a slave trader, he occasionally bought or sold a negro. Everyone in Kentucky kept a slave if he could afford it. The Boones usually owned a few, as tax lists show both in Kentucky and Missouri.

In this period of prosperity Daniel Boone had at least three slaves. In 1784 he secured from his relative John Grant a negro girl named "Easter," worth about seventy-five pounds. On March 4, 1786, he bought "one Negro girl named Loos" for ninety pounds.

A letter to a certain William Haris, dated March 3, 1791, shows pretty clearly that he once sold a negro woman and her child together. At least it is pretty hard to make sense of the letter otherwise:

Dear Sir

My Sun Dal [Morgan] Boone Wates on you for the Balance Due me for Rose and hir Child Which is 32 pounds vircanea money Besides the Intrust Which I hope you will not fail to pay him and Not put me to the truble of Coming Down my Self and he will gave you a full Resete for the Same I am Sir your omble Sarvent

Daniel Boone
HOSTILITY OF KY WHITES TO FREEDMEN: GENERAL (1866)

us, sen, sen ex docs. 39 cong, 1 sess, doc No 27, vol ii, serial 1238

BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS,
STATES OF KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE AND NOR. 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 unsubjugated 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 obtaining 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,
Commissioner, &c., Washington, D. C.

F B EXTENDED TO KY DEC 26, 1865; FREEDMEN'S COURTS

BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS,
STATES OF KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE,
Assistant Commissioner's Office, Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 26, 1865.

The ratification of the constitutional amendment forever abolishing and prohibiting slavery in the United States, having been officially announced to the country by proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated December 18, 1865, this bureau extends its supervision over persons recently held as slaves in Kentucky.

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 the 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 cooperation of the civil authorities, and of all good citizens of Kentucky, in the important work of adjusting the new relations arising from the total abolition of slavery.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. Until the enactment and enforcement of State laws giving you full protection in person and property, impartial justice will be secured to you by the strong arm of the national government.

CLINTON B. FISK,
Brevet Major General, Assistant Commissioner.
BRANDENBURG, KY., December 29, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the freedmen of this county have been grossly imposed on by former rebel owners. Whether they are rebels at present is for you to judge upon the information given me by the freedmen. I will state one circumstance, given me by Mr. Patterson, a member of Company K, 116th United States colored infantry. He was honorably discharged the service on the 18th day of September, 1865. He came to this place and sent to the country for his wife and children. Their former owner, Shacklett, of rebel notoriety, refused to give them up to their father and husband, and notified the soldier if he comes on his lands for the purpose of getting them he will shoot him. He has not got them yet. Please inform me what course should be pursued in regard to the freedmen. We have no agent for the Freedmen's Bureau at this place. The disposition of the would-be rebels is to persecute the freedmen to the utmost extent.

W. F. DENTON,
Former Lieut. 12th Kentucky cavalry.

Major General PALMER.

J. Stewart in Brandenburg, Ky, Jan 4, 1866, wrote general Fisk, saying there was some "pretense" to expel "all the freedmen. They have made the declaration that no one shall hire a negro, not even the former owners. One man's houses were burned some days ago on the faith of a rumor that he was about to hire his former slaves and put them there to live." Said some of the notorious Shacklett family had "... with cocked pistols, paraded several negroes about the street, and went in search of some who had been in the army, and would undoubtedly have killed them if they had been found. Some of us (very few) went into business about this point, and they were soon cleaned out, two being badly wounded."
FISK SENDS HOWARD EXTRACTS OF LETTERS TELLING OF OUTRAGES FEB 1866

That you may have a bird's-eye view of the protection afforded the freedmen of Kentucky by the civil law and authorities, I have the honor to invite your attention to the following extracts from communications received from our correspondents in that State.

C. P. Oyler, of Covington, writes as follows:

"Jordan Finney and family (freedmen) lived in Walton, Kentucky; they owned a comfortable home. Two of the daughters were wives of colored soldiers, and lived with him. Returned rebel soldiers hereinafter named combined to drive this family from the State. They attacked the house three times, abused the women and children, destroyed all their clothing, bedding, and furniture to the value of five hundred dollars, ($500), and finally drove them from their homes. The names of the perpetrators, so far as known, are Allen Arnold, John Arnold, Franklin Yowell, Woodford Fry, L. Snow and Robert Edwards; all live in Walton, Kentucky. An attempt was made to bring these parties to justice, but it failed, as colored testimony could not be received. This same man Finney has a daughter held as a slave by Mr. Widen Shret, of Boone county, whom he values at one thousand dollars ($1,000). Sixteen armed men resisted Mr. Finney and an expressman when they went for the girl, and beat them cruelly with clubs and stones."

"An old colored man, named Baxter, was shot and killed by James Roberts, for refusing to let Roberts in his house. The civil authorities will neither arrest nor punish said Roberts, as there is no testimony except of colored persons."

(Reported by Thomas Rice, Richmond, Kentucky.)

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

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

C. P. Oyler, Covington, writes: "The civil officers, after the late action of the Kentucky legislature in regard to the Freedmen's Bureau, refused to co-operate with me, and manifest a disposition to drive the bureau out of the State. It will be impossible to secure to freedmen their just rights without the aid of a military force. Colored people are driven from their homes and their houses burned."

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

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

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

E. F. Ashcroft, of Meade county, writes: "Richard, William, Jesse, and John Shacklefett and Martin Taylor, returned rebel soldiers, have on different occasions attacked negroes with fire-arms, and say they intend no d—d niggers shall live on this side the Ohio. "The civil authorities are powerless."

R. W. Thing, of Warren county, writes: "An old negro was killed by gun-shot while attempting to run from a white boy eighteen years of age, to escape a whipping."

"A freedman was attacked in his cabin and shot. He and his wife ran to

FAYETTE

BOYLE

LINCOLN

GREEN

MEADE

WARREN
the woods, with bullets flying thick and fast around them from five or six revolvers, the woman escaping with her life by tearing off her chemise while running, thereby presenting a darker-colored mark."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"A furloughed soldier of the 12th United States colored artillery was murdered at Auburn, Kentucky, while sitting on his bed. The civil authorities do nothing in the case."

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

"Major Lawrence, of the 17th Kentucky cavalry, reports that a negro was shot in one of the streets of Russellville last night. No cause whatever for it. Several negroes came to me to know what they should do, saying they had been robbed by a party of men wearing the Confederate States uniform. The judges and justices of the peace in almost every instance are rebels of very strong prejudices, who will not even take notice of the most hideous outrages, and if a case is turned over to them they will not administer justice. The action of the courts in southern Kentucky indicates that the day is far distant when a negro can secure justice at the hands of the civil law."

"In Grant county a band of outlaws, styling themselves 'moderators,' made an attack upon the colored citizens for the purpose of driving them from the State. They went late in the night to their homes, took them from their beds, stripped and whipped them until they were unable to walk."

"Colonel William D. Thomas, of Louisville, Kentucky, writes that 'outrages and wrongs upon freedmen are numerous, especially upon returned colored soldiers. A few nights since a colored soldier just mustered out, with his money in his pocket and a new suit of clothes upon his back, was waiting for the cars at Deposit station, a few miles from Louisville; four or five young rowdies of the place set upon him to rob him. He was a light-colored man, and one of the robbers said to his fellows, 'He is a white man; let him alone.' A dispute arose as to his color, and he was taken into a grocery, a lamp was lit, and the question of his color settled. He was then robbed of his money, arms, and clothing; was stripped to his shirt, and told to run. He did run, and was shot at while escaping, and the shot took effect in his hand."

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

The rebel papers of the State have made bitter "dog-in-the-manger" comments on this head. They are not willing to assist the freedman, to give him a fair opportunity of assisting himself, nor permit any one else to assist him.

CLOTHING.

Twenty-two (22) boxes and one (1) bale of clothing were received from New York, January 13, 1868, and, immediately after the receipt of the invoices, distributed to the suffering poor of the State. Some of the rebel papers of the State have made bitter "dog-in-the-manger" comments on this head. They are not willing to assist the freedman, to give him a fair opportunity of assisting himself, nor permit any one else to assist him.

CONTRACTS.

The number of contracts made and approved by the officers of this bureau during the month was 96; number of persons contracted with 119. The rate of wages paid per month was $12.50 for males and $6.74 for females, including rations and quarters.

DESTITUTION.

Destitution among the old and feeble freed people exists in different localities throughout the State. At Louisville, Lexington, Covington, Newport, Mt. Sterling, Lebanon, and Paducah some aid is needed in the way of subsistence. It would be well if authority could be procured to purchase and issue a small amount of fuel at each place. Many are reported as perishing by cold as well as hunger.

There is no point in the State where it would be advisable to establish a soup house. The idle and profligate would take advantage of it and cease to labor. In every place throughout the State where rations are issued the officer so issuing is instructed to investigate each case and satisfy himself that the person is worthy of aid.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN.

Fortunately for the freed people of Kentucky the news that the order removing the bureau on the 15th day of February had been modified, was promulgated through the press of Kentucky even before it had been determined upon. Evil-doers saw the result of their villainous acts, and consequently there is a decrease in crime.

The condition of the freedmen is reported on the 31st of January as being satisfactory throughout the State. While many outrages have occurred and some of a very aggravated character, it is hoped that the coming month will show a still greater decrease.
b p runkle, bvt col & chief supt in lou, feb 15, 1868, to bvt brig gen
sid burbank, asst comm brfal, in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, house of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc No 329, serial 1346

began to notify the freedmen that they must leave on or before the 20th day of February, and also to notify white men that all burning of freedmen would be burned. These notices produced terror and confusion among the freed people. Many of them, it is reported, began to leave their homes, and it is unfortunately true that they have crowded into towns along the river in great numbers. The whites allege that they crowd in the villages and towns to escape work; the negroes claim that they do so to escape persecution.

There is truth on both sides of the story, but 75 per cent. of it is on the negroes' side. It is not found that the negro refuses to work when he is fairly dealt with, honestly paid, and well treated. The notices referred to above are not posted by responsible men; unfortunately they are posted by villainous vagabonds who have no hesitancy in committing crimes, and desire to drive the negro away that wages may advance and that they may live with little or no labor. It is probable, however, that responsible men, rebels, in the bitterness which they feel towards the government for taking away their slaves, encourage these irresponsible men in their evil deeds, but when it comes to be known by these people that the only way to remove the bureau is to show there is no necessity for it, I believe they will mend their ways.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

The number of patients remaining in the Refugees' and Freedmen's hospital on the 31st of December, 1867, was ..................... 229
Number admitted during the month of January, 1868 ..................... 71

Total ..................... 300
Number discharged cured ..................... 49
Number died ..................... 11

Number remaining in hospital, January 31, 1868 ..................... 240

Efforts have been made to establish a colored orphan asylum at Lexington. It is hoped that this movement will succeed. There are a large number of colored orphans for whom some provision must be made. A house has been rented and a school established. Dr. R. A. Bell, chief surgeon, has been authorized to draw and issue a sufficient quantity of hospital stores for the temporary use of the institution. The purchase of a small amount of coal has been authorized. It is my opinion that the same amount of money could not be expended for a better purpose. Immediately upon receipt of a communication dated January 7, 1868, in which General Howard directed the medical department to be turned over to the civil authorities, your letter, of which the following is a copy, was placed in the hands of the mayors of Louisville, Lexington, Covington, and Mt. Sterling, to wit:

BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS,
Asst. Commissioner's Office, State of Kentucky,
Louisville, Ky., January 10, 1868.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following proposition for your consideration. I will, on the 15th day of February, 1868, (or before if you desire it,) turn over to the city of Louisville the charge of the refugees' and freedmen's hospital in this city, provided the council accept the same. This transfer will include the hospital furniture, stores, and medicines on hand.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. BURBANK,

Hon. PHILIP TOMPHEY, Mayor of Louisville.

No response whatever has been received to any of these letters.
The number of minors apprenticed during the month was: Males, 5; females, 1; total, 6.

The number of outrages committed upon freedmen during the month was:
- Murders, 2;
- Rapes, —;
- Shot-wounded, 8;
- Otherwise maltreated, 43. Total, 53.

I desire to call your special attention to certain of the outrages in the above tabular statement. As heretofore stated, the news that the bureau is to be continued has stayed the band of the oppressors.

On the 29th of January, at Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky, a mob of white citizens took a negro from the jail and hung him until he was dead. This negro had been arrested and placed in jail charged with raping a white girl. Sufficient information has been received since to establish the fact that the man was innocent. But whether he was or not, the enforcement of Lynch law under the very shadow of the capitol of the State of Kentucky shows how little protection a colored man can expect from the civil authorities of this State. A colored man—name unknown—was shot and killed at Newton, Scott county, on the night of the — day of January. A colored woman named Detsey was unmercifully whipped at Georgetown, Kentucky.

On the 30th day of January, Mr. Scroggins, a small negro boy, was stabbed by Mr. Scroggins (white), while working in a hemp field. Two freedmen were shot and dangerously wounded at Central Furnace, western Kentucky. This occurred immediately after the men were paid their wages for the previous year, and the object was to rob them of their hard-earned savings.

Two colored men were waylaid and shot in Henry county, Kentucky, near the Trimble line, by "regulators." Another colored man was also shot and dangerously wounded in the Louisville sub-district. At Paducah, one Headrich, a son of the Rev. Headrich, D. D., together with several other young men, made an attack upon a negro man who was driving a cart through the town. The negro refused to give up his whip, whereupon Headrich drew a knife and stabbed him several times in the back and abdomen.

A little girl, aged nine years, was, on the 17th day of January, brought to the Freedmen's hospital by a man named Bull. Upon examination it was found that her hands and feet were frozen dreadfully. Her back was scarred all over, the stripes having probably been inflicted with a cowhide. Upon investigation it was ascertained that the whipping was done by the wife of Mr. Bull, and the child was frozen by being compelled by Mrs. Bull to sleep in the coal-house. All of the child's toes were amputated. This happened in the law-abiding city of Louisville.

The following is a list of the doings of some of the humane inhabitants of the Lebanon sub-district:
- George W. Chesher was struck with a gun and had his house broken open;
- Catharine Chesher, his wife, was struck and badly whipped; child of Catharine Chesher was knocked down with a gun; Mason Myers had his shirt torn off and was whipped badly; Jane Chesher, (old) house broken open; Charles Chesher was severely whipped for renting land; Lewis O. Daniel, house broken open and burned; Thomas Botline, assaulted and badly whipped; James Smith, horse-whipped; Monroe Maxwell, knocked down at night.

Many of the cases set forth above have been reported to the United States commissioners for action, and those not yet referred will be without delay. It is reported that the witnesses in the murder cases reported from the Russellville district are too poor to pay the expenses which they must necessarily incur in appearing before the United States commissioner. I recommend that transportation be issued to them.
b p runkle, bvt col & chief supt in lou, feb 15, 1868, to bvt brig gen
sid burbank, asst comm brfal, in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, house of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc No 329, serial 1346

/ p. 5 /

SCHOOLS.

The number of schools in operation during the month was 127, to wit: 113 day and 14 night, with an attendance of 6,648 scholars, showing an increase of 12 schools and 516 scholars. Taking into consideration the prospects of our school system when the year 1868 was ushered in, the above increase is exceedingly encouraging. As yet, the civil authorities of the State of Kentucky 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 cooledly informed 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 501 scholars, as shown by his report, is, under the circumstances, very large. The following new schools were started during the month:

One in Captain Norton's district, at Crab Orchard, which, it will be remembered, is the headquarters of one of the most active bands of regulators.

One at Casey creek, Lieutenant Livingston's district.

Two in the Livingston sub-district.

Four in the Louisville sub-district, and one in the western sub-district.

The school at Bardstown, Breckinridge county, has also been reopened.

Teachers are much needed in the district under charge of H. C. Howard. Schools will be started as soon as teachers can be procured.

It is proposed to start the following schools: One in Adair county, between Columbia and Green river; two in Cumberland county; two in Monroe county; one in Muhlenberg County; and to reopen the school held in the house recently burned at Haysville.

Since the circular letter of December 11, 1867, has been modified, we will be enabled, through the officers and agents retained by General Howard, together with those detailed by General Thomas, to push the school work vigorously.

GENERAL, SPECIFIC REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES JAN 1868

b p runkle, bvt col & chief supt in lou, feb 15, 1868, to bvt brig gen
sid burbank, asst comm brfal, in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, house of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc No 329, serial 1346

/ p. 5 cont'd /

The issue of clothing made during last month will enable many to return to school who have been prevented from attending by their want of comfortable garments.

RATIONS.

There was issued during the month the following number of rations:

To the rebel and freedmen's hospital, Louisville, Kentucky ... 7,771
To destitute freedmen in other parts of the State.................. 496

Total.................................................. 8,267

The money value of which was $1,698.64.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

I respectfully recommend, first, that authority be procured from Major General Howard, Commissioner, to purchase and issue a limited supply of fuel in the following places: Louisville, Lexington, Covington, Lebanon, and Paducah.

Second, I recommend that each county in the State be divided into school districts, and a board of colored men be appointed school trustees in each district.

Third, that in order that there may not be a failure of justice, authority be procured from the Major General Commissioner to issue transportation to parties who have been outraged, and who are too poor to pay the expense of going before a United States commissioner.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BEN. P. RUNKLE.

Brevet Colonel U. S. A., Chief Superintendent, &c.

Brevet Brig. Gen. Sidney Burbank, U. S. A.,
BUREAU REFUGEES, FRIEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS,
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
Louisville, Kentucky, March 13, 1868.

GENERAL: I have the honor to submit the following synopsis of the operation of this bureau for the month of February, 1868:

ABANDONED AND CONFISCATED PROPERTY.

None in possession of the bureau in this State.

BOUNTIES.

Under this head I desire specially to invite your attention to the fact that bitter complaints are made by colored soldiers that they have been defrauded out of their bounty by claim agents, who pay them a part of their bounty after they (the claim agents) have received the treasury certificate, and take their receipt for the whole amount. I am not able to prove this charge against any particular man, but I believe the charge. In my capacity as disbursing officer it is continually brought to my notice, and I would respectfully urge that your suggestion contained in letter to General A. P. Howe, of claim division, be again brought before the Commissioner. No advances of money should be made to these people; there is too much danger of their being cheated. If these claim agents loan money to the freedmen without gaining largely thereby, I am very much mistaken. At all events, it is best to be on the safe side.

CLOTHING.

The following is a list of clothing issued to the destitute freedmen in Kentucky during the month:

Fifty-one pants trousers, 37 blouses, 31 pairs drawers, 74 pairs men's brogues, 8 great coats, 13 blankets, 30 men's hats, 50 pairs women's shoes, 26 pairs stockings, 25 men's wool shirts, 17 women's shirts, 2 children's shirts, 16 women's hood's, 7 boys' hats, 27 pairs children's shoes, 358 yards linsey, 100 yards flannel, 173 yards brown shirting, 16 women's shawls.

A large number of the shoes received were found to be too small, and cannot therefore be used. There is a sufficient supply of clothing on hand to provide for the present necessities of the freedmen.

CAPITATION TAX.

No action has been taken by the legislature of Kentucky in this matter.

CONTRACTS.

The number of contracts made during the month by the officers of this bureau was 111. Number of male persons contracted with, 87; number of female persons contracted with, 30; total, 117.

It is a matter of regret that comparatively few freedmen enter into contracts through the agency of the bureau. We have no power to compel them to do so, and the whites use every means in their power to prevent them from entering into contracts. The result is, that many of them make verbal contracts, without witnesses, and the freedman is too often defrauded of his wages. I fear that nothing but experience, dearly bought, will ever induce them to change their course. Every effort, however, is made by the agents to correct the evil.
The improvement in the condition of the freedmen during this month has been beyond my most sanguine expectations. They have been comparatively free from outrage during the month. In certain portions of the State it is true that the freedmen, alarmed by the threatened removal of the bureau and the outrageous acts of the low whites, fled to the larger towns. It is reported that numbers have crowded into Mt. Sterling, Marysville, Owensboro, and Henderson, and are living the life of vagrants. It is of great difficulty that they can be induced to return again to the country.

The sub-assistant commissioners report that this arises from the ill-usage they have received, since their emancipation, from their employers in various ways, chiefly from being cheated and defrauded out of their portion of the crops, oftentimes being driven off without receiving remuneration of any kind for their labor. Some claim that they came into the towns and cities for the purpose of educating their children.

There is another crying and terrible evil, that of "taking up," or indiscriminate intercourse. It is reported that in various districts there is a general state of polygamy existing. This is the result of slavery and the lax administration of the law.

There are laws for the crime of adultery; but they are not enforced by the civil authorities against the blacks. The rebel element are aware that this is the bane of the black people, in fact, a curse upon them, and they prefer that they should suffer from it rather than correct the evil.

The vagrant laws of the State are so harsh that I should hesitate to advocate the enforcement of them against the colored people. Under the provisions of these laws men and women are virtually sold into slavery. Time and education will remedy this evil. In the meanwhile I scarcely know what can be done. I propose, with your approval, to visit the places spoken of, consult with the civil authorities, and talk with the freed people, and see if some remedy cannot be devised. Vagrancy and "taking up" has never been so great as it is at present, or it has never been brought so plainly to view.

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HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

The number of patients remaining in the refugees' and freedmen's hospital, Louisville, Kentucky, January 31, 1868, was 210; number admitted during the month of February, 68. Total, 308. Number discharged, cured, 52; died, 22. Total, 74. Number remaining in hospital February 29, 234.

The above hospital has been thoroughly inspected during the month, and is
now in excellent condition. I may be wrong, but I am still of the opinion that the "lying-in" ward for unmarried women should be abolished. There are too many children of white men born in that ward.

I am also of the opinion that no syphilitic cases should be admitted into this hospital—certainly not the second time.

I would respectfully urge that a new rule be adopted in these cases.

MINORS.

The number of minors apprenticed during the month, was: Males, 2; females, 3; total, 5.

OUTRAGES.

The number of outrages committed upon freedmen during the month, was—murders, none; rapes, none; shootings, 2; otherwise maltreated, 12. Total, 14.

It will be seen by the above that outrages have been few in number. The United States courts have been active and energetic in bringing offenders to justice during the last month.

The leaders of the Frankfort mob have been arrested and committed to prison by the United States commissioner at Frankfort.

William Scroggins, for stabbing a colored boy in the Lexington district, has been committed to prison in default of bail.

Christopher Rogers, for committing highway robbery upon a colored man, has been held to answer.

One — Bell, who murdered a man in Daviess county, in 1866, has been found guilty of murder in the first degree, and, unless pardoned by the President, is in a fair way to be hung. This finding will be of great value to the freedmen, and will prove an additional guarantee for their safety from outrage hereafter.

RATIONS.

There was issued during the month the following number of rations:

To the refugees' and freedmen's hospital at Louisville 7,917
To destitute freedmen in other parts of the State 1,993

Total 9,910

The money value of which was $2,000 81.
runkle in lou, mar 13, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky &
tn,' in us, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

SCHOOLS.

The number of schools in operation during the month was 121, to wit: 114
day, 17 night, with an attendance of 7,218 scholars, showing an increase of 4
schools and 570 scholars. This is a healthy increase, and the credit is in a
great measure due to the officers and agents who have been active and energetic
in their work.

The following new schools were started during the month: 1 at Brandwine,
1 at Augusta, 1 at Hickman, 1 at Cave City, 2 at Casey Creek, 1 at Paducah,
1 at Berry's Station, 1 at Ashland, 4 at Louisville, 1 at Claysville, 1 at East
Maysville, 1 at Millersburg, 1 at Muckee Settlement, 1 at Crab Orchard, 1 at
Elexon, Todd county, Kentucky.

Brevet Captain A. Benson Brown, who has been in the Bowling Green dist-
trict only for the short space of six weeks, has already found 32 places where
with proper exertion, schools can be established. He says, however, some will
require military protection, and it will take some time to complete the list.
Captain Brown is in constant communication with all the loyal men in his dis-
trict, and discharges his duties with a zeal and energy which is highly commen-
dable.

Brevet Captain W. James Kay, in charge of the Paducah district, also pro-
poses to start six new schools. Several of them will undoubtedly require mili-
tary protection.

The schools in the Louisville district are flourishing. The facts connected
with the mobbing of the school teacher at New Castle, in this district, are as
follows:

The persons who were engaged in the mob were ex-federal soldiers and
friends of the negro school. The personmobbed was a drunken old opin-
cater. He was sent to this duty by the chief superintendent of schools, to whom
he came highly recommended, and who was deceived in the matter. There is
a great and crying want of teachers in this State. Some provision should be

RECOMMENDATIONS.

I respectfully recommend that an order be procured from the Commissioner
forbidding claim agents to advance money to colored soldiers, or placing such
restrictions on such advances as will prevent fraud.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BEN. P. RUNKLE,
Brevet Colonel U. S. Army, Chief Superintendent, &c.
Brevet Brigadier General Sidney Burrank, U. S. A.,
Assistant Commissioner Bureau Refugees, Freedmen,
and Abandoned Lands, Louisville, Ky.
runkle in lou, april 10, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in us, h of r, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

GENERAL, SPECIAL REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES MARCH 1868

runkle in lou, april 10, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in us, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

GENERAL:

I have the honor to submit the following report of the operation of the bureau in Kentucky, for the month of March, 1868:

ABANDONED AND CONFISCATED PROPERTY.

None in possession of the bureau in Kentucky.

CLOTHING.

The following is a list of clothing issued to the destitute freedmen during the month:

- 83 pairs of pants, 5 blankets, 64 wool drawers, 33 women's hose, 6 women's shirts, 66 blouses, 55 hats, 58 wool shirts, 26 women's shoes, 12 jackets, 73 pairs brogans, 4 over coats, 45 men's hose, 8 pairs children's shoes, 18 yards cotton, and 211 yards linsey.

CONTRACTS.

The number of contracts made and approved by the officers of the bureau during the month was 70.

Number of persons contracted with was, males, 56; females, 21; total, 77.

The rate of wages paid per month was, for males, $15; for females, $8.15; including quarters and rations.

CAPITATION TAX.

Hon. James Speed reports that the legislature of Kentucky utterly refuses to take any action in this matter. No good can be expected from this rebel body.

DESTITUTION.

A decrease in destitution is reported throughout the State.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN.

Except in the Danville district, the freedmen have been doing well during the month. The abundance of work during the season has brought means of support within reach of nearly all.

The disinclination of the freedmen to go to the country and work on farms has in a great measure disappeared. The freedmen are reported as seeking work...
in the country in the Paducah, Henderson, Louisville, Lexington, and Bowling Green district, and obtaining it at fair wages.

In the Danville district the change has been for the worse. Outrage and disorder is the rule. Many outrages have been committed, which will be referred to under that head. The officers of the bureau in that district have been active and energetic, but they have met with but little success in their efforts. Many of the freedmen refuse to appear before the United States commissioner and make oath, and when they have appeared, and the commissioner has issued his warrant, it has been found impossible to make arrests. This is not strange in a country where hostility to the government is a rule; where they fortify their still-houses, defy revenue officers, and disarm and drive the United States deputy marshals from the country. It is impossible to do anything without mounted men. United States marshals and bureau officers have endeavored to hire horses to mount infantry men, to effect the arrest of different parties. They could not succeed in hiring the horses at any price. No action could be taken by the commanding general with a view to procuring cavalry, until the United States civil authorities should represent their inability to execute the law without mounted men.

About the first of the month I called on the United States marshal and informed him that the United States commissioner at Lebanon had issued a number of warrants for the arrest of persons charged with committing outrages upon freedmen, and that none of said warrants had been executed. He informed me that no person could be found in Lebanon who would consent to act as bailiff and execute the warrant, and asked me if a United States military officer or soldier could not execute the warrant. I thought at the time that on his (the United States marshal's) request it would be proper for an officer or soldier to act as bailiff. My anxiety to have the arrests made caused me to overlook the fact that some time during September, 1867, instructions had been issued from district headquarters directing the military not to do anything more than protect the United States deputy marshal or bailiff, and I was not aware that further instructions to the same effect had been issued in February. I accordingly directed Brevet Brigadier General H. G. Thomas to have a soldier appointed bailiff. He did so in the case of Northcraft, charged with the murder of Daniel Coulter.

Upon ascertaining that this was contrary to the instructions of the military commander, the order was revoked. It will be impossible for the bureau officers, under these circumstances, to do any more towards securing the arrest of any of these parties. The responsibility, in fact, rests with the United States marshals and commissioner.

In obedience to your directions, I informed the United States marshal that the soldier could not act as bailiff, whereupon he promised he would lay the case before you in writing, and state that the United States civil authorities could not enforce the law without further aid from the military, and I am informed that he accordingly did so. In my opinion, we will never have peace in that part of the country until the military takes hold with a strong hand and enforces the law with the bayonet. Instead of being the strong right arm of the United States civil authorities, as it should be, the military has been, up to this time, utterly powerless. The bureau is at the present time in that district well nigh a farce. The officers report that the people of the country pay no attention whatever to soldiers, and it is a physical impossibility to make an arrest with infantry; that the infantry is only fit for a provost guard, and that freedmen crowd into the towns for what protection they can receive from the soldiers.

Lieutenant King says, "there are some four or five thousand dollars in bank here belonging to the industrious, well-disposed negroes, who are anxious to purchase a little garden spot, and erect for themselves a little cabin, but they know perfectly well if they attempt anything of the kind out of town that they..."
are liable any night to have their cabin burned, and themselves beat, and all
they have destroyed or stolen." The freedmen in and about Lancaster are at
the mercy of their enemies.

The strongest Union men there advise against sending any soldiers to protect
them; for fear, as they say, that when the soldiers are taken away vengeance
will be taken upon them. In fine, so long as the people thought that the civil-
rights bill and the orders of the bureau would be enforced, they were restrained,
but they have discovered that the United States civil authorities are powerless
without the sword, and they believe that the military will not come to the rescue.
All this is humiliating, but it is true, and I repeat again that the bureau officers
are not responsible for this condition of affairs, and they cannot prevent it.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

The number of patients remaining in the refugees' and freedmen's hospital
in this city on the 29th day of February, 1868, was 234
Number admitted during the month of March 22
Total 256
Number discharged cured 49
Number died 7

Number remaining in hospital March 31, 1868 200

A reduction of thirty-four (34.) The lying-in and syphilitic wards have been
ordered closed as soon as the patients can be discharged.

During the month I visited the towns of Covington, Maysville, and Danville,
and lectured to the colored people on the subject of education, morality, and the
acquisition of property and their rights under the law, as well as the proper mode
of securing the same. At Covington I found, perhaps, the poorest class of
colored people in the State of Kentucky. They are generally refugees from
southern Kentucky and from Tennessee. They are very poor and below the
average in intelligence and morality. I addressed a large number of them, I
trust, with good effect.

At Maysville I found an entirely different class. They all seemed to be
happy and prosperous and exceedingly intelligent. The judge of the county
court (a rank rebel) kindly tendered me the use of the court-room, a very fine
large hall. We had great difficulty in getting it opened and lighted, the jailer
and the deputy marshal all refusing to light a house for a negro meeting; but
Colonel True succeeded in opening and lighting the house, and the freedmen of
Maysville soon filled it. They were well dressed, looked comfortable, and
seemed to understand and appreciate everything that was said to them. The
condition of these people speaks well for their future and well for Colonel True's
administration of affairs in his district.

I next visited Danville in company with Chaplain T. K. Noble. We had a
meeting of the freedmen in a large church owned by the colored Baptist denomina-
tion, and, although there was a circus in full blast within 200 yards of the door,
the house was crowded. They listened with attention, and I am of the opinion
that the meeting will prove beneficial. All that has been said concerning the
people of Maysville may be said of those of Danville, except that they were
not as well dressed, and their prosperity does not extend to those who live beyond
the sound of the drums of the camp.
runkle in lou, apr 10, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc No 329, serial 1346

I desire to invite your attention to the lottery system of the State of Kentucky, with a view of ascertaining if there is not some means of putting down this evil. I am informed that some of these institutions are supported entirely by the colored people. I was told by a reliable Union man that he had seen fifty colored persons at a lottery office at one time. In common with a large class of whites, many of the freedmen spend all the money they can lay hands on in this way. I am told that the evil has gone so far that the freedmen have been known to take the half-dollar earned by their wives' washing and spend it for lottery tickets; and this when there was not a mouthful to eat in the house. This is no more than many white men do, but a larger proportion of blacks than whites act in this manner. I have talked to them; warned them against the evils of this course, and appealed to their ministers and leading men to endeavor to put an end to it. Whether it will have any effect remains to be seen.

MINORS.

The number of minors apprenticed during the month was: Males 1; females, 3; total, 4.

OUTRAGES.

The number of outrages committed upon freedmen during the month was 19, to wit: Murder, 3; rape, 0; shooting, 1; otherwise maltreated, 15;—total, 19.

This, considering the state of affairs in the Danville district, is not so bad as might be expected. The murders are as follows:

In the Louisville district, Pine Douglas, a returned soldier, was murdered near Brandenburg, Kentucky, by parties unknown. Every effort has been made to ascertain the names of the criminals, but without success. Second, David Coulter, an inoffensive colored preacher, was shot dead by George W. Northcraft in the streets of Lebanon, Kentucky, on the night of the 14th day of March, 1868. Notwithstanding the fact that two colored men appeared and were ready to testify that Northcraft was the murderer, and that every one of the coroner's jury knew, and have since acknowledged that they knew Northcraft to be the guilty party, they brought in a verdict that David Coulter came to his death by a gunshot wound inflicted by an unknown person. All this because of the Kentucky law against negro testimony. Lieutenant King, sub-assistant commissioner, immediately took the two negro witnesses before the United States commissioner, who issued a warrant for the arrest of Northcraft, who fled to the hills and defied the United States authorities. He now, with a band of desperadoes, threatens the life of any man who shall attempt to arrest him. Under the circumstances set forth under the head of "General Condition of Freedmen," he cannot be arrested. Third, Brevet Captain John L. Graham, sub-assistant commissioner at Covington, reports as follows: A freedman, named Stephen Coleman, was shot and killed by James Bolan, (white,) at Covington, Kentucky, on Friday the 20th instant, under the following circumstances: Coleman went to a coal yard to purchase a little coal, and finding the coal yard closed, was returning home and turned into a yard adjoining Hemingrey's glass works, and was discovered by Bolan (who is a watchman for Hemingrey) in the act of stealing coal. Bolan arrested him, and a slight altercation took place. Coleman broke away and ran. Bolan called upon him to stop and fired two shots at him, one taking effect under the shoulder-blade, the ball lodging in the region of the heart, causing almost instant death. Bolan delivered himself up, but was not taken into custody. A coroner's inquest was held and Bolan discharged. An examination was also held by the mayor and Bolan was again discharged. Necessary orders
have been issued and steps taken to bring the murderer to trial. Under this
head I desire to give the credit which is due to Brevet Brigadier General H. G.
Thomas and Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Isaac S. Catlin for their active and
energetic action in all cases which have come to their notice.

Brevet Captain A. Benson Brown has taken active measures to bring the
murderers of Sampson Jones and Henry Green to justice. Brevet Captain
Brown has acted with great energy and perseverance in prosecuting those cases.

RATIONS.

There was issued during the month the following number of rations:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To refugees' and freedmen's</td>
<td>7,598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospital in this city</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To destitute freedmen in</td>
<td>1,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville, Kentucky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To destitute freedmen in other</td>
<td>1,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parts of the State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 10,246

The money value of which was $2,074 80.

SCHOOLS.

The number of schools in operation during the month was 141, to wit:

1. 125 day and 16 night, with an attendance of 7,078 scholars, showing a decrease of
140 scholars since last report. The fact that the decrease is no greater, is
courageing. One thousand two hundred and four scholars have left school
during the month. This is owing to the large number going to work. One
thousand and sixty-four scholars have been admitted. This nearly balances
the loss. In fact, the loss would not have been so great but for the small-pox in

Covington and the closing of schools for want of teachers.

The following schools were started during the month: In the Lexington
district, one at Carlisle, one at Maysville, and one at Crooksville. In the Henderson
district, one at Harrodsburg, and one at Henderson. In the Bowling Green
district, two at Hopkinsville and one at Elkton; and in the Louisville
district, one at Simpsonville, one at Sitt's, Hardin county, and three at Louisville.

In obedience to your orders I proceeded to Camp Nelson, Kentucky, and
purchased Aerial Academy for the sum of $1,520. It will require about $890
to put these buildings in order.

Aerial Academy consists of one large two-story building 75 by 25, containing
12 rooms, to be used as a boarding-house; one wing, five rooms, 75 by
25, to be used as a school-house and one wing, 75 by 25, to be used as a chapel.

This academy is situated in the midst of a fertile and populous district. A
large number of freedmen live within the sound of its bell. Many will come
from Danville, Nicholasville, and Harrodsburg and the adjoining counties to
enjoy its privileges. The buildings could not have cost less than $6,000 when
new. Altogether it is an excellent investment.

The New Albany project is progressing finely. The managers of the associa-
tion have promised to have the documents ready to lay before the commissioner
in a few days. Hon. James Speed and General Gresham, of New Albany, have
consented to become active members of the association.

As soon as I can finish my reports and make my payments as disbursing
officer, I will proceed to Paducah, Kentucky, and Cairo, Illinois, and put up the
buildings required there, in short order.

It seems that the agents, never having any experience in making contracts
and erecting buildings, make very slow work of it.

A school is required at Jeffersonville, Indiana, for the children of immigrants
from Kentucky. If your application to General Howard asking permission to
grant aid to this school is favorably considered, we will soon have one hundred and fifty more little freedmen at their books.

Brevet Captain A. Benson Brown requests that an officer or civilian agent be sent to relieve Lieutenant George W. Kingsbury, sub-assistant commissioner at Burkesville, Kentucky. Considering everything, it would be well to grant the request as soon as an officer or agent can be procured.

RECOMMENDATION.

I recommend that, as soon as mounted men can be procured, a company be stationed at Danville, a detachment at Lebanon, and a detachment at Lancaster. Second, I recommend that the bureau employ a brave, determined man to execute warrants and make arrests at Danville and also at Lebanon. Third, I recommend that Lieutenant George W. Kingsbury, sub-assistant commissioner second district, Bowling Green district, be relieved from duty in that district and ordered to report at this office.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BEN. P. RUNKLE,

Brevet Brig. Gen. SIDNEY BURBANK, U. S. A.,
Ass't Commissioner Bureau Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Louisville, Ky.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, April 10, 1868.

Respectfully forwarded to Major General O. O. Howard, Commissioner, &c.,
Washington, D. C.

S. BURBANK,
runkle in lou, may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in "freed affairs in ky & tn," in US, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

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which I did not understand. He said that he had included in the amount claimed as advances, certain subscriptions to the Lincoln monument fund, and certain debts which his clients owed to certain other negroes, and which debts he felt himself morally bound to pay. He said that negroes could not be believed under oath, and much more to the same purpose.

On May 11, he called again, and said that he had come to show me what I had done, hence the following is a copy:

T, Henry White, being first duly sworn, upon my oath do say that I was late a corporal of company C, 109th United States colored troops; that I have this day applied to Colonel Benjamin P. Runkle, Freedmen's Bureau headquarters, to know if my bounty money had come. He, the said Colonel Runkle, gave me a note to carry to the agent who prosecuted my claim. I carried the same to him and took an answer from him back to Colonel Runkle. He then told me that my claim was unsettled. I then asked him if he could loan me some money on my claim. He, Colonel Runkle, then said to me he would loan me $25 if I would pay him $20 dollars for the use of it. His exact words were these: "How much interest will you give me for it?" I answered him, "I will give you $15." He replied, "I will take $20." I said, "I think it is too much," and left him. To the truth of all of which I solemnly swear.

HENRY X WHITE.

W. D. MORRILL,
Notary Public for the State of Kentucky.

I told him that I did not believe that Henry White ever swore to the affidavit; that if he did he was either bribed, coerced, or was in ignorance of what he was swearing to; and then told Mr. Morrill that I wished to have no more to do with him whatever; that if he had any charge to prefer he could prefer them to you or General Howard.

I took a copy of the affidavit, notwithstanding he denied that I had any right thereto.

Any man is at liberty to prefer charges against me to my superiors, but he must not come with his charges of rascality to me in person.

The affidavits enclosed herewith, marked A and B, speak for themselves. I have treated Mr. Morrill courteously until forbearance ceased to be a virtue. I do not conceive that, because I am an officer of the army, I am bound to endure personal insolence from any person.

The enclosed affidavit of Jesse Boisseau, marked C, which was received since writing the above, is additional evidence to support the charge that Thomas W. Campbell has violated the law.

CLOTHING.

The following is a list of clothing issued to the destitute freedmen during the month:

Thirty-six pairs pants, 5 men's hats, 10 women's wool shirts, 8 children's shirts,
runkle in lou, may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

GENERAL, SPECIFIC REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES APRIL 1868

CONTRACTS.
The number of contracts made and approved by the officers of the bureau during the month was 55. The number of persons contracted with was: Males, 41; females, 21; total, 65.
The rate of wages paid per month was: For males, $14 66; females, $8 12, including quarters and rations.

OBTURITION.
No destitution reported.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN.
The general condition of the freedmen is good, except in the Danville district. In that district there have been many outrages committed. It would seem that the greater portion of the population of the country are active members of, or sympathizers with, a band of regulators.
I have placed (yesterday) four of the worst cases in the hands of the United States district attorney for prosecution. The witnesses will all have to leave that part of the country.
I have accordingly issued your order for them to come to Louisville, and furnished transportation. If these cases are successfully prosecuted, it will break up the regulating bands. But, after all, the hopes of the colored people for many years to come depend upon the decision about to be rendered this day.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.
The number of patients remaining in the refugees' and freedmen's hospital in this city on the 31st of March, 1868, was

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number admitted during the month of April</th>
<th>Number discharged (cured)</th>
<th>Number died</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number remaining in hospital April 30, 1868: 199

The dispensary at Mount Sterling has been changed to Owensboro, Kentucky, by your order.

This action was based on the following report of Dr. R. A. Bell:

BUREAU REFUGEES, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS.
Louisville, Kentucky, April 20, 1868.

GENERAL: In obedience to Special Order No. 45, extract 2, dated Assistant Commissioner's Office, State of Kentucky, Louisville, Kentucky, April 14, I proceeded to the place indicated in said order, and have the honor to submit the following report:

Upon my arrival at Owensboro' I proceeded to visit the different localities of the place in which the freed people are congregated, large numbers of whom I found suffering from want of proper medical attention and medicines. These people are crowded into small overcrowded tenements in the most unhealthy parts of the town, surrounded by stagnant water -- the sure propagator of disease, especially in a malarial country. I was informed by Captain A. W. Lawwill, sub-assistant commissioner, &c., and Dr. Todd, that large numbers of them are suffering at this time from measles and scarlet fever, and that, during the hot weather, they suffer terribly from typho-malarial fever. I was unable to make any arrangements with the civil authorities of the place for the medication of these people.
runkle in lou, may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

...
runkle in lou, may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

GENERAL, SPECIFIC REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES APRIL 1868

There was issued during the month the following number of rations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Rations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the R. and F. hospital, in this city</td>
<td>6,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To destitute freedmen in Louisville, Kentucky</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To destitute freedmen in other parts of the State</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number rations issued during the month</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,300</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The money value of which was $1,891 09.

SCHOOLS.

The number of schools in operation during the month was 151, to wit: 131 day and 12 night, with an attendance of 7,397 scholars, showing an increase of 319 scholars over last report. This shows quite a handsome increase. The following schools were started during the month:

- **In the Lexington district.**—One at Lexington; one at Nicholasville; one at Versailles; one at Keene; one at Crittenden; one at Sparta; one at Warsaw; one at Frankfort.
- **In the Louisville district.**—Two at Louisville; one at Colesburg; one at Brandenburg.
- **In the Danville district.**—One at Milledgeville; one near Stony Point.
runkle, in lou, may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in us, h of rep, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

In the Henderson district.—One at Henderson; one at Hopkins's Farm.
In the Paducah district.—One at Hickman.
In the Bowling Green district.—One at Bowling Green; one at Drake's Creek; one at Edmonton; one at Green River; two at Burksville, (1 day and 1 night); one at Hendersonville.

Fifteen schools were closed during the month, as follows:
In the Lexington district.—One at Tiger, and one at Mount Sterling.
In the Louisville district.—Eleven in Louisville; one at Simpsonville.
In the Bowling Green district.—One at Casey Creek.

The school-house at Paducah is all framed, and will go up during the month.

There was some little delay on account of the title of the lot I had bargained for proving defective. Another lot, however, just as good, being offered, I directed Colonel Swaine to purchase it, as the subscription money was placed in his hands.

I have had no time during the month to visit any of the schools, but the work has no doubt been well done by Chaplain T. R. Noble, chief superintendent freedmen's schools.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BEN. P. RUNKLE,
Brevet Colonel U. S. Army, Chief Superintendent.
Brevet Brigadier General SIDNEY BURBANK,
Assistant Commissioner, &c., Louisville, Kentucky.

STATE OF KENTUCKY, County of Jefferson:

On this 12th day of May, A. D. 1868, personally appeared before me, a United States commissioner, State of Kentucky, Edwin W. High, who being duly sworn, says that on Saturday, May 9, 1868, about 1½ o'clock p. m., a colored man, calling himself Henry White, presented himself before me, a clerk in disbursing office Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, State of Kentucky, making inquiries of his bounty, &c. Colonel Runkle being absent, I instructed him to call again in an hour or so, when he (Colonel Runkle) would probably be in office. About 4 p. m., same day, he returned and was told that his claim was unsettled, upon which he made statement, concluding by wanting to borrow $10. Further, that Colonel Runkle was not in the office at any time when said Henry White was present, and, in fact, was not in the office during the afternoon of the day above named.

EDWIN W. HIGH.

DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY:

Sworn and subscribed before me, this day, by Edwin W. High. Witness my signature and seal of office this 12th day of May, 1868.

A. J. BALLARD,
United States Commissioner.
runkle, in lou, may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of r, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

On Saturday afternoon, May 9, 1868, near 4 o'clock, Henry White, a colored man, asked me if there was any bounty money for him at the office of Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, at which I am a clerk. I referred to the books and told him that no money had arrived for him. He said he was very sorry, as he lived in New Orleans; had come up expecting to get this money, and had not a cent to pay his passage back. He then asked me to lend him $10. I told him I did not have any money at all. He then said if I would lend him the $10 he would pay me $20 when he got his bounty. I told him I had already informed him I had no money, and if I had I would not lend it to him on any such terms, even were I so disposed, as it was not lawful. He then left the office. I would further state that Colonel Runkle was not in the office at the time the above conversation occurred, and, in fact, I did not see him there that whole afternoon.

CHARLES B. CHAPMAN

District of Kentucky:

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this day, by Charles B. Chapman. Witness my signature and seal of office this 13th of May, 1868.

A. J. BALLARD,
United States Commissioner.

STATE OF KENTUCKY, Warren County:

I, Jesse Boisseau, formerly a private in company D, 108th United States colored troops, and at present a resident of Bowling Green, Warren County, Kentucky, do hereby state, that on or about the 21st day of April, 1868, I sold to Colonel Thomas W. Campbell, United States assessor of internal revenue at Bowling Green, Kentucky, my claim to United States bounty, &c., amounting to $187.

And I do further state, that Colonel Campbell paid me $145 for said claims, and about 11 days after the day I sold my claim to Colonel Campbell, I was paid at Bowling Green, Kentucky, the amount of my bounty, back pay, &c., in full, by Brevet Lieutenant Colonel W. F. Drum, acting assistant adjutant general at headquarters military district of Kentucky, Louisville, Kentucky, and that after Colonel Drum paid me my bounty, &c., I handed the entire amount over to Colonel Campbell, in accordance with my agreement with him. Given under my hand this 8th day of May, 1868.

JESSE X BOISSEAU.

W. P. PAYNE,
Examiner and Notary Public.
GENERAL, SPECIFIC REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES MAY 1868

runkle, in lou, may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US h of r, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

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BUREAU REFUGEES, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS,
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, STATE OF KENTUCKY,
Louisville, Kentucky, June 16, 1868.

GENERAL: I have the honor to submit the following report of the operation of the bureau for the month of May, 1868:

ABANDONED LANDS AND CONFISCATED PROPERTY.

None in the State of Kentucky.

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BOUNTIES.

On June 9, 1868, I submitted to honorable James Speed, attorney at law, the laws governing the disbursement of bounties to colored soldiers, and the question of my duty in the premises. His decision was submitted to you June 9, 1868. It is exceedingly annoying, and I may say humiliating to me, as an officer, to find that the law does not prevent men purchasing bounties, taking advantage of the ignorance of and defrauding the soldiers; i.e., that although I am aware of the fact that the claim has been sold, and know that the negro will pay the whole amount of the bounty over to the purchaser, the law thereby being violated, I must pay the whole amount without question. As long as such is the law, I have nothing to do but pay the bounties.

The following cases have been submitted to B. H. Bristow, esq., United States district attorney, and it is thought that the parties purchasing the claims can be prosecuted for obtaining money under false pretences:

Joseph Edwards, late corporal company A 15th United States colored troops.
Wallace Gray, late sergeant, company C, 108th United States colored troops.
Alfred Ogden, late private company D, 108th United States colored troops.
Thomas Frail, late private company H, 108th United States colored troops.

The United States grand jury convenes on Monday, June 16, 1868, and we will then see what can be done. The pathetic stories of these gentlemen that they "loaned a little money to their old servants as a great favor, and only want their own back," is all balder. The cases of W. D. B. Morrill and H. M. Carr, claim agents, investigated by the board convened by Special Orders No. 63, dated May 18, 1868, have been submitted. I understand that all the claim agents and purchasers of claims bid me defiance. They think the bureau is about to expire, but if there is any virtue in the law we will worry them a little before we die.

CLOTHING.

The following is a list of clothing issued to the destitute freedmen during the month: 12 pair of pants, 6 blouses, 2 jackets, 5 pairs men's brogans, 4 pairs women's brogans, 1 pair of children's brogans, 6 hats, and 4 men's undershirts.

CONTRACTS.

The number of contracts made and approved by the officers of the bureau during the month was 48. The number of persons contracted with was: Males, 37; females, 12; total, 49. The rate of wages paid per month was: Males, $15 50; females, $8 90, including quarters and rations.

DESTITUTION.

No destitution reported.
runkle, in lou may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky &

rn, in US, h of r, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN.

Remains unchanged in the State, except in the Danville district, where there

has been some improvement. This is due to the fact that a large number of the
citizens of Boyle, Garrard and Lincoln counties, who were outraging negroes in
April, have been arrested and brought before the United States grand jury, all
of which has resulted in their being indicted. Most of the witnesses in these
cases were brought here by the bureau under instructions from the Commissioner,
in letter dated February 29, 1868.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

The number of patients remaining in the refugees' and freedmen's hospi-
tal in this city on the 30th day of April, 1868, was 191.
Number admitted during the month of May was 29.

Total 228
Number discharged cured 29
Number discharged died 14

Number remaining in hospital May 31, 1868, 185.

The "lying in" and "infant" wards have been abolished. There are still a
few lying-in patients in another ward.

MINORS.

The number of minos apprenticed by the bureau during the month was one
male.

GENERAL, SPECIFIC REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES MAY 1868

runkle, in lou may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky &

rn, in US, h of r, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

OUTRAGES.

The number of outrages reported during the month was 16; number of mur-
ders, 2; number shot, wounded, 1; number otherwise maltreated, 13; total 16.

The following outrages are specially reported by the chief sub-assistant com-
missoners:

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel R. E. Johnston, of the Lexington district, reports:
"H. C. Howard, sub-assistant commissioner at Morehead, reports two (I)
cases of maltreatment in his sub-district which have been referred to the United
States Commissioner.

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Catlin, of the Louisville district, reports: "The
murder has been reported at this office which occurred at or near the corner of
Market and 7th streets in this city. A very worthy young man (colored) was
stabbed in broad daylight by a young man (white) who as yet cannot be found.
I have taken all the steps possible to find the murderer, and in compliance with
verbal orders from General Burbank have applied to the United States mar-
shall with the view of cooperating with him and his officers. Four other trilling
cases of maltreatment have been reported here, but not of sufficient importance
or severity to warrant a special mention."

Brevet Brigadier General H. G. Thomas, of the Danville district, reports:
"Scipio Bowman, a gray-headed old man, came to Louisville in January, 1868,
to take care of a sick relative; that on or about the middle of May, the old man
was run off from his little plantation by two men, who came and shot into his
dwelling, and thus succeeded in running off this poor, homeless old man, and
appropriating all the scanty earnings of his life to themselves. Bowman, like
many others, now lives in Danville, where the bureau and troops are." Four
other cases of maltreatment occurred in various parts of my district during the
month, the victims being whipped and some of them driven off.

Brevet Captain A. Benson Brown, of the Bowling Green district, reports:
"Dudley Coombs (colored) was shot and killed on the 24th of May, near Bow-
ing Green, by Andrew Atchison, (white.) A coroner's inquest was held on the
25th over the body of Coombs, and a verdict rendered as above stated; that..."
GENERAL, SPECIFIC REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES MAY 1868

runkle, in lou may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of r, 40 cong 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

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upon a preliminary hearing before J. B. Martin and Benjamin Ellis, magistrates, and upon Atchison's admitting that he shot Combs, though he claimed it was by an accidental shot from a pistol, he was admitted to bail in the sum of $2,500 to appear before the Warren county circuit court, which convenes here on the 27th of July next. Atchison gave bonds signed by himself and two others, none of whom are persons of responsibility. This case was referred, and, if possible, will be carried into the United States court."

The persons engaged in mobbing and hanging the freedmen at Frankfort have been found guilty by the United States court. Many other cases have been acted upon by this court.

I have applied to the Hon. A. J. Ballard, clerk of the United States district court, for a statement of the names of all persons tried, and the result in each case.

This he has promised, and as soon as furnished, it will be submitted to you. This will show better than any words of mine the work of a just judge and the energetic officers of his court, as well as the fact that the juries do justice under the law.

ORPHAN ASYLUM.

The orphan asylum at Lexington contains (14) fourteen, and the asylum at Louisville (22) twenty-two inmates. The latter is under the charge of Rev. J. W. Atwell, agent of the bureau. These orphan asylums are only small beginnings. The one in Louisville is the only house we could get for the purpose; another more commodious will be procured as soon as possible.

GENERAL, SPECIFIC REPORT ON F B ACTIVITIES MAY 1868

runkle, in lou may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of r, 40 cong 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

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RATIONS.

There was issued during the month the following number of rations:

To the refugees' and freedmen's hospital in this city .................. 6,860
To destitute freedmen at Lexington, Kentucky .................. 216

Total number of rations issued during the month .................. 7,076

The money value of which was $1,557 83.

SCHOOLS.

The number of schools in operation during the month was 157, to wit: 150 day and 7 night, with an attendance of 7,511 scholars, showing an increase of 114 scholars over last report.

Fifteen schools were started during the month, as follows:

In the Lexington district: One at Oil Works, Greenup county.

In the Louisville district: One at Louisville, one at Simpsonville, and one at Newcastle.

In the Henderson district: One in Daviess county, one at Stringtown, one at Richardson's, one near Owensboro', and one near Lancaster.

In the Bowling Green district: One at Columbia, one at Bond river, one at Greenville, and one at Logansport.

In Paducah district: One at Maxfield, and one at Jeffersontown, Indiana.

Nine (9) schools were closed during the month, as follows:

In Lexington district: One at Lexington, one at Clay'sville, one at Bridgeport, one at Frankfort, and one at Covington.

In Louisville district: One at LaGrange.

In Henderson district: One at Hawesville.

In Paducah district: Two at Paducah.
The school-house at Jeffersonville has been finished, and the one at Paducah will be finished according to the terms of the contract. The colored people at Cairo, Illinois, have procured the deed to the lot, though it has not been filed in this office. I have not yet drawn the $2,000 appropriated for the purpose of building at Cairo; that is to say, I have drawn the $2,000, but it has, pending the action of the colored people at Cairo, been used at other places, and there is still to the credit of the general school fund at Washington, $4,500.

Many other applications have been made for aid, and in some places assistance ought to be rendered if possible. All applications are, however, disapproved for want of funds.

I have just returned from Cairo, Illinois, and will submit a special report of my investigation.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BEN. P. RUNKLE,
Brevet Colonel U. S. A., Chief Superintendent, &c.

Brevet Brigadier General S. BURBANK,
Asst Com'r State of Kentucky, Louisville, Ky.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, June 17, 1868.
Respectfully forwarded to Major General O. O. Howard, Commissioner, &c., Washington, D. C., for his information.

S. BURBANK,

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, District of Kentucky:

Affiant, Joseph Edwards, late corporal A. 15th United States colored infantry, being first duly sworn, deposeeth and saith that about the 25th day of December, 1867, while attending to his private business, a colored man came to him and told him Colonel T. W. Campbell had his money for bounty, and wanted him to come and get it, and that he went to Campbell, and that Campbell offered him $130 for his claim, and told him it was doubtful if affiant could ever collect his claim, and that he had better sell to him, Campbell; that he sold his claim to Campbell for $130; that he has reason to believe, and does believe, that he then and there signed by mark the draft for the money; that the paper signed was a strip some two and a half inches wide and five or six inches long; that where his name was written was on the blank side of a picture or bill; that he
runkle, in lou may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of r, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

had never before that time sold or bargained his claim to any one; that his name was written on said slip of paper by N. C. Lawrence, bureau agent at Russellville, Kentucky; that he never, at any time, signed any papers concerning his bounty since that time; that said affiant believes he was then and there swindled out of the sum of $60 by said Campbell under false pretense; that by reason of his race or color, being of African descent, he is denied the right to testify or give evidence against a white man in the courts of the State of Kentucky, and that he makes this complaint for the purpose of prosecuting said Campbell in the courts of the United States.

JOSEPH EDWARDS.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 2d day of June, 1868.

WM. M. GRUBBS,
United States Commissioner.

JOSEPH EDWARDS, colored, affiant, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

JOSEPH DUNCAN, colored, witness, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

N. C. LAWRENCE, white, witness, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

A true copy:

LEVI F. BURNETT,
Brevet Captain U. S. Army, A. A. A. G.

United States of America, District of Kentucky:

Affiant, Wallace Gray, late sergeant company C, 108th United States colored infantry, being a citizen of the United States, and owing no allegiance to any foreign power, on oath states that he is a citizen of the United States of African descent, having been born in the United States; that Thomas W. Campbell came to him in Russellville, said district, on or about the 25th December, 1867, and

announced himself as paymaster paying bounty claims, and told affiant to come up to the Forest House and get his pay; that affiant went to the room of said Campbell; that Campbell told him that he, Campbell, wished to pay, or rather to buy, claims; that he could not pay all the claim now; that affiant would never get his pay except through him, Campbell, and that said Campbell offered him $140 for his claim, and told him, affiant, that he, Campbell, had means by which he could collect the claim from the government which affiant had not; that affiant then and there sold his claim to said Campbell upon false representations of said Campbell, as above stated, for $140; that affiant never signed, either by mark or otherwise, any paper for said Campbell, nor any one else, at that or any other time since or before, by which his claim to bounty could be transferred; that he never signed any receipts or draft, either for said Campbell nor any one else; that about two months prior to the above transaction with Campbell he signed the treasury certificate at the office of Jos. E. Wright, esq, Russellville, and that he has never, at any time, signed any paper whatever concerning said bounty; and that affiant makes this affidavit for the purpose of prosecuting said Campbell for obtaining money under false pretences of said affiant, and for the recovery of the full amount of his bounty, as provided by law.

WALLACE + GRAY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of June, 1868.

WM M GRUBBS,
United States Commissioner.

A true copy:

LEVI F. BURNETT,
Brevet Captain U. S. Army, A. A. A. G.

No witnesses in this case.
runkle, in lou may 12, 1868, to burbank in lou, in 'freed affairs in ky & tn,' in US, h of r, 40 cong, 2 sess, ex doc no 329, serial 1346

C.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY:

Affiant, Alfred Ogden, late private company I, 108th United States infantry, on oath states that on or about the 25th of December, 1867, a colored man came to him and told him the paymaster was up at the Forrest house to pay soldiers' bounties, and wanted him, affiant, to come up and get his pay; that he went and found Colonel T. W. Campbell, who said to him that he was paying part of said bounty; that it would be doubtful if affiant ever got the bounty; that he, Campbell, had a way that probably he could get it; that he offered to pay affiant $140; that affiant, feeling it doubtful if he ever would get it, accepted the offer; that affiant never by mark or otherwise signed any kind of a paper for said Campbell nor any one else in order to convey his claim to him; that he has never indorsed any draft nor signed any receipts concerning bounty since the above transaction with Campbell.

his

ALFRED + OGDEN.

mark.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of June, 1868.

WM. M. GRUBBS, U. S. Commissioner.

 Witnesses:

ALFRED OGDEN, colored, affiant, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

JOSHDUNCAN, colored, witness, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

GEORGE OGDEN, colored, witness, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

HENRY COATES, colored, witness, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

HENRY LONG, colored, witness, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

MARTIN LONG, colored, witness, lives at Russellville, Kentucky.

A true copy:

LEVI F. BURNETT,
Brevet Captain U. S. Army, A A. A. G.

Official copy:

E. WHITFIELD,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

D.

STATE OF KENTUCKY, COUNTY OF WARREN:

Before me this day personally appeared Thomas Trail, who being duly sworn deposes and says that during the late war he was a private soldier in company K, 108th regiment colored trooper; that some time about Christmas he was accepted by El Beint, of Franklin, Kentucky, who desired to purchase his (deponent's) bounty, saying he was buying the same for Colonel Campbell, of Bowling Green; that he then offered him (deponent) $130 for his claim, which he (deponent) accepted, and the money was accordingly paid him; that said Beint represented to him (deponent) that it was doubtful whether the claim would ever be paid, and that he (deponent) had better take the money offered him.

his

THOMAS + TRAIL.

mark.

Sworn to and subscribed in my presence this 5th day of June, 1868.

JAMES McCLUNG,
Captain 45th Infantry, Brevet Major United States Army.

A true copy:

LEVI F. BURNETT,
Brevet Captain U. S. Army, A A. A. G.

JOHN OLDS, witness.
A. Lincoln describes boat load of slaves sold south from Ky 1841

By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one at a convenient distance from the others; so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them, from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One, whose offence for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually; and the others danced, sung, cracked jokes, and played various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that He renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while He permits the best, to be nothing better than tolerable.

Robert Wickliffe, familiarly known as the "Old Duke" and the largest slaveholder in the Bluegrass, informed the Kentucky Legislature in 1840 that more than six thousand slaves were annually sold to the Southern markets from Kentucky.

"We most ardently hope," continued 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 from our moral character." Wickliffe's urgent plea to the General Assembly seems to have met with little success in stamping out the trade, or retarding the "down the river" traffic in human beings.
These slaves were sold by the Kentucky traders at the Natchez market during the winter of 1844:

"1844 Hughes & Downing—Sale of Negroes at Natchez,
Easter & Sealy to McMillon .................. $1,200.00
George, blacksmith for .................... 1,500.00
Sam for .................................. 680.00
Willis & Nicey for .......................... 1,200.00
Big Peggy for .............................. 600.00
George bricklayer & Little Peggy .. 1,400.00
One boy got of Evins, sold for ........ 540.00
Joe, got of Carter in Nicholas [Co., Ky.] .... 500.00
One boy got of Massie C .................. 500.00
Jane, got of Either, sold for ............ 565.00

$8,695.00" \(=\) selling price

Total expenses in transporting these slaves to Natchez were $256.72. The profit was about $8,438.28.
To keep the slaves from escaping while going “down the river” extra precautions were taken by the traders and their agents. “On our trips South the negroes were all put on deck of the steamboat . . . they were chained together two by two until we got to the mouth of the Ohio River, when they were unchained.” Once out in the broad Mississippi River, there was little chance for the slaves to escape from the boat.

Slaves were well treated and generously fed on their trips “down the river” so that they would look their best when they reached the Southern markets. Many shrewd and unscrupulous traders, aware of the fact that younger negroes were in greater demand, resorted to various “tricks of the trade” to further swell their purses.

William Brown, a slave, who helped “groom” some of his master’s negroes on their way South gives an interesting account of their treatment, which, no doubt, was substantially the same as in many other cases. He wrote:

“I had to prepare the old slaves for market. I was ordered to have the old men’s whiskers shaved off, and the grey hairs on their heads plucked off, where they were not too numerous, in which case we had a preparation of blacking to color it, and with a blacking brush we would put it on. This was new business to me, and was performed in a room [on the boat] where the passengers could not see us. These slaves were also taught how old they were, and after going through the blacking process, they looked ten years younger; and I am sure that some of the planters who purchased these slaves were dreadfully cheated, especially in the ages of the slaves they bought.

“We landed at Rodney [Mississippi] and the slaves were driven to the pen in the back part of the village. Several were sold in this place, during our stay of four or five days, when we proceeded to Natchez. There we landed at night, and the gang was put in the warehouse until morning, when they were driven to the pen. As soon as the slaves are put in the pens, swarms of planters may be seen in and about them. They know when shipments of slaves are expected, as the traders advertise beforehand when they will be in Rodney, Natchez or New Orleans. These were the principal places where they were offered for sale . . .”
Slaves of Kentucky, and especially those in the Bluegrass, where the yoke of bondage rested lightly, had an instinctive dread of being "sold South" by the negro traders. They knew from tales of horror and overwork, told by old slaves and runaways, that to be "sold South" meant separation from their families and loved ones, and long hours of hard labor under cruel taskmasters in the cotton and rice fields of Mississippi and Louisiana. The mere threat to "sell South" or "down the river" was often an effective correction for an unruly slave.

Robards was by far the most unscrupulous of all the slave dealers. He often purchased, with the idea of a quick turn-over, slightly diseased negroes, provided their ailment did not appear too evident. This practice frequently brought him into litigation with the purchasers, whose slaves later turned up diseased or unsound.
Traders increased 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 dealers were advertising 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; Silas and George S. Marshall; Northcutt, Marshall & Company; Neal McCann; W. F. White & Company; Robards Brothers; J. and T. Arteburn; Robert H. Elam; William F. Talbott, and John Mattingly.

Slaveholders of the Bluegrass do not seem to have been greatly shocked at the advertisement which ran for a number of months in the local newspapers:

"To Planters & Owners of Slaves

Those who have slaves rendered unfit for labor by Yaws, Scrofula, Chronic Diarrhea, Negro Consumption, Rheumatism, & c, and

who wish to dispose of them on reasonable terms will address J. King, No. 29 Campst Street, New Orleans."

This notice suggested the awful realities of slavery as it existed in the Far South.
It is this feeling of sadness and sorrow at being "sold South" by the traders that is presented by Stephen Collins Foster in his immortalized song, *My Old Kentucky Home*, first published in 1852. Foster, who had plenty of opportunity to observe the traffic in slaves, pictures a poor luckless old negro being taken from his home and loved ones and shipped "down the river" to the large plantations, where:

"A few more days and the trouble all will end
In the field where the sugar-canes grow.
A few more days for to tote the weary load,
No matter, 'twill never be light,
A few more days till we totter on the road,
Then my Old Kentucky home, good night."

And, as Foster concludes his song, the old slave, unaccustomed to his new overseer and surroundings, is found despairing of life and pining for "My Old Kentucky Home, far away."

It is no wonder then that slaves "sold South" 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 hiding in the vicinity of his former 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."

One planter from Mississippi advertised that his slave had run away from him in DeSoto County, and that said slave "could read and write tolerably well" and he believed "the negro has returned to Kentucky about forty miles back of Louisville where he was raised."
On one particular occasion this gang of Maysville negro thieves broke into a house in Ohio and stole a young 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 kidnappers. These men threatened to burn the town if the police insisted on making an investigation, 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.

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"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."

One dealer advertised for slaves, probably for the last time:

"Negroes Wanted. Real Estate in the City of Lexington we wish to trade for Negroes.—W. F. White & Co.""

By the end of 1864 slavery in the Bluegrass was completely demoralized, although not yet legally abolished." There were no longer any sales or trading of negroes. The day of the "nigger buyer" was over. His long coffles of slaves bound for the Southern market had disappeared forever; his "coops" and slave-pens stood empty, and the old auction block fell into decay. Traffic in human beings which had flourished in Lexington for well over thirty years now became an institution of the past.
I also bid off by direction of the officers of our church, George Dupuy, a colored Baptist preacher about 32 years old, and pastor of the Pleasant Green Baptist church (colored). He belonged to the estate of Joseph Taylor, a Baptist preacher, who died at Mr. Craig's in this town some nine years ago. The estate had to be wound up, and the negroes sold at public auction. The negro members of his church importuned us to buy him, saying they could raise the money and reimburse us. Brothers Clark, Bishop, Drake, Kidd and myself met at Judge Green's office the night before the sale, and agreed to buy him for the trustees of the negro church. Mr. Taylor (a kinsman of the deceased) came up on the that evening and we had an interview with him all the next morning. He said he had been told the negro was worth $1,000. We told him we were not willing to give over $900. He dropped $100 and seemed loathe to take less. But we were positive, and just before the sale he consented to let him be struck off. He was sold for $800. The negroes seemed rejoiced that the purchase was made.

This organization, popularly called the Colored Fair Association, was one of the conspicuously successful enterprises of Lexington in the period following the Civil War. Its chief project and source of income was the Fair which it held in the early autumn of each year.

After the first Fair, which was held in September, 1869, its sponsors, meeting in regular business session (October 2, 1869), evidence their faith in the financial possibilities of the Fair, and their intention of staying in the business by voting to petition the Kentucky Legislature for a charter of incorporation. At this same meeting they further indicated their intention of holding their organization intact by passing the following resolution:

"Resolved that we empower the Board of Directors to use the money
removing on hand (from the proceeds of the first Fair) or invest it to the best advantage of the company. 2 By June 13, 1870, the Association had procured a charter and had adopted its constitution and by-laws. 3

As to the organization of the Association, there were stockholders who met each year, officers, and the Board of Directors.

The stockholders were Negroes of Fayette and adjoining counties, 4 who became stockholders by the purchase of shares of stock.

Although the minutes of the early meetings of the Board of Directors do not designate the cost per share, Dr. T. T. Woolbill, present secretary of the A. & M. Realty Company, which is an outgrowth of the Agricultural and Mechanical Association, and who is an author-

Early on the history of the latter states that the first shares sold for $10.00 each.

Neither do the minutes give the total number of stockholders, though the minutes for June 13, 1870, which were the first to record the names of stockholders list the names of eighteen persons, who attended the annual meeting of that date. 5 A better evidence of the fact that the organization did not embrace a large number is the report of the treasurer on June 13, 1871. Under the item of disbursements this report shows that dividends were paid only on sixty-eight shares. 6 Since it is very unlikely that each stockholder held only one share one can conclude that the association included less than sixty-eight persons.
The officers and the members of the Board of Directors were elected annually by the stockholders. The officers were members of the Board, the president of the Association was also president of the Board, the secretary kept the minutes, and records. It was the energy, business acumen, and good judgment of the members of the Board which caused the Fair to prosper.

The men who took the lead, and who were entrusted with the greatest responsibilities were Henry King, elected president for more terms than any other in the early years, Henry Scroggins, secretary over a long period, George Perry, James Turner, George Scroggins, Thomas Slaughter, Theodore Clay, James Harvey and others. The minutes reveal the very interesting fact that though not very far removed from slave days these men not only knew how to conduct an enterprise of this type in an efficient manner, but in their deliberations followed Parliamentary procedure. An illustration of their knowledge of Parliamentary practice is to be found in the minutes of the stockholder's meeting of May 7, 1870. After a motion had been made to adjourn the meeting until Monday, May 9, the motion was amended so as to read the second of June. This
knowledge of the use of "amendments" is rather significant.

An evidence of the orderly way in which they conducted their meetings is to be found in the minutes of the board of Director's meeting of July 7, 1876. It has to do with the rules governing the conduct of a business session. Following is the report of the Committee on Rules of Order:

"Article 1"

No member shall speak more than once on the same subject unless permission (sic) from the Board.

"Article 2nd"

If two members rise at the same time the president shall decide who shall speak.

"Article 3rd"

When the president calls a member to order he shall pay a fine of not less than 20 cents nor more than 50 cents.

"Article 4th"

If a member interrupts another while he is on his feet he shall be fined from 20 to 50 cents."

Another extract from the minutes which illustrates both the ability of the members of the group to express their sentiments, and their knowledge of what was proper, is as follows:

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God in his infinite wisdom to call from our midst our worthy member and friend Henry Larrier:

Do it therefore resolved that in his death we have lost a worthy member. Resolved that we deeply deplore his loss and extend our sympathy to his bereaved family.
MAJOR LEADERS OF LEX AGRI & MECH ASSN 1869-70s

wm b strother, 'negro culture in lex,' ma thesis, uk, 1939

/ p. 24 cont'd/

Resolved that a copy (sic) of these resolutions be spread
upon the minutes of this meeting and one sent to his
relatives.

Signed by the committee.

These quotations, and many others that might be given, may be
marred in places by misspelled words, but reveal the fact that the
members of the Board of Directors, as they conducted their business,
were not without understanding of the way in which to conduct a
meeting, or of proper etiquette, as in the case just cited.

FINANCIAL SUCCESS LEX AGRI & MECH FAIR 1869-71

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The Fair was a financial success from the start. The amount
on hand just previous to the holding of the second Fair was $1,358.88.
The net profit of the second Fair was $1,157.72, leaving a balance
in the treasury in October, 1870, of $2,526.59.9 After the meeting
of the second Fair a dividend of $10.00 per share was declared, and
the secretary was instructed to draw upon the treasurer for the
amount necessary to pay the same.10 Assuming that Dr. T. T. Wendell
was correct in his statement that the charter members paid $10.00
per share, then in this second year they realized a dividend of one
hundred per cent on their investment the treasurer's report follow-
ing the Fair of 1871 shows the patronage it enjoyed, and the size
REASONS FOR SUCCESS OF LEX AGRI & MECH FAIR

Wm B Strother, 'Negro Culture in Lex,' M.A. thesis, UK, 1939

Page 26/ "One was that the Fair caught the fancy of the Colored People of the vicinity of Lexington, and beyond. It was something new. It gave them a sense of racial accomplishment [sic] it provided them with a means of relaxation, entertainment and social intercourse--opportunities which had great social value during the trying days of post-war readjustment. The competitive sports and events both in the ring and the display room gave an incentive for the improvement of livestock and of other agricultural and domestic products." Other reasons included "... the close attention given by the board to every detail of the Fair program." They made sure there was plenty of ice on the premises, ticket sellers and takers, marshalls, watchmen, policemen. They looked after transportation to and from the fair grounds. A chain of command (my words) was established to issue orders, and check on problems. /p 27/ There was also a careful accounting of funds. /p 29/ Another reason for success was the "ever-improving program." The Directors decided at their meeting on July 18, 1872, to offer large prizes to 'speed' horses; the first horse to get $150, the second $100, and the third $50. Just a year later, July 7, 1873, they decided to have a 'trot' each day of the Fair. On April 2, 1874, the stockholders instructed the Directors to appoint separate days during the week of the Fair 'for the purpose of having speed races.' They advertised these races with posters. All this was before the first Kentucky Derby race.
In 1871 the Directors voted to lease or buy grounds for the Colored Agrl. & Mech. Fair. They leased 25 acres for $80 per acre for 10 years, located on the Georgetown Pike (On what was known as the Ficklin Place). Later the Assn used the "White" Fair Grounds. In 1872 plans were adopted for an amphitheater, and a rock walk. In 1873 they built a half mile track around the amphitheater.

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Facts on Rolla Blue: Property, Loans (1819-1850)

Rolla Blue, a free man of color, who lived in Lexington during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, was one of the prosperous residents of the city. Listed in the General Index Book to Deeds, located in the Fayette County Court House, is the record of about fifty deeds to property given and received by Blue. For instance, some of the lots for which he received deeds were as follows:

1. Lot on Mulberry Street, (December 2, 1819)
2. Twenty-two feet, Mulberry Street, (August 29, 1820)
3. Thirty-eight feet, High Street, (December 16, 1824)
4. Lot, corner of Mulberry and Maxwell Streets, (March 1, 1827)
5. Part of Pleasant Green Church lot, (June, 1827)
6. Twenty-two feet, Upper Street, (January 1, 1829)

This list simply illustrates what is to be found in the book to which reference has been made.
One of the most interesting records found, was that dictated by William McChesney (white), ordering that several of his slaves be turned over to the estate of Rolla Blue to pay a debt. The implication of this extraordinary procedure, dated May 11, 1850, was that Blue loaned money to white men.

The will of Blue not only makes fascinating reading, but provides some understanding of the extent of his wealth, and the workings of his mind:

In the name of God amen. I, Rolla Blue, a free man of colour, of Lexington, Kentucky, being in good health of body and mind, and knowing the uncertainty of human life, and the certainty of death, do make this my last will and testament:

I wish first my debts and funeral expenses paid. I then will and bequeath my whole estate, real, personal, and mixed to Nathan Payne as my Executor, in trust for the following purposes, to wit:

FACTS ON ROLLA BLUE: PROPERTY, LOANS (1819-50)
wm b strother, 'negro culture in lex,' m a thesis, uk, 1939

second, I wish and will that my said Executor, out of the interest of my estate, purchase and emancipate my son Fielding, now owned by D. January of Louisiana, if in the opinion of the Fayette County Court (a majority acting) his conduct is such, in their opinion as to merit his freedom.

Then next my sister Lydia, now owned by Nathan Payne of Fayette County in the same manner and form of my son Fielding...

(He made the same request for others of his kin in the following order: his brother, Benjamin; his brother, Joshua)

Then I wish, and so direct that my said Executor shall enquire after the blood relations of my late wife, Rachel Blue, and myself, giving mine the preference, and if he shall find any, and the County Court of Fayette shall think, or be of the opinion, that such persons are (sic) entitled to their freedom, from their good conduct or otherwise (a majority acting as aforesaid), then my said Executor is required to purchase and emancipate them as fast as the interest of my said estate may enable him.
Then, next I wish and desire that my said Executor shall in his own discretion, distribute the interest of my said estate among those free persons (together with my son George, who is now free) who may obtain their freedom under the provisions of this my will.

My reason for leaving my estate thus in trust in the hands of my said Executor, is because I am convinced that there are but few, if any of my colour, who so suddenly obtain their freedom, in a land of slavery, who are competent to take care of themselves, let alone an estate left them, about the making of which they know nothing.

And at no time, and under no circumstances, is my said Executor to dispose of any part of the principal of my Estate, and the Personal part thereof alone at my death, is to be said, my real estate to be kept up, and rented out from time to time, and from year to year, as my Executor may think proper, and the money on hand at my death, and that arising from the sale of my Personal Estate, my Executor may manage in any manner he may think proper, or best calculated to insure the greatest profit.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this the 6th day of July, 1839.

his
Rolla x Blue
mark
DENNIS SEAL, LEX FREE MAN OF COLOR (1831-59)

wm b strother, 'negro culture in lex,' m a thesis, uk, 1939

Another free Negro, who lived in ante-bellum Lexington, and, who prospered, as did Blue, to an unusual extent, was Dennis Seal. According to records in the Fayette County Court House, Lexington, Kentucky, he owned considerable property in the Blue Grass city, and was a party to many business transactions during the period 1831 to 1859. Being a man of means, he was known, in spite of his color, to endorse bank notes of white men, and to be security for them. Following is an extract from a deed book, which reveals the fact that Seal received slaves from white men, who were obligated to him in a financial way:

(The persons mentioned in this record were B. G. Thomas, party of the first part, and Dennis Seal, a free man of color, party of the other part):

4 General Index Book, 1794-1803, see "Dennis Seal."
5 Deed Book, 22, p 374.

DENNIS SEAL, LEX FREE MAN OF COLOR (1831-59) 6582-A

wm b strother, 'negro culture in lex,' m a thesis, uk, 1939

Whereas the said B. G. Thomas is indebted to one Charles Held in the full sum of four hundred and twenty dollars, and whereas the said Dennis Seals is the endorser and securer of the said B. G. Thomas, being desirous to secure and save the said Dennis Seals against all responsibility as the securer and endorser doth agree, sell, confirm, and convey unto said Dennis Seals his heirs and assigns, one yellow Negro boy, a slave about fourteen years of age and named George.

Other slaves were known to come into his possession. For instance, on January 1, 1853, Robert Butler, (white), deeded a slave to Dennis Seal.6

The will of this colored financier, dated February 6, 1863, contains interesting information. Its preamble reads as follows:7

6 Deed Book 28, p 315.
7 Will Book Y, p 2.
DENNIS SEAL, LEX FREE MAN OF COLOR (1831-59)

BRIEF BIOG B E SMITH OF LEX

B. E. SMITH, LL. B.

Mr. B. E. Smith, the subject of this sketch, was born on a farm in Simpson county, Kentucky, January 26, 1865. His father and mother were Harvey S. Smith and Frances Smith.

After passing through the common schools of his county he taught school for a number of years and in the meantime attended school at Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tennessee, until the year 1884.

He left that University and unarticulated at Howard University, Washington, D. C. In 1893 he graduated from the Law Department of Howard University, and the following year entered upon the practice of his profession at Bowling Green, Ky. After practicing there two years he came to Lexington where he has been practicing ever since with marked success.

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1 harris, the negro pop of lex, 1909

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JAMES ALEXANDER CHILES, A. M., LL. B.

Lawyer Chiles has, for sixteen years, practiced successfully at the Fayette County bar, the bar of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court of the United States; and is a member of the Fayette County Bar Association.

His literary training was received at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania. He received his professional degree from the Law Department of University of Michigan.

Lawyer Chiles is well known throughout Central Kentucky as a man of refinement, and an able and faithful practitioner of the law.

His family circle is a most happy one. Lawyer and Mrs. Chiles, their adopted daughter, Lillian, are devoted workers in the First Day Adventist Church, and many of Lexington's aged and infirm have been gladdened by good gifts and good cheer from this Christian family.

MARY E. BRITTON, M.D.

Dr. Mary E. Britton is a Lexingtonian by birth. Her early education was obtained in Lexington and at Berea College. For many years she was a teacher in Lexington and Fayette county, during which time she gained considerable prominence as a writer and speaker of marked individuality, and was loved because of her kind disposition and charitable work among those in need.

Dr. Britton is a Seventh Day Adventist, observing the Sabbath of the Lord, and abstains from the use of flesh foods.

She was graduated in 1903 from the American Missionary Medical College, of Chicago, receiving part of her training at the famous Battle Creek Sanitarium. Her specialty is hydrotherapy, electrotherapy and massage.
Dr. Nathan J. Ridley has successfully practiced his profession in Lexington for the past eight years. He is a graduate of Meharry Medical College of Nashville, Tenn. This college is the Medical Department of Washington University, one of the largest schools established and maintained by the Protestant Episcopal Church for the education of freemen.

Mr. J. C. Jackson of Lexington, Ky., is a conspicuous example of boundless energy and enterprise characterizing many of the Southern colored men today.

Commencing his career in a very humble way, he has by his perseverance and determination reached a prominent place in the citizenship of his native State, and Kentuckians are proud of him. His family has always represented the best type of courtly gentlemen and Mr. Jackson is a worthy scion of the original stock, in manners and culture.

For a number of years he was a prominent figure in the political life of the State. The highest political honor conferred upon him by his party (the Republican), of course, was his election as a delegate from the state at large to the National Republican Convention at Minneapolis, Minn., an honor coveted by every prominent white Republican in the State.

The later years of Mr. Jackson's life have been spent in arduous service, establishing and building up the livery and undertaking business. Since his advent into the business world, associated with Mr. Wm. Porter, of Cincinnati, Ohio, the firm name of Porter & Jackson, he has been no less prominent and successful than in politics. He is today the most up-to-date undertaker in Kentucky among our race.

His establishment is equaled by few white establishments of the same kind. Being thoroughly familiar with every detail of the business, he has steadily worked his way up, acquiring knowledge of every branch of the work and displaying always an intense ambition to excel, until he is considered one of the best negro undertakers in the South.

Mr. Jackson has devoted much of his spare time from a busy business, both educational and religious work. For a number of years he served as trustee of Wilberforce University at Xenia, Ohio, and at the same time as trustee of Berea College in Kentucky. Prominent always in the life of the A. M. E. Church, of Lexington, he not only renders disinterested service to his mother church in the city, but represented this district as lay delegate to the general conference which met at Indianapolis.

Personally, Mr. Jackson is extremely domestic, and never happier than when surrounded with his friends at his beautiful residence in the eastern part of Lexington. Mrs. Jackson shares honors with her husband in entertaining his guests, and her most conspicuous personal trait is the simple manner in which she makes everyone welcome within her home. The reader can well applaud such men and women.
BRIEF BIOG R F BELL OF LEX (post c w)

l harris, the negro pop of lex, 1907

MR. R. F. BELL.

That "labor hath sure reward" is proven by the life of Mr. R. F. Bell. Beginning his career a poor boy, with no other capital than good health and an honest heart, he has struggled untiringly, wisely using the benefits which kind Providence has bestowed upon him, until he has accumulated considerable property, and commands respect for his personal character and unquestioned integrity. His name is above reproach. For five years past he has been commissioner for Messrs. J. A. Drake, A. B. Gates, and A. B. Hutchinson, of New York. All of these gentlemen place in him implicit confidence, and rely upon his good judgment. Mr. Bell is the only man of his race holding a like position. He is also interested in Lexington real estate, and his capital and credit compare favorably with those of any of his people. He has proven by his social and business careers the capacity of the freedmen to be citizens of value to the Commonwealth.

In 1904 Mr. Bell was married to Miss Florence Seacoy, of Fayette county. Mrs. Bell occupies a high position in public esteem, because of her universal courtesy and kindness to all, whose good fortune it is to know her. A little daughter, Florence Roberta, has been given to add to the joy and domestic happiness of Mr. and Mrs. Bell. Their home, on East Fifth Street, is one of the most comfortable and artistically furnished in Lexington, and it is here that Mr. and Mrs. Bell delight to welcome their friends.

BRIEF BIOG OF EDWARD W CHENAULT OF LEX (post c w)

l harris, the negro pop of lex, 1907

This is a brief sketch of one of Kentucky's honored sons, who was born at Mt. Sterling, Ky., in 1844, when the blighting sting of slavery rendered it difficult for a Negro to secure an education. However, he made the best of his opportunities and by many deprivations and sacrifices so developed his mind that he now enjoys the distinction of being one of the best thinkers of his race.

Speaking of Mr. Chenault, he is undoubtedly one of the most deserving men in Kentucky; he has been identified with every movement since freedom which tends to elevate his race; and at no time when called upon to go to the front for his people, whether it was dark or light, rain or shine, has he ever refused: He is honest as day is long, and is always willing to help a friend in need.

Aided by personal popularity, he has made himself a powerful political factor and was a member of the Republican Committee of Fayette county for several years. He was elected alternate delegate from the State-at-large to the St. Louis Convention which nominated Hon. William McKinley for President of the United States, Mr. Chenault having received the largest vote of a number of contestants.

The latest honors conferred upon Mr. Chenault are his election to the posts of State Grand Treasurer of the Grand Lodge of the United Brothers of Friendship and Grand Treasurer of the National Grand Encampment of the same powerful organization.

These positions he has held for upward of eleven years with great credit, sometimes having in his possession $11,000 or $12,000 for the United Brothers of Friendship.

Mr. Chenault is now engaged in the most successful business, dealing largely in coal. He now ranks with the most prominent business men.
BRIEF BIOG OF PROF G P RUSSELL OF LEX (post c w)

1 harris, the negro pop of lex, 1907

PROF. G. P. RUSSELL

Principal of Russell School and Supervisor of City Schools.

Prof. G. P. Russell was born forty-five years ago in Logan county, Kentucky. He was educated by private teachers, also in the public schools of Russellville, Ky., and was graduated from Berea College after spending six years in that institution.

After the completion of his college course, he first taught in Estill county. In 1890 he was elected Principal of the Lexington High School. After four years of service as Principal, he was appointed Supervisor of the Lexington City Schools. In 1895, by act of the General Council, the High School was named in his honor.

Professor Russell's career as an educator has been most successful. The organization and discipline of the Russell School are considered equal to those in Kentucky. As Principal of the Russell School and Supervisor of City Schools, which positions he has held for sixteen years, Prof. Russell enjoys the confidence of the Board of Education and every good citizen of Lexington.

BRIEF HIST MAIN ST BAP CH IN LEX (1870)

1 harris, the negro pop of lex, 1907

SHORT HISTORY OF CHURCH AND PASTOR.


The church was erected A. D. 1870, with Rev. Frederick Braxton as pastor. The lot upon which it stands was once the property of Abraham Lincoln.

Upon this lot the first school for colored children of Lexington and vicinity was taught. Rev. Braxton was a very successful pastor and after him followed an array of able men. The present pastor, Rev. R. T. Frye, A. M., B. D., was called in March of 1904. Rev. Frye was born in Daviess, Ky., in 1868. He graduated from the normal department of the State University in 1882; from the college department in 1887; entered the Richmond Theological Seminary of Richmond, Va., in 1891; graduated as Bachelor of Divinity in 1896; was called to the Chair of Latin, French and Philosophy in the Colored Baptist University of Kentucky, which position he held for four years. In the third year of this service and after presenting his thesis, using as a subject "God in the Old Testament," the university conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. He thus comes to his work fully prepared and under God may do much for the Baptist.
CERTIFICATES OF MARRIAGE

Kentucky, Louisiana, and Maryland provided for the marriage of former slaves by the second method enumerated above, the granting of certificates. The Kentucky law declared that all colored persons who had been living together as husband and wife and who continued to do so should be regarded as legally married and their children legitimate. But the man and woman must appear before the clerk of the county court and declare that they had been living and wished to continue to live as husband and wife. Upon payment of fifty cents, the clerk recorded the declaration, and for twenty-five cents more issued a certificate thereof to the parties. It was not a sufficient compliance with the statute for the parties to continue to live together without appearing before the clerk of the court.

An interesting case arose under this Kentucky statute, as follows: A Negro woman, an ex-slave and living as the wife of another ex-slave, made her promissory note between the time of her emancipation and the date of this law. Under the provision of the statute, the man and woman appeared before the clerk of the court and obtained a marriage certificate. Later, she was sued on the note and pleaded coverture. At that time a married woman could not make a valid contract in her own name. The court held the plea bad, being of opinion that, as between the parties to the marriage, the statute validated their union from the beginning, but as to third parties, the woman was still single and so capable of making a valid contract.

In 1895, the same court held that, if a Negro man and woman lived together while slaves as husband and wife, a customary marriage was established, the court saying in its opinion: "Since the passage of the Act of February, 1866, . . . the general tendency of the decisions of this court has been to give that Act of 1866 a liberal construction with a view to effectuate its clearly defined purpose." And a later statute of 1898 further modified the law of 1866 by declaring that the children of above marriages might inherit.

PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE OF BLACK, WHITE WOMEN DIFFERENT AFTER C W

Kentucky "provided that all persons, without distinction of color, would be subject to the same pains and penalties for felonies and misdemeanors, adding: "The laws now in force for the punishment of Negroes and mulattoes for rape on white women are hereby continued in force." This was amended in 1869, but the offence was still against white women. The race distinction in these statutes lies in the fact that heavy punishment was prescribed for an assault upon a white woman, but no such protection was accorded a Negro woman.
Nicholas County slave prices rose steadily throughout the pre-war period for reasons of supply and demand previously mentioned. A random sampling of estate settlements prior to 1830 reveals that much the highest price of this period was a $2,000 payment in 1818 for a married couple from Luke Henson's estate. The best field hands seldom brought more than $600, although a talented one from Archibald Marshall's estate brought what must have been a near record price of $700. An aged woman from the same estate brought only $20. Age depreciation came early, and the age of 30 was the dividing line. A 50 year old man seldom sold for over $125, whereas a seven year old boy from the James Hughes estate went for $225. Females sold for slightly less. A fully mature woman of 25 years from the Hughes estate brought $400, but a man of about the same age was sold from this estate for $450.

Nicholas County owners also made money by leasing or renting slaves to businesses, industries, or farmers. Rosel Thomas's estate records reveal that slave Ben was hired out for $10 in 1824, but by 1828 Ben's services returned $36.25 to the owner. Milly, a co-worker of Ben's, earned $26 in 1828, probably for domestic services. A recent review of all recorded county slave rentals during this period by Thelma Standiford sets the average annual man's wage at $46.74, and the woman's at $25.31. A variation of rental came in masters who apprenticed young boys to shoemakers, cabinetmakers, or blacksmiths to learn the trade. Frequently, as in the case of William McClintock, a benevolent master would free these apprentices once they had learned enough to support themselves as free Negroes. McClintock also directed that his slave girls be taught to read, weave, and sew, and be emancipated at age 21.
The Paris Kentucky State Flag, Dec. 17, 1855 carries proof of this assumption in the following story:

Runaways drowned! On Friday night last, a party of six slaves 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.

Nicholas County’s slaveowners revealed their fears in their efforts during the 1850’s to tighten regulations concerning passes and free negroes. Indeed, they had something to worry about. The entire South was shaken severely all during 1856 by slave plots, and many such conspiracies were uncovered in Kentucky. In the Bath County village of Wyoming, just a few miles from Nicholas County’s border, there was discovered a “Christmas Plot” in which 40 well armed negroes were arrested at a black festival. They were readying a plan to fight their way through to the Ohio River. Although this premature affair was broken up, an estimated 10 to 12 insurrectionary black leaders were hanged in Kentucky that year.
There was a small minority of the county's slaves which did no farm work. These were among the 98 men (no women) employed in Carlisle's 40 manufacturing establishments listed in the federal census of 1860. The total invested capital in these businesses was $42,675. Labor costs in 1860 were $24,444, and materials cost $103,147, while the value of all products amounted to $467,761. Although half of this investment and income was in flour and meal milling, there were other sizeable enterprises. In 1828 Samuel Smith and John B. McIlvaine established a ropewalk using the county's hemp to make bagging and bale rope. Perrin reports that "the number of hands employed were about 30, all of whom were slaves. The hire paid was from 6 to 12 dollars per month and board and clothing." Other businesses included Robert Dykes' saddlery, Peter Schwarzweiler's nail factory, James Dudley's grist mill, Lloyd Rollins' woollen mill, Samuel Hall's carding factory and fulling mill, various tan-yards, blacksmiths, hotels, and inns in the town and county. Slaves played a significant role in all of these businesses.

These small industries played a vital role in the life of the community, and often gave slaves an opportunity for participation. On Christmas Day, 1829, the ropewalk's 30 slaves paraded through Carlisle carrying a huge flag made of hemp. Each marcher wore a military hat with hemp plumes waving proudly and other hemp decorations attached to his uniform. A large kettle drum set the pace, the drummer being a slave known as "Uncle Dick," while another named "Nelson" whistled shrilly through his teeth to imitate a fife to near perfection. The slaves paraded from ten in the morning until two in the afternoon, constantly followed "by a rabble of men, boys, and dogs." They then reaped their reward in a holiday celebration of eating and drinking which lasted on into the next morning.
People who could not afford, or for other reasons were unable to buy slaves, hired them. Free blacks sometimes hired slaves. "Practically all the work in the local factories and mills was done by slave labor. These slaves were hired from Fayette and the surrounding counties."

1. Lexington Observer and Reporter, March 20, 1858, announced the following ordinance: "Whereas certain persons in the city and country have for several years past hired slaves and families of slaves to free negroes having no property by which the city tax could be enforced, and the city has thus been defrauded of taxes on said negroes - Be it ordained that all slaves hired within the city to a free negro shall be assessed against the owner of such slaves ...."

That some residents practically made a business of hiring out slaves can be seen by the following advertisement:

Negroes to Hire for 1854

I have a large number of Negroes - Men, Women, Boys and Girls to hire out during next Christmas Week for the year 1854, and would be willing to make the necessary arrangements at any time previous thereto. Amongst the men, there is a blacksmith, a brick-moulder, several rope spinners, some valuable house servants, and farm hands. Women with or without incumbrance who have been raised to all kinds of household employments. Some small boys and girls that will be put out very low, if good places can be got for them. - Being from 50 to 60 of them - everyone needing to hire may find such as will suit them.

I can be found at my farm on the Newtown turnpike about 5 miles north of Lexington.

C. M. Keiser, Agent
Occasionally the local factories indicated that they needed more negroes. In 1854 Woolley and Lilly advertised for twenty-five negro boys between the ages of thirteen and fifteen years to work in their woolen factory; in 1856 they wanted twenty boys. In 1855 twelve or fifteen negro boys, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen were needed to work in the woolen factory of Thompson and Van Dalsam. A. McCoy indicated that he would like to have a few factory hands in 1857, and the following year J. H. and C. C. Morgan wished to purchase or hire "four or five" factory hands.

2 Ky State, Dec 14, 1854
3 Ibid, Dec 23, 1855
4 Lex. C. + Rep, Dec 15, 1855 (1855)
5 Ky State, Jan 2, 1857
6 Ibid, July 9, 1858

The fact that the slaves were described to suit the local industries and occupations also indicates that they were intended largely for local use. The men and boys were described as stable boys, carriage drivers, hostlers, house servants, cooks, waiters, confectioners, bakers, carpenters, painters, blacksmiths, barbers, brick layers, factory hands, weavers, bale rope spinners, hemp hacklers, farm hands, plough boys, dray drivers, and gardeners. The women and girls were described as cooks, washers, ironers, nurses, dairy maids, house servants, ladies' maids, and seamstresses.
Another peculiar and interesting type of sale and purchase was the case in which a free negro purchased a relative. Mike White, a free man of color, directed in his will that at his death his son whom he bought of James Wilson be liberated and that his executors see that enough of the estate was used to defray the expenses of manumission. Frequently the order books of the Fayette County Court noted that a deed of emancipation had been produced in court by a free person of color to a slave.

In the February Court of 1850 Jane Slaughter produced in court a deed of emancipation to her father, Charles. The following was recorded in the order book:

Know all men by these present, that I, Jane Slaughter, a free woman of color of the city of Lexington, County of Fayette and state of Kentucky from motives of benevolence and humanity have manumitted and do hereby manumit (manumit) and set free from slavery my father, being a negro man slave of mine by the name of Charles, aged about fifty-five years old, he being the same slave I purchased from Dickerson Parrish.

An unusual will was that of Baron Stewben, a free man of color, who directed that his executors should take charge of all the "money, bonds, notes, mortgages and personal estate" that he should "die possessed of." After the payment of his debts the executors were to purchase his children, Abbellene, Harriet, and Hannah Stewben, whose mother was Litty Small, a servant belonging to the estate of John Ball, deceased. These daughters were to be emancipated as soon as their purchase was possible. The residue of money after said purchase was to be held for the support...
and education of these daughters, who were to be taught some useful trade. Baron Stewben also had a son, William, his slave. William was to be freed at the death of his father, and the rents and profits from the house of Stewben on Spring and Short Streets were to be held in trust for William during his life.

Jos Cotter's Mother, His Birth 1861 Near Bardstown

Far down among the hills of Central Kentucky, the section of country where Abraham Lincoln was born, there was a young slave woman who had been brought up by a very devout Catholic family. She was now a servant in the family of Judge Rowan, who lived at "Federal Hill" the old farmhouse near Bardstown where "My Old Kentucky Home" was written. Her young child, for the years of its infancy, was cradled in the sentiment of the Foster songs. She was a woman of remarkable imagination, humor and sympathy. She understood children by instinct and could tell stories to them by the hour.

She taught herself to read and knew lots about human nature. She was a woman of moods and at times very dramatic. She would pray aloud at night in the old-fashioned way: but she taught her son the religion of industry, honesty and self-improvement. She seemed to have the dream of his future service to his people. She came to Louisville to work when her child was very small. Like all good mothers, she was not afraid of work.

Now the mother of the Slave Child that we mentioned a little while ago was very fond of the Bible and told the story of Joseph and his Brethren to all the children of the Old Kentucky Home. Joseph was a dreamer and he was sold into slavery and became a great man in Egypt. So the slave mother named her child Joseph and reared him in the same hope of service to her people. The Bible stories, especially of Joseph, molded his character and decided his career. He learned to read when he was four or five and he was taught many things when he first went to school.
But, like Booker Washington, little Joseph learned that his race could only rise through its own heroic efforts to reach manhood and womanhood. It was necessary for him to stop school and go to work when he was yet not ten years of age; so he forgot his alphabet and lost all his learning in the hard days of struggle and reconstruction during and following the Civil War. He grew up in Louisville and labored as a teamster on the levees hauling and unloading cotton, tobacco, corn, and whiskey until he was twenty-one years old. Then his old longing for an education came back and he worked all day and attended night school in the city, taught by men and women who were helping the poor and ignorant to better their lot in life.

Thus did young Joseph secure his first license to teach, and he became a man of mind and heart, and soul, as well as a man of muscle and strength. These energies, we are told in the Scriptures, must be dedicated to the love of God and the service of our fellowmen; and young Joseph so consecrated his life. One day he saw a vision of his race from the long ages in Africa through slavery and on into the Land of Promise. This vision grew into song and poured itself out in passionate measure. The young poet took his verses to his teacher and the wise man was proud of the boy. Then he showed them to his mother and she rejoiced because she knew, within her heart, that the dream would come true.

Joseph, the Slave Child, when he had grown to manhood and became a great leader among his people in education and progress, said:

“My mother was a bond-woman who was liberated.” He showed the torn and yellow scrip of his mother’s freedom proudly, for sweet indeed is the birthright and heritage of human liberty. And Joseph’s mother was a great woman if ever there was one.

“I will tell you the story of the Underground Railroad and the Feather Bed,” said Joseph to his friend and fellow-poet, one day in Louisville, their mutual home city.

“It was at the beginning of the Civil War,” said Joseph. “My mother was hired to a colored man and his wife in the alley between Fourth and Fifth and Broadway and York, where the gymnasium of the Baptist Theological Seminary now stands. This man owned a team, a stable, some hogs and bee-hives. There was a large pile of truck thrown out of the stable to the rear.

“One night there came to them a slave woman who wanted to go to Canada by the underground railway. They felt for her deeply, and willingly assisted in the dangerous venture. She had brought to them by night a trunk, a feather bed, a basket, a piece of zinc and a quilt. The feather bed and quilt were used by the colored man and his wife. My mother sat in a chair all winter and watched over me, a child in her arms, for we had no bed to sleep in and just enough clothes to keep us warm. Surely they were anxious days and nights for our race and people.

“The slave woman was caught. She told where the things were. The officers came and went back to her mistress to get a good description of the things the slave woman had. It was the moment to act. The colored man and
his wife lost their nerve, so my mother came to the front immediately. The
feather bed and quilt were thrown out of a window and the trunk hastily
carried to the same spot. The hogs had made a hole in the dump heap of the stable,
so the trunk was put there and covered up. The quilt and feather bed were put
under the bee hives and covered with bushes. The basket was coal-oiled and
burned and the zinc thrown amid some rubbish nearby. So there was no visible
evidence against the slave woman when the officers returned. Thus did my
mother save the colored man and his wife and herself from going to jail.

"The next spring the colored man's hogs died and he thought it was a
curse sent by the Almighty for not getting the slave woman off to Canada. My
mother took the dead hogs for her pig. She rendered them up and made a lot
of old-fashioned soap which she sold to rich white families. She then bought a
feather bed and quilt which we used the next winter. So this was the first and
last attempt of my mother and the colored family to run an underground rail-
road station."

A STORY OF LITTLE AFRICA

"In my seventeenth year," said Joseph, "I decided to buy a horse and
wagon during the brickyard season for use the next winter, of a man by the
name of Seigel, for whom I worked. He offered me a blind horse for twenty-eight dollars. I was to pay a small sum each week from my wages, which were
four and a half.

"I saw the horse each day at work. It was an inspiration to me. After
each payment I rejoiced that I owned more and more of the horse. Buying this
horse gave me a standing among the men and boys. My neighbor, a colored man,
told me that if I would help him cultivate eight acres of ground, where "Little
Africa" now stands, he would give me feed enough for my horse the next winter.

"I put in all my spare time helping him with four acres of oats and four
acres of corn. We gathered in the crop. Winter came on. I had paid for the
horse and bought a wagon and harness. About Christmas time the colored man
said to me, "Jose, has you ever heard that one hundred ears of corn makes a
bushel?"

"I replied that I had so heard. Then he said, "There is the feed what I
promised you for the horse." He then counted out one hundred nubbins and threw
them on the ground. That was all the pay I received for helping to cultivate
eight acres of ground in 'Little Africa'."
COTTER HARASSED AS A LAD; LEARNS TO TELL STORIES, 1873

THE YOUNG BRICKMAKER

"I worked from my eighteenth year in the old fashioned brick-yards about Louisville," said Joseph. "I turned up bricks doubly and singly: turned clay, tempered mud, wheeled mud and bricks, moulded bricks, and all the other work about a brick yard except paying off the hands out of my own pocket, something I desired very much to do.

"But I had trouble with the boys, both white and colored. A colored boy took my food for a whole day and beat me for speaking about it. I was then twelve years old. How could I outwit him? He was too big for me to fight. The white boys chased me for the fun of seeing me run. How could I outwit them?

"One day a crowd gave chase. I ran awhile. Then I thought of marbles in my pocket. When the crowd neared me I threw some marbles into it. This I continued to do until I was safe.

But how was I to prevent the imposition and rowdyism of the crowd from recurring? After the day's work the men, white and black, sat around in a circle and told tales. Now boys had to be seen and not heard. Here was my chance. I sat off at a distance and told stories to the other boys. The men heard them laughing and came over to listen. They told me to go on and laughed with the boys.

"After this I was story-teller and had a hearing from both men and boys. From that time on I made my way. I won the men through the boys and the boys through the men. It is marvelous, the magic of a story on the human imagination."

COTTER'S FIRST TEACHING JOB CLOVERPORT; TEACHERS' EXAM, BRICK YARD etc

MY FIRST school was at Cloverport, Kentucky, said Joseph. "I lived in a little house next to the Presbyterian Church." "The same town and church where I delivered my trial sermon and was licensed to preach," we exclaimed.

"Quite a coincidence," answered Joseph. "Well, I remember so clearly the beautiful day of my first school. I saw a wedding and heard the bells ringing. The bride lived in Cloverport, and the groom in another town. One year afterwards the bride was dead and I saw her husband with a babe in his arms following after at her funeral. It was very sad."

"What social conditions did you find there?" we asked.

"I found typical conditions," answered Joseph. "Just what you would expect in a little river town. The school had been taught by Marshall W. Taylor, who collected Negro Melodies, and also by Bishop Walters, one of the noted colored preachers.

"I went down on a steamboat from Louisville. It was the first time I had ever been away from home and mother. It nearly killed me. I stood the torture of homesickness until Christmas and then I had to come back for a visit. My family attachments are truly Kentuckian.

"Well, school teaching gave me the first leisure time I ever had in my life. I worked five days in the week and then had a Saturday holiday. I learned to use it as a student should and have profited immensely by it.

"I must tell you about the teacher's examination. You know I had to be examined for teacher's license at Harlinsburg, the countyseat. I rode over there on horse-back, and the children hailed me as I went by, saying, 'Is you the new teacher? Is you goin' to whip us?' This embarrassed me greatly and I made no reply.

"You see there was a one-legged colored man who had taught school all
over Breckinridge County. He was a great whipper, like old teacher Ball in the 'Hoovers School-Day.' The children stood in terror of him and naturally wondered what policy I would pursue. Well, we took our examination together. We were examined for the first time in physiology. My companion at least had never heard of the subject before. So he said, 'What's this here the white man done give us now?'

There was a question about how many bones in the human arm. Well, I was up a tree, but I counted my bones by feeling and guessing. I passed with some credit and got my license. The man who examined me afterward became a prominent attorney in Louisville and was always my friend.

'I began teaching where children, boys and girls, had run wild. They had driven out the teacher on several occasions. One boy had a razor and tried to cut the teacher's throat. Well, I had to whip him. He went crazy and in after years was a jail-bird in Louisville. He was very rough and threw rocks at some lawyers passing along. I got a bunch of switches and applied plenty of muscular Christianity to the youngsters until they were subdued.'

'Did you succeed finally in rising superior to mere physical force?' we asked eagerly.

'Yes, gradually,' answered Joseph. 'I was stout enough to clean out the whole school, for that matter, and I was not afraid of any of them physically. But temperamentally I was as timid as a rabbit. I could not face the school without embarrassment. In those days I could not face a crowd in church. I could not eat before people. It took my appetite. And I could not read with success. But I mastered this timidity in an amusing way. I had to meet another colored man in debate. I worked hard at night preparing. The church was the school-house down there and the debate was held in the same place. My opponent was a smooth talker and I perspired profusely in nervous anticipation. He talked till the lights began to go out. That was my salvation. I arose in the dim shadow of darkness and made such a creditable reply that I won standing in the town.'

'How did you finally conquer self-consciousness?' we inquired much interested.

'By telling stories to the children,' answered Joseph. 'That art has been my salvation in many tight places. Once in my recollection I was honored by a place as poet upon the program and when my turn came I was simply paralyzed upon the platform. They had to excuse me. But there is a wonderful magic in story-telling. Back in my brick-yard experience I even turned the minds of the men and boys from gambling by holding them spell-bound or making them laugh at my stories. The gambling was awful, too. These fellows craved excitement and threw their wages away as fast as they were paid off. My mother's strict religious training of me prevented the habit taking hold on me. We both regarded that as dishonest money. But of course the men and boys cared nothing for such scruples, and so I outwitted them again by the world-old magic of 'once upon a time.'

'Isn't it much the same with the juvenile delinquency and crime among your people as it is with the whites?' we asked.

'Certainly,' answered Joseph. 'Mainly a problem of misdirected bovine energy in a vicious environment. Leisure time unoccupied and so misspent in a lawless fashion. The game and play-ground, the folk-dance and the folk-story
have largely solved the problem in our school world."

"And you were personally fortunate in marriage and home life, I presume?" we asked, filled with admiration of the noble Light-Bearer and Poet of the Negro Race.

"Yes," answered Joseph. "You can say that I was fortunate in both. My wife's father was a steward. He lived in Magazine street. He had some means and held his head higher and prouder than the poor and shiftless. He never went on their side of the street at all. My wife's mother had a fine domestic training. My wife had a fine schooling herself and was a teacher for fifteen years. She is wholly practical and serious-minded. I never joke with her. I always gave her my salary at the end of the month and she made good use of it. I had never known a real home till I married. A home is a place to go when your work is done. There you can find food and comfort and rest. A virtuous companion, true to your interests and in full sympathy with your work and thought is the soul of the home. When she becomes wife and mother you have done your duty to God and man and reap the reward of human happiness."

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF CORN SHUCKING (TO J. C. CHENAULT)

j t dorris, old cane springs, 1937

"Unless corn is gathered promptly after it is dry enough to crib," he explained, "there is likely to be considerable loss—in fact, the longer the corn remains in the shock the greater the loss. Our Negroes are fond of going to corn shuckings. 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 some other crop, and so on until every man who is short of hands will have his corn shucked. It is some expense, but that is trivial. Mr. Norris will get several gallons of whiskey, which will cost him fifty cents per gallon. He will prepare a good supper for the shuckers and the neighbors who may come. I shall not try to explain to you the pleasure the Negroes will get out of these shuckings. You will simply have to go over tomorrow night and see for yourself."
The night was pleasant and the moon by this time was shining brightly. The Negroes began to drop around on the grass and joke one another about first one thing and then another, but all in the best of humor.

Presently I caught the sound of voices that appeared to be a mile or more away to the north. The Negroes sprang to their feet as if by order of a commander. There was speculation as to who the singers were. Presently Scott said, "I catch de voice ov one ov 'em. It's Lariemore's Pleas."

The voices were so far away that I thought it impossible to distinguish any particular voice, but they all agreed that Scott was right. At this moment off to the northeast, but much closer, other voices were heard. Nearly every one present recognized the voice of Noland’s Allen. Still farther to the northeast singers were heard, and someone said, "That bunch must be Marse Jack Martin's niggers."

Then from farther up the river the sound of other voices came. Pete, a little black Negro said, "I knows dat crowd; I heahs Chambers’ Pud."

The voices came nearer and nearer until less prominent singers were recognized. Presently someone said, "All ov them niggers ‘ll git togedder out yonder at de forks ov de road; den you'll heah some singin’ sho' nough."

Just at this time voices to the south of us caused all to turn and listen in that direction. Someone in the crowd said, "That’s Deatherage’s Henry." Then another exclaimed, "Yeah, there’s Giles, and now they’re jis toppin’ de Muddy Creek hill."
Finally off to the southeast came another volume of song and we all turned in that direction, with hands, palms forward, placed behind our ears. I could plainly hear a voice very different from any other I had heard that night. It sounded in the distance like the clarion notes of wild geese in their migratory flights. All were quiet and listening, but no one named the leading singer, whose voice was a clear, distinct tenor, that leaped and bounded far above any of the other singers. It was simply charming, entracing. White and black, men and women, stood in silence looking up the Texas road as if bound by some spell in that direction. The silence was broken by Cuff's saying, "I heah Moberly's Otaway in dat crowd, too."

No one answered and as I could not restrain my anxiety to know the tenor singer, I said to Uncle Amos, who was standing near, "How is it that none of you recognize that tenor voice?"

"Oh, we all knows dat voice. Dat's Oldham's Pike. He's sech a good singer, dat we all jis stand an' listen w'en we fust heah 'im. Ef anyone had said dat wuz Oldham's Pike, all de res' would ov laughed at 'im. His voice can be recognized jis ez fur ez you kin heah hit."

By this time voices in song were heard coming from every direction. The sound was simply fascinating. Melodies echoing and re-echoing from the hills beyond the river and from the hills across Muddy Creek sounded like the intermingling of voices singing in unison near and far away.

As the Negroes drew nearer they all ceased singing except the Oldham crowd. When they came within a hundred yards of the Norris home, Pike could be plainly heard lining the song; then those already in the yard and others coming along the road took up the melody. No camp meeting I had ever attended had in any way equaled that singing. When the approaching singers heard those in the yard, it seemed to be a signal for all to stop singing. Mr. Norris greeted everyone with a familiar "howdy," which made the Negroes feel welcome and then returned to the front portico, rapped for silence, 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. There is to be no boss or overseer. You can arrange the manner of your work, or if you prefer, you can select a leader and let him arrange the way you are to work. I know you will be careful and shuck the corn clean. I want to give each one of you a dram before you begin. I imagine you would all like to have a little something to drink first."
"Yes, sah; yes, sah; we all's mighty thusty," came from all over the yard. "After you have finished shucking you can have another drink and your supper. And for fear I may not be able to thank you when you quit work, I thank each one of you now for his volunteer service tonight, for I know that you are not here by order of your masters." "No, sah; no, sah. We come 'cause we wanted to he'p you all," came from many voices. "Now, here are four jugs of whiskey, as good as Walden can make, and here are plenty of glasses. I will ask you, Amos, to take this jug, and you, Harrison, this one, and you, Henry, this one, and you, Pleas, this one. Each of you pour for the boys. Now come on, fellows, and when you have drunk, go over there to the cornfield and arrange the manner of shucking to suit yourselves. I will now go in and spend the remainder of the evening with my neighbors." The Negroes were eager to get a drink, but as soon as served, they fled off to the field. When they were in the field, someone suggested that Colonel Noland’s Harrison and Mr. Chenault’s Amos be general bosses to see that all the men worked orderly and missed no shocks. This suggestion was promptly agreed to. It was arranged that the shucking was to be by pairs, or two men to a stack. Harrison and Amos were to pair them off, so as to equalize the pairs. The best two shuckers, according to the decision of Amos and Harrison, were to receive special mention at the supper as the best workers. The pairs were shortly arranged. Generally where two expressed a desire to be together, they were thus assigned. In a very short time the teams were at their shocks. Oldham’s Pike was to give the signal to begin by starting a song. All these arrangements were very interesting to me. I doubted, however, that so many men would ever be kept successfully at work. Pike and his partner were given the first shock in the first row, nearest the county road, and Amos and Harrison went with the other men until all were properly placed, and then returned to Pike at the first row, and said, "Start your song." At the command he began:

> "Old Marster shot a wild goose."

A hundred voices answered from all parts of the field, and
Each man grabbed a stalk for shucking.

"Ju-ran-zie, hio ho."

"It wuz seben years fallin'."

The multitude of voices cried out as at first—

"Ju-ran-zie, hio ho.

"It was seben years cookin'.

Ju-ran-zie, hio ho.

"A knife couldn't cut it.

Ju-ran-zie, hio ho.

"A fork couldn't stick it.

Ju-ran-zie, hio ho."

There was harmony and perfect concord, although the men were scattered. The Norris farm was not far from the Kentucky River but it was higher than the surrounding land. Consequently, the great volume of sound rolled off across the river and echoed and re-echoed in the Estill County hills beyond; and strangely enough these reverberations rolled away across Muddy Creek and echoed and re-echoed in the cedar hills. Such singing this generation will never hear, for I am writing this account many years after it occurred, and only those who have heard something of the kind will believe that echoes from a hundred vigorous voices can cause one to feel that he is listening to thousands of singers scattered over a large area. But it is true, as many yet living—will bear me witness—or at least it was true in Old Cane Springs. 48

I attended many other huskings during the remainder of that season and during my stay at Old Cane Springs, and I was always thrilled while listening to what seemed to be a thousand voices in one melodic harmony. Not only were the common Negro melodies of the ante-bellum period sung, but such Foster songs as Old Black Joe, Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground, and My Old Kentucky Home rang out on the cool night air. And when Pike's clarion tenor voice led in these songs, especially in Swing Low, Sweet Chariot and Nellie Was a Lady, followed by a score of deep bass voices, the melody thrilled one beyond description.
It was certainly a sight to see those Negroes eat. Mrs. Norris and three other women stood by a table on which there were large bread trays and pans full of chicken, mutton, turkey, and shoat. Then there was another table with a great quantity of bread, and beyond that were Negro women, who spooned steaming vegetables on the men's bread. There was enough to eat for all, but the food vanished like dew before the sunshine. For dessert everyone was given a cup of custard and a large slice of cake.

While this last course was being served, Uncle Harrison stepped forward and said it was the custom in the midst of an enjoyable meal after a corn shucking to announce who the judges thought had been the best shuckers. He stated that he and Amos had watched closely, and while it had been very hard to decide, they had finally concluded that Cabell Chenault's Scott and Amos Deatherage's Giles had shown the most skill in removing the shucks and shocking the fodder; but all had done well and no complaint was filed against anyone for not doing good work. Three cheers rang out for Scott and Giles.

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. Thus ended my first corn shucking.49

INDEPENDENT BLACK BAPTIST CHURCHES IN 1861

they formed independent churches. At the beginning of the Civil War there were 17 such churches in the State, aggregating 5,737 members, and ministered to by pastors of their own color. These churches were located at the following points: Maysville, Maysick, Danville, Harrodsburg, First, Green Street, and York Street, in Louisville, Frankfort, Tates Creek, in Madison county, Stamping Ground, in Scott, Hillsboro, in Woodford, First and Pleasant Green, in Lexington, Paris, Versailles, Nicholasville, and Paducah. Besides these, there were large bodies of colored members, known as the colored branches of white churches, at Hopkinsville, Henderson, Georgetown, and, perhaps, other points, which also had preachers and exhorters of their own race.
The first colored church organized in Kentucky, was composed of Separate Baptists, and was gathered at Lexington by a colored man named Captain. The exact date is not known, as it kept no records; nor is it likely that the church was constituted with much formality, or in very strict accord with Baptist usage.

Old Captain, as he was usually called, was a native of Caroline county, Virginia, and was born the property of Capt. Durrett, about 1733. At the age of 25, he was pungently convicted of sin, and was brought almost to the point of despair. But he finally obtained hope in Christ, and experienced great joy. His heart now deeply felt for the situation of his fellow servants, and, immediately after he was baptized and received into a Baptist church, he began to exhort from house to house. Several years after this, the man who owned his wife, being a pious Christian, determined to emigrate to what was then the wilderness of Kentucky, and being unwilling to part man and wife, he exchanged another slave for Captain, by which means the latter was brought to the new country.

Soon after his arrival in Kentucky, Captain went into the organization of a small Separate Baptist church, which was constituted on the "Head of Boone's Creek," in Fayette county, in 1785. In a few years this little church was dissolved, and about the same time, Captain hired himself and his wife of their master, and moved to Lexington. Here he was kindly received, and John Maxwell allowed him space on his land for a cabin, aided him in building one, and continued to be his friend as long as he (Maxwell) lived. As soon as he was settled, he began to hold meetings in his cabin, and to visit from house to house, exhorting the colored people to repent and turn to God. Soon a number professed conversion, and desired him to baptize them. This request he declined at first, because he had not been ordained. But finally he went to South Kentucky Association, accompanied by 50 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."* After this, he examined such as applied to him, and, if satisfied of their conversion, immersed them. When a sufficient number had been baptized, he gathered them into a church, about the year 1801. But he seems either to have misunderstood the design of "the fathers and brethren," or to have
BIOG OF OLD CAPTAIN 1733-1823

j h spencer, hist of ky baptists, ii, 1885

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Ignored it, for South Kentucky Association, at its meeting in 1801, which was the last it ever held, passed the following order: "Bro. Captain, a black man, who was a member of our Society, and who is now preaching and baptizing without having been ordained, is advised to join some convenient church, together with those he has baptized." It is not known that Captain was ever formally ordained. He probably regarded the giving of him the right hand and directing him to go on in the name of the Master, a sufficiently solemn ordination.

However, this may be, he continued to watch over the church he had gathered, and it greatly prospered. It is said to have numbered, at one time during his ministry, upwards of 300 members. He continued to hire the time of himself and his faithful helpmeet till they were too old to be of any value as slaves, and to labor in the gospel, till his strength failed. He died at his cabin near Lexington, in the summer of 1823, at the age of 90 years.

BIOG OF LONDON FERRILL 1789-1854

j h spencer, hist of ky baptists, ii, 1885

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London Ferrill, the second pastor of this church, was born the property of Mrs. Ann Winston in Hanover county, Va., about 1789. At about the age of nine years, his owner having died, he was sold to Col. Samuel Overton for $600. He was taught the trade of a house carpenter, and, at the age of 20, was baptized on a profession of his faith, by Absalom Waller. Some time after his baptism, he began to exercise in public, and soon became a popular preacher. The law of Virginia forbade slaves to baptize, and, as a consequence, they were not ordained to the gospel ministry. But Ferrill's brethren solemnly authorized him, as far as their power extended, "to go forth and preach the gospel" wherever the Lord might cast his lot, and a door should be open to him. Soon, about fifty persons professed conversion under his ministry, and were baptized by a white preacher of the name of Bowles. His master perceived his remarkable natural gifts, and resolved to educate him, but died before he could execute this purpose.

Soon after the death of his master, having been freed from slavery, he moved to Kentucky, and settled near Lexington. Old Captain having become too feeble to discharge the duties of a pastor, the colored church desired Ferrill to unite with it, and become its pastor. This he declined to do on account of that organization's not being in fellowship with the Baptist denomination, although holding to the faith and general practice of the
in answer to the second, "that they know of no reason why free men of color may not be ordained ministers of the gospel, the gospel qualifications being possessed by them."

In accordance with the latter opinion, adopted by the Association, London Ferrill was regularly ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry by the 1st church at Lexington, and, notwithstanding the irregularity of the baptism administered by Old Captain, a compromise was effected by which the African congregation, which had now been constituted upon a written covenant (July 1822), was admitted to fellowship by the 1st Baptist church in Lexington, and, in 1824, received into Elkhorn Association. London Ferrill now took regular charge of this church, on its new foundation, and served it 32 years, during which it increased from 389 to 1,820 members, and became the largest church in Kentucky. On the 12th of October, 1854, the faithful and venerable pastor was called to his final reward. The funeral procession which followed his corpse to its burial, was said to be the largest that ever passed through the streets of Lexington, except that which attended the remains of Henry Clay.

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

Frederick Braxton succeeded Elder Ferrill in the pastoral charge of the old 1st African church. Under his ministry, it continued to prosper, and, at the beginning of the War in 1861, numbered 2,223 members. Since the War, it has somewhat diminished, but is still a large and prosperous body. Elder Braxton continued to enjoy the confidence of his brethren till his death, which occurred Jan. 31, 1876.
The First Colored Church in Louisville was the second organization of the kind in the State. It was formed an independent body by a separation of the colored members from the 1st Baptist church in Louisville in 1842, and united with Long Run Association the same year. At the time of its formal separation from the mother church, it numbered 475 members.

Henry Adams was the first pastor, as well as the chief originator of this church as an independent body. He was a native of Franklin county, Georgia, and was born Dec. 17, 1802. At an early age he gave indications of extraordinary sprightliness of mind, and, being converted and baptized at the age of 18 years, was licensed to exercise his gift within the bounds of his church the same year. In 1823, his license was extended without limit, and, in 1825, he was ordained to the full work of the ministry. After preaching a few years in Georgia and South Carolina he emigrated to Kentucky, and was settled as pastor of the colored branch of the 1st Baptist church in Louisville, in 1829. In his new field, he was active and zealous in his labors among the colored people of the city, and his ministry was much blessed. He devoted himself to study, and not only improved rapidly in preaching, but also advanced in literary knowledge till he became a good English scholar and made considerable proficiency in some of the dead languages. His conduct was so uniformly exemplary, and his Christian meekness and humility so manifest, that he gained the respect and confidence of the white as well as the colored people of the city, and numbered among his friends and counsellors those eminent ministers of Christ, A. D. Sears, Wm. C. Buck, Thos. S. Malcolm, and John L. Waller.

In April, 1842, the colored members of the 1st Baptist church in Louisville, to the number of 475, were constituted a separate organization, with Henry Adams as its pastor. This faithful overseer continued in its service, after its independent organization, about thirty years. During the first twenty years of this period, he baptized for its fellowship over 1,300 persons. Meanwhile, the congregation, now called Green Street Church, which became a separate body in 1846, grew up under the care of George Wells, first, and R. Sneathen, afterwards, to a membership of 725; and York Street church, constituted Dec. 7, 1857, numbered 46 members. During the progress of the War, these churches did not grow much; but after the return of
peace, they again became prosperous, and, at the time of Elder Adams' death, which occurred on the 3d of November, 1872, there were seven colored churches in Louisville, with an aggregate membership of more than 3,000.

After the colored people were freed, Elder Adams manifested a deep interest for the welfare of his brethren. He aided them in organizing churches, associations, conventions, and such other institutions as he hoped would promote their temporal and spiritual prosperity, and was especially solicitous that they should build up schools and educate their children. His heart was much set on seeing a school established in Louisville for the literary and theological training of preachers. He did not live to see this object accomplished; but his brethren did not forget his counsel, and such a school is now in existence, and quite prosperous.

George W. Dupee deserves especial remembrance in connection with the organizing of the colored Baptists of Kentucky, after their liberation from slavery. Although not so well educated as Henry Adams, he possessed an equally strong intellect, was probably a more popular preacher, and was, at the period under consideration, much more vigorous and active. He was born the property of Elder Joseph Taylor, in Gallatin county, Ky., about the year 1826, and was raised in Franklin and Woodford counties. He professed religion and was baptized for the fellowship of Buck Run church, in Franklin county, by Peter Kenney, on the third Sunday in August, 1842. Three years later, he began to exercise in public exhortation, was licensed to preach in 1846, and in 1851, was ordained to the care of the colored Baptist church in Georgetown, by J. M. Frost and J. L. Reynolds. He continued to serve this church till the 1st of January, 1856, on which day he was sold at public auction at the court house door. Elder Wm. Pratt and some others bought him, and allowed him to purchase his freedom. In the spring previous to this transaction, he had accepted a call to Pleasant Green church in Lexington, where he continued to minister, till 1864, giving a portion of his time to the church at
Versailles. In 1861, he called together, at Versailles, Elders Armstead Steel, James Monroe, Robert Martin, Stephen Breckinridge, and John Oliver, and organized the first ministers' and deacons' meeting among the colored Baptists of the State. While living at Georgetown and Lexington, he gathered the colored churches in Covington and Paris.

In 1865, he moved to the west end of the State, and took charge of Washington street church in Paducah, where he has continued to minister to the present time, occasionally devoting a portion of his labors to the church at Owensboro, and to serving some other congregations. In 1871, he reorganized Fair View church at Mayfield, and established that at Jenkins' Chapel, both in Graves county. In 1867, he invited the churches at Elkhorn, Mayfield, Franklin, Henderson, and Paducah to send messengers to the last named place, where the First District Association of Colored Baptists was constituted, in September of that year. Of this body, now much the largest district association in the State, he has been moderator from its constitution to the present time. He was also moderator of the General Association of Colored Baptists from 1871 to 1882. On the 10th of November, 1873, he brought out the first number of the

Baptist Herald, a monthly journal, which he continued to edit and publish five years and one month.

Elder Dupee has been one of the most active, laborious, and successful preachers that have ever lived in Kentucky. In addition to his labors in organizing churches, associations and other societies, and discharging the duties of a pastor, he has preached extensively among the churches in the State, and, in February, 1883, had baptized 7,000 persons—a greater number, perhaps, than any other minister in the State has baptized.
The first association of churches formed by the colored Baptists in the State, was a Baptist State Convention. It was constituted in 1865, and its object was kindred to that of a similar organization instituted by their white brethren in 1832. But the former, like the latter, failed to give satisfaction, and, at its third anniversary, in 1868, after passing a resolution in favor of forming a general association, it was dissolved.

On the 3d of August, 1869, a meeting of messengers from such churches as desired to enter into the new organization, convened at Lexington. Messengers were present from 35 churches, which aggregated 12,620 members. The venerable Henry Adams, of Louisville, was chosen Moderator, and R. T. James, of Paducah, Clerk. A permanent organization was effected, and the body adopted the name of "The Kentucky General Association of Colored Baptist Churches." The object of the organization, as set forth in its constitution, is to promote purity of doctrine, union, fellowship, and co-operation in promoting Sabbath-schools, and missionary operations. The advancement of education, though not directly expressed in its constitution, has been one of the leading objects of the body. Indeed, the colored Baptists, in all their meetings, whether in their General Association, their conventions, or their district associations, have manifested a commendable zeal for the education of their children, and especially for the better education of their ministers.

Their efforts to build up a school for the literary and theological training of their preachers, has been untiring. They opened a school for this purpose in the Olivet meeting-house in Louisville, on the 24th of November, 1874, under the superintendence of Elder A. Barry. But, after a session of five months, during which 18 students were in attendance, they were compelled to abandon the enterprise for the present for want of means to meet expenses. They, therefore, recommended their young men to attend the Normal Institute, at Nashville, Tenn., until they could establish a suitable school for their accommodation in their own State; and several young preachers were sent by the different associations to that institution. Meanwhile, the effort to establish a college in Louisville was continued with unabated zeal, until it was crowned with success. A suitable lot and buildings were purchased by the General Association, which had been incorporated by the Kentucky Legislature for that purpose, and the school was opened Nov. 23, 1879, under the charge of Elder E. P. Marrs. In its report to the General Association in 1880, the Executive Board
EARLY ORGANIZATIONS OF BLACK BAPTISTS 1865-69

J. H. Spencer, Hist. of Ky. Baptists, II, 1885

"The Theological Seminary is a very handsome piece of property. It is located in the city of Louisville, on the south side of Kentucky street, between Seventh and Eighth streets. The lot is 217 feet by 375 feet, extending through the whole square to Zane street." This property was purchased at a cost of about $13,000. In the fall of 1880, "Rev. WM. J. Simmons, a well-educated and very energetic colored brother," was elected President of the institution. During the succeeding session, 111 students were enrolled. The school is now regarded a permanent institution, and will doubtless prove of great advantage to the colored Baptists of the State.

EMANCIPATED BLACKS TO BE PROVIDED FOR OR HIRED OUT (1851)


"In 1851 the legislature expressed its displeasure of free blacks, and at the same time aided the colonization movement, by decreeing that every person who emancipated a slave was responsible to see that he was removed from the state. If such provision were not made, the county court was to hire out the slave until a sufficient fund was accumulated to remove him from the state and maintain him for twelve months."

44 Wichelfe, Rev. Statute, p. 644.
In 1817 the American Colonization Society was founded, and twelve years later the Kentucky Colonization Society was organized. The parent society purchased some land on the coast of northwest Africa to be used as a haven for free Negroes. The area was appropriately named Liberia, and its capital was called Monrovia in honor of James Monroe. In 1845, the Reverend Alexander M. Cowan, agent of the Kentucky Colonization Society, sponsored a successful campaign to raise money to purchase a "Kentucky in Liberia."\[45\]

The idea of colonizing free men of color in the land of their forefathers appealed to both slaveholders and nonslaveholders. Upon this mild form of emancipation they could agree, because of their mutual feelings about the free Negro. A Kentucky newspaper report early in 1851 stated the case in this manner:

> Every citizen is deeply interested in having the free negroes removed from our midst. Every citizen must know that this portion of our population—the free negroes—rests like an incubus upon society; they are known to be the very worst class we have among us; nine-tenths of them at least, are dissolute and idle, thriftless and improvident; they are degraded beyond the possibility of elevation; they corrupt and demoralize the slaves, induce them to rob their master that they—the free blacks—may be thus supported in their vagabond life.\[46\]

It was possible for the Society to transport the Negroes from Louisville to Liberia, and pay for their support for six months after arrival, for approximately fifty dollars. Those who manumitted their slaves, and the Negroes who were able, were encouraged to assume this financial responsibility. Upon arrival each person was given a small tract of land and invested with social and political privileges planned to improve his condition.\[47\]
by 1851 only 297 Kentucky negroes had been transported to Liberia, and over 10,000 remained in the state. This was not an imposing accomplishment, but a sympathetic newspaper announced in the same year that "colonization in Liberia is no longer an experiment." Emigrants were being sent further into the interior where health conditions were better, and the Kentucky settlement had its own local civil privileges, and rights in the general government. "It has its churches and schools, and is in a prosperous condition." One of the formidable obstacles to African colonization was the expense involved. Considerable amounts of money were contributed, but much more was always needed. The advocates of colonization inaugurated a campaign for state aid which was ultimately successful. The old arguments of the financial liability of free negroes to the state were effectively presented to the legislators and in 1856 a law was approved which appropriated five thousand dollars annually for the Kentucky Colonization Society, "to be applied to the removal out of this State of negroes resident therein who are now free, and of such as may be born of them and be free." The act provided that the governor, attorney-general, and auditor were to constitute a board to administer the law, and seventy dollars was to be provided for each emigrant over two years of age, to help provide transportation and maintenance in Liberia for the first six months. Liberia was not the Utopia that some had expected. Dis-
asters en route, illness after arrival in the tropical land, and hardships that always accompany the development of a new country, took the lives of many emigrants and dampened the spirits of others. The Reverend Cowan, Agent for the Kentucky Colonization Society, visited Liberia in 1858 and reported his findings. He was pleased to see many who were contented to live there because they were rewarded more for their labor than they would have been in the United States. He recorded that in the Kentucky Settlement

I saw several who were dissatisfied with Liberia. One had had a fight with a brother Liberian, and had bit off a part of his ear. The grand jury brought in a true bill against him for his mode of battle, and he, upon trial, was fined. He refused to pay the fine, and cared them to its collection. His house and lot were sold to meet the fine and costs—and he was angry, and vowed to leave the country—and he did so by returning to Maryland in the ship on her return to Baltimore. Another was too lazy to live anywhere. I am sorry to say he was from Ohio County, Kentucky. I urged him to industry. He had a wife and five children. She supported the family.

A more optimistic report came from his visit to the village of Buchanan. There, he met William T. Smith, a former waiter at the Phoenix Hotel in Lexington, Kentucky. Smith was satisfied with his life in Liberia; he had thirty-five acres of land and the means to leave the country if he chose.51

In a letter from Liberia, Nelson Sanders described some of his experiences to Mrs. Susan Fishback of Lexington, Kentucky. He wrote:
In another letter from Liberia, Moses Jackson wrote to Eliott West of Nicholasville, Kentucky, that the state of affairs in Liberia was not very flattering. He bemoaned the absence of any beasts of burden to be used in agricultural pursuits, and observed that the

people were more interested in trading with the natives than they were in developing the country. "Please tell Abilom Woodfork that I cannot as a friend recommend [sic] him yet to come out here untill [sic] I have seen further and that I would advise him not [to] make preparations to come untill [sic] I write to him agane [sic]."53

Support for the program to transport free Negroes from Kentucky to Africa during the fifties came from many influential Kentuckians. Some of the active participants in the Kentucky Colonization Society were Henry Clay, Robert J. Breckinridge, Benjamin Monroe, Jacob Swigert, Orlando Brown, Thomas C. Page, James Harlan, John B. Temple, William L. Callender, and George W. Williams.
BRIEF ACCT OF KY COL SOC

w b turner, 'ky in decade of change 1850-60,' phd disser, uk, 1954

/ p. 107 cont'd /

Many of the churches opened their sanctuaries for meetings of the Society, some of the railroads and steamers contributed free passage for the emigrants to the ports of embarkation, the press was liberal in furnishing publicity, and the legislature belatedly offered assistance, but in spite of all these advantages the movement failed. Thirty years of effort resulted in only 658 emigrants from Kentucky to Liberia—slightly less than twenty-two per year. Negroes were not yet capable of controlling their destiny.52

INSTRUCTIONS TO F B OFFICIALS REGARDING BLACKS 1867

Gen. Orders, Circulars, Etc. Asst-Comm Bu R F A L, Ky, 1866-68, 1869

/ no pagination /

BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN & ABANDONED LANDS,
Assistant Commissioner's Office, State of Kentucky,
Louisville, Ky., November 1st, 1867.

CIRCULAR.
No. 8.

The following instructions are published for the information and guidance of all Officers and Agents of the Bureau in this state:

Officers and agents of the Bureau will in all cases where freedmen may be outraged, instruct such freedmen to appear before a U.S. Commissioner and make oath to the facts in the case, whereupon the said commissioner will, if the facts justify an arrest, issue a warrant for the apprehension of the guilty parties.

In all cases where a minor of color has been illegally bound by the State courts, the Officers and Agents of the Bureau will instruct the natural guardian to apply to the U.S. District Court for a writ of "Habeas Corpus" when the indenture will, if illegal, be canceled, and the child restored to its guardian.

Officers and Agents will further instruct all freedmen to have all their suits brought in, and all suits brought against them, transferred to the U.S. Court when their personal and pecuniary interest will be advanced thereby.

In case any State officials shall illegally punish any freedmen, making a distinction against them on account of race or color, the case, with all attendant circumstances, will be reported to this office for instructions.

Officers and Agents of the Bureau will use all diligence to instruct the freedmen and protect them in their rights, and with this view will appear with them before the U.S. Commissioner.

Officers and Agents of the Bureau will aid the U.S. Civil authorities to the extent of their power when called upon, but in no other case will military force be employed.

Officers and Agents are directed to act with energy and industry to the end, that the freedmen may be speedily taught the proper manner of securing equal and exact justice.

By order of Bvt. Brig. Gen. Sidney Burbank,
Assistant Commissioner, State of Kentucky.
BEN. P. RUNKLE,
BUREAU REFUGEES, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS,
Assistant Commissioner's Office, State of Kentucky.

LEXINGTON DISTRICT


First Sub-District comprises Fayette, Jessamine, Madison, Woodford, Franklin, Scott, and Bourbon Counties. Lt. Lt. Col. B. E. Johnston, Sub-Assistant Commissioner. Head Quarter at Lexington.


Third Sub-District comprises Montgomery, Bath, Rowan, Powell, Estill, Clark, Mercer, Wolfe, Magoffin and Bath counties. H. C. Howard, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Head Quarter Mount Sterling.

Fourth Sub-District comprises Mason, Mason, Fleming, Nicholas, Lewis, Garrard, Carter, Boyd and Lawrence Counties. C. J. True, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Head Quarter Maysville.

The following named Mountain Counties have no Agent, but the nearest Agent is authorized to act in any cases which may require his attention:

Bo, Harlan, Floyd, Perry, Let-her, Johnson, Magoffin, and Pike.

LOUISVILLE DISTRICT


DANVILLE DISTRICT


HENDERSON DISTRICT


First Sub-District comprises Henderson, Union, Webster, Hopkins, Crittenden and Caldwell Counties. Capt. J. E. Eubanks, Sub-Assistant Commissioner. Head Quarter Henderson.


PADEKAN DISTRICT


HOWLING GREEN DISTRICT


Third Sub-District comprises Logan, Butler, Muhlenburg, Todd and Christian Counties. No Agent appointed.

Lt. Col. E. T. Schneck (late U. S. Vols.), is hereby assigned to duty as Special Agent Bureau Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands for that part of the State of Kentucky lying adjacent to Cairo, Illinois, Head Quarter at Cairo.

The officers and agents will report accordingly.

By Order of Capt. Wm. G. B. Wadsworth:

Chief Superintendent, State of Kentucky.

BENJAMIN F. BURKHEAD,

KY LAW: CAPTURING A SLAVE AS A RUNAWAY ON REASONABLE GROUNDS
JUSTIFIED (1827 Case)


JARRETT brought trespass against Higbee for taking and imprisoning his slave. Defendant pleaded that he apprehended the slave as a runaway, &c. The defendant admitted, that when he took the slave up, he produced the following pass or paper from his master:

"Know all men by these presents, that 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 Monongahela 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 Sept. 1822."

Allowing a slave "to go at large and live,"Jarrett himself as against Ky law.

Dec. 14, 1822.
A SLAVE REMOVED TO A FREE STATE (OHIO) WITH PERMANENT INTENT, TO BE FREE (1824)

J D Whitley, a practical trustee in law of slavery, 1968(1837)

p 335/ "If the owner of a slave remove her from Kentucky to Ohio, animo morandi, she becomes free, ipso facto." From Lunsforc V. Coquillon. 1824. /p 338/ "We /the court/ conclude, that the constitution of the state of Ohio emancipates ipso facto such slaves whose owners remove them into that state, with the intention of residing there."

C. FAIRBANK HELPS BLACK FEMALE ESCAPE KY JUNE 1842

C Fairbank, rev Fairbank in slavery times, 1890

p 18/ In June 1842 Fairbank learned of a young female slave /p 19/ who was interested in escaping Ky. She wanted to take her mother. They met clandestinely. The mother, however, would not go. Fairbank took the young girl with him. They drove 95 miles to Lemington (from Montgomery county), then to Frankfort, where they boarded a steamer for Cincinnati. He put her in touch with Levi Coffin.
On Saturday, the 28th day of September, 1844, at eight P.M., in company with Miss Webster, and the Haydens, father, mother, and one son, I started from Lexington for Ohio, with hack and driver (a slave). The boy, in times of danger, was stowed away under the seat of his father and mother, and they acted as servants, or passed as white lady and gentleman, veiled and cloaked, as occasion required. At Millersburg, twenty-four miles out from Lexington, we lost a horse from bets, stood an hour and a half in the street, took refreshments, played Yankee, changed horses, escaped by strategy, crossed the Ohio river at nine o'clock in the morning in great danger, changed teams two miles out in Ohio, passed through Ripley, and back four miles to Hopkins', where I left the Hayden family. Then I returned to Eli C. Collins' at Ripley, where I

had left Miss Webster, and with her returned to Kentucky, resting at Washington, four miles south of Maysville. This town is on the Ohio river, about sixty miles from Cincinnati, and sixty-four miles from Lexington, and Hopkins' is fourteen miles beyond, making seventy-eight miles. At Millersburg we were met, and followed closely into Lexington, so that there was no escape; and after making a hundred and fifty-six miles in forty-eight hours, we were driven to the jail, on Monday evening at eight o'clock, to await the result.

I had, in my trepidation, retained on my person a letter signed "Frater," addressed to parties in Oberlin, not in my writing, which was the only testimony that could be brought against either Miss Webster, or myself. Three indictments were found against us, suffi-

The jail was constantly filled with slaves brought in for sale, and often visited by buyers from the surrounding country, and from New Orleans, for that market. There were also in the jail Robert Bartley, of South Carolina, convicted of counterfeiting; Jerry Bran, a slave, who had attempted to escape, had got into Ohio, was captured, brought back, and put in jail for sale; John Minnis, sent to jail on suspicion of longing for freedom; and Richard Moore, sentenced to be hanged for breaking the neck of his brutal mistress, who had abused him in ways too vile to be spoken of in these pages.

I had relinquished all hope of acquittal; for though no legitimate testimony could be brought against me, I realized from Miss Webster's case, that any testimony, however slight or indirect, would be used in favor of slavery, and for the punishment of those working against it. So I began to look about for a way of escape.

Years before, some prisoners had broken through
the wall on the north side of the jail-yard, and escaped, and the county had put oak planks over the break—after replacing the stones without mortar—and fastened these planks with iron bars running through from one side to the other. The planks had become warped, and cracked, and I found that by working them up and down, I could break the iron bars. Then the planks could be removed, then the stone, so that whoever wanted to escape, could do so.

I was in� stiff irons, weighing twenty-four pounds, and twenty-four inches long. The time for escape was fixed for the first Sunday in November. Bray went out at the breakfast hour, broke the bars, took off the planks, pulled out some stones, then replaced it all again, until dinner time, when Bartley, Bray, Minnis, and two other slaves, escaped, and had been gone an hour before it was known. Two of them I heard nothing from, but Bartley escaped, Minnis went back to his mistress, and Bray wrote, soon after, that he was earning a dollar and a half a day, smoking Spanish cigars at night, and no master to thank for it all.

After they were gone, Richard secured two of the bars from the wall, and hid them in the stove-pipe projecting from our window, so that if we should need them when our turn came to try and escape, they would be on hand. Very soon we made an attempt to break jail. Night fell, we commenced. It was Tuesday night, and Richard was to be executed on Friday. All night we labored, sometimes together, sometimes separately, standing on stools, the heavy irons on my ankles cutting cruelly into the flesh; but five o'clock struck, morning had come, and found us still there.

"Death struck, I ceased the tide to stem."

I had petitioned the legislature and obtained the passage of a bill giving me a change of venue to Paris, Bourbon county; but the governor, William Owsley, having been petitioned for Miss Webster’s release, and refusing to grant her pardon until I came to trial, I waived my claim, instructed His Excellency not to make it a law by fixing his signature, and went at once to trial, pleaded not guilty, selected a jury, then changing my plea, pleaded guilty by Kentucky statutes, and argued my own case.

In my plea to the jury I said: "Gentlemen of the jury, but for the grace of God there goes John Bunyan." Had I been born and educated here, I might have been as you are. But thank God I am what I am, and I would that ye all were as I am, except these bonds. Your Honor, and gentlemen of the jury, are you aware that by the strict rules of legal interpretation you have no legal slavery? that there is not a
slave legally held in the United States of America?
There is not a state in the Union in which slavery
exists by positive law."

But I was convicted, and my punishment fixed at
fifteen years in the Kentucky penitentiary at Frankfort,
at hard labor. I was conveyed there on the 18th day
of February, 1845, my head shaven close, I dressed in
stripes and put to sawing stone.

ORGANIZATION OF LOU UNITED BROS OF FRIENDSHIP 1861

preface, iii/ Gibson, the writer, has been associated with the UBF for
over 30 years. Some young men "free and slave" got together in 1861 and
formed /preface, iv/ the United Brothers of Friendship. Gibson said,
"... we claim to be purely Negroes and of Negro origin." /p 7/ Leaders
were Marshall Taylor, Wm. N. Hazelton, Charles B. Morgan, Charles Coates;
the society grew rapidly. /p 8/ The war came and when it was over
"things had changed." Some of the leaders asked W. H. Gibson, Sr., who
had taught most of the founders, to "join them," as he had more experience
in society work than any of them." He joined, became secretary.
/p 9/ Gibson wrote a new charter and the legislature granted Feb 7, 1868,
as the "Grand Lodge of the United Brothers of Friendship." /p 11/ On
April 10, 1871, a State Grand Lodge was organized. /p 15/ The meeting
which organized the State Grand Lodge was held at Quinn Chapel (AmE).
W. H. Gibson, Sr., elected President.
Marshall Taylor was born a slave in Lexington, Ky. There were three brothers, Marshall, George, and Asbury. They attended my school, and were studious and naturally given to literary pursuits. Marshall attached himself to the Methodist Episcopal Church in his early youth. He studied for the ministry, and became a prominent minister in that denomination. His brother, George, was quite a society man also, his labor being devoted to the Masonic fraternity, and by his zeal and proficiency he passed through all the degrees, was elected Grand Master of the State of Kentucky, served as Grand Commander of the Sir Knights, and also a member of the Consistory. Asbury was rather eccentric, but of a religious frame of mind. He was of the Evangelist view, and was not particularly connected with any denomination. He traveled extensively through the North and the Canadas, preaching, lecturing, writing, and composing hymns and poems. He is yet alive. Marshall was offered for the office of Bishop at the General Conference that met in Cincinnati, O., 18—, but he was defeated, the white brethren refusing to vote for a colored Bishop, deeming it unnecessary in their connection at this time. He was elected, at that conference, editor of the Southwestern Advocate, printed at New Orleans. The paper was very ably edited by him for several years, until his health failed, when he removed to Indianapolis, and died there in 1889. His remains were brought to Louisville for interment. We witnessed his funeral. He had no affiliation with the Order, having left it a few years after it was organized. I conversed with him after we became a National body, and he said that his church relations were so urgent that he could not devote his time to the Order, but saying that we had his best wishes for its success. George died a few years later. He was an Episcopalian, and was buried with the honors of Masonry and the funeral rites of that church.

Brief Bio of William N. Hazelton, a Founder of the U. B. F. in Lou

William N. Hazelton was freeborn in Baltimore, Md., brought to Kentucky by his uncle, David Wells, and educated. We were personally acquainted with him. He was of a quiet temperament, but very decisive in his dealings with his fellow-men; he was also a Christian, and his chief desire was to be doing something; his heart seemed to be centered on the society, and how he could best enhance its usefulness. He died in 1869, before the charter became operative. His funeral was largely attended by the U. B. F.
CHARLES COATS was born a slave. He was of a peculiar temperament. He was what we term a zealous Christian, very active and outspoken in his views on any subject. He was a faithful attendant to the sick, and for many years our Chaplain. His prayers around the sick bed of the brethren were fervent and consoling. He was one of the charter members who lived to see the second epoch of the society, and participated in the organization of the State Grand Lodge under the charter.

W. H. LAWSON, freeborn, in Maysville, Ky., is the only surviving charter member and organizer. His services to the Order have been invaluable. He has figured in all of the departments of the Order. He has codified our laws, improved our secret work, formulated odes and various services, has been the originator of many signs and emblems, and was our chief regalia manufacturer and banner-maker for many years. He has lived to fill all the important offices in the Order; also served in the army, and has an honorable discharge.
Wallace Jones was a faithful and zealous member of the society. He did not live to see his desires accomplished as a charter member. He was afflicted with a lingering disease, terminating in death, dying at the residence of his former master, on Fourth Avenue. The funeral services were performed on a Sunday afternoon, the society turning out in its full strength. A large concourse of people witnessed them.

FORMATION OF THE U B F INSURANCE OR MUTUAL AID DEPT (1882?)

The necessity of an insurance department connected with the Order had been discussed at every general meeting since the organization of the Kentucky State Grand Lodge, and various forms had been suggested. The National Grand Master had recommended it in all of his reports. At this session of the National Grand Lodge Bro. F. D. Morton, of the Standing Committee, offered a plan thought to be plain and feasible.

On motion of J. H. Rector, of Missouri, the matter of insurance was placed in the hands of a special committee, composed of Bros. Morton, Lawson, Baxter, Gibson, and Fitzbutler. The committee drafted a constitution, naming Louisville, Ky., as its headquarters. An act of incorporation was obtained, the incorporators being F. D. Morton, Esq., W. H. Lawson, Esq., W. H. Gibson, Esq., and Dr. H. Fitzbutler.

Board of Management—F. D. Morton, President; W. H. Lawson, Vice President; W. H. Gibson, Treasurer; Dr. H. Fitzbutler, Secretary; T. S. Baxter, Assistant Secretary.

The management issued policies to the membership and a very bright prospect loomed up before us for two years. Our report at the Cincinnati meeting of the National Grand Lodge was encouraging, but in the third year a difficulty between the secretary and policy holders caused considerable confusion, and in consequence of this our progress was somewhat impeded. A change of officers was the result of this affair. For one year we were endeavoring to settle the difficulty. At the National Grand Lodge at Galveston a review of the matter was placed in charge of a committee and properly adjusted, and the management placed in the hands of the following officers: W. H. Gibson, President; W. T. Peyton, Secretary; J. W. Hillman, Treasurer, with power to appoint sub-committees in the several States to act as agents. A new impetus was given to the Mutual Aid Association, a number of new policies issued, and a considerable sum paid to deceased members.

For four years the management of the Mutual Aid department was conducted by the above named officers. Their biennial reports were submitted, and received the approval of the Order. There were no deficiencies during their term of office. There was a marked improvement, new policies being issued, and the assessments of old claimants met.

At the session held at St. Louis, Mo., July, 1888, a new management was elected as follows: Dr. Burney, of New Albany, Ind., President; E. W. Marshall, of Louisville, Ky., Secretary; — French, of Louisville, Ky., Treasurer.
L. H. Williams, elected August, 1876, at Louisville, Ky., successor to Grand Master W. H. Gibson, Sr. Grand Master Williams served but one term. He was a bright young man and promised to advance the interests of the Order. His first step was to resign his occupation (a blacksmith by trade), and travel as an organizer. At the expiration of his term the Grand Lodge preferred charges against him and he was expelled after a trial of several days' duration. He finally made his mark, becoming a minister of the gospel and dying beloved and respected by the societies and the community in which he lived.

T. S. Baxter, successor to Grand Master Williams, was elected in 1877 at Mt. Sterling, Ky. Grand Master Baxter ranks with the fathers of the Order. He was in the first State Convention, and first Grand Secretary for Kentucky. He served four successive terms and organized many lodges and temples in this State and Tennessee. He has made many sacrifices for the interest of the Order, and has held many positions in State and National assemblies with profit and credit.

W. H. Lawson, successor to Grand Master Baxter, was elected in 1882 and served two terms. Grand Master Lawson's fame has gone abroad as one of the fathers and organizers of the Order. He is a charter member and a general dispenser of U. B. F. literature. He has served in all positions of importance, and, from all appearances, is destined to be of considerable service to the Order in his declining years.

J. W. Woolfolk, successor to Grand Master Lawson, was elected in 1885. Grand Master Woolfolk, of Frankfort, Ky., ranks with the early and earnest workers. He served terms and traveled extensively throughout the State, organizing a large number of lodges and temples. His annual reports show executive ability. He stands at the head of the list of legislators, as many of our laws are the production of his brain. He is the author of our code of laws—the Digest. He has filled many important positions in the State and National meetings, and seldom fails to be present.

E. W. Glass, successor to Grand Master Woolfolk. Grand Master 'Glass' administration was a clean one, as he is noted for his business qualities. He had the support of his Grand Officers. His report compares favorably with his predecessors. He is popular as a politician, having been elected jailer of his county. He is known as a philanthropist in his vicinity, and by his influence many have sought membership in our Order.

W. A. Gains, of Kentucky, successor to Grand Master Glass. Grand Master Gains ranks among the popular young men of the Order. He has made a successful Grand Officer, has traveled the State about as thoroughly as any of his predecessors, and has wrought the lodges and temples up to great proficiency in discipline and in their financial relations. To his effort, be it said, the success of the Orphans' Home, thus far, is attributed. The notes were due and no money to meet them. He rallied the State, and Kentucky has met the obligations, otherwise we should have failed with the thousands of failures that have occurred during the panic. He has force of character, and seems to know where and when to strike for success. His general deportment is such as to command the respect of all true brothers and sisters of the Order. We should not be surprised to see him occupy the National chair at some future day. His term of 1894–95 has been one of many perplexities, but he seems to be equal to the task.

E. W. Marshall, Secretary of the State of Kentucky and Past Assistant National Secretary, has been one of the most conspicuous officers of the Grand Lodge for years. His untried zeal and honesty and prompt attention to business has endeared him to the entire Order. His accounts are such as will always bear the closest scrutiny. His interest and support to the State Grand Master in the Orphans' Home affairs command the admiration of the membership at large.
This house, purchased in 1891 by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, contains two hundred and thirty-four acres, at a cost of six thousand dollars. It is situated on a beautiful tract of land, twelve miles from the city of Louisville, on the L. & N. R. R. It has one fine dwelling-house of six rooms, a smaller house, barns, stables, out-houses, and plenty of good water. It contains two hundred acres of cleared land and thirty-four acres of woods.

MARRIAGE: JUMPING OVER BROOM; DIVORCE: ONE PARTY MOVING


Deposition of Henry Smith (black), 1919: The couple in question got married when they "... jumped over the broom stick...."

Deposition of Lud Brooks (black), 1919: "The custom was if she moved off at a distance he took up another, or if they got separated they took another mate."
STATE REPORT ON BLACK SCHOOL FOR 1866

ky docs, 1866, annual rept supt pub inst 1866, legis doc no 3; 1867

Colored schools were reported to me as having been taught in and for the school year ending on the 31st day of December, 1866, under the provisions of the act approved February the 17th, 1866, in the following counties, to wit: One in Bracken county, one in Clinton, one in Estill, one in Fayette, one in Greenup, one in Harrison, one in Hopkins, two in Jefferson, one in Laurel, one in Logan, one in Madison, and one in Mercer—thirteen in all.

The whole number of colored children, between the ages of six and twenty, reported to the Superintendent of Public Instruction by the Common School Commissioners, as residing, on the 10th day of January, 1866, in the districts in which these schools were taught, was 9,993. The whole number reported to the Auditor by the assessors of the several counties of the State was 37,525. Giving each county the credit of the higher number reported, it was found that the actual whole number of colored children, between the ages of six and twenty, residing in the State on the 10th day of January, 1866, was 41,804. The whole amount of money reported by the Auditor as being in the Treasury on the 1st day of March, 1867, to the credit of the "Negro Fund," was $5,650.01. Only one half of this amount was to be appropriated for the benefit of the Colored Schools; the other half was to go for the support of colored paupers. The portion to be appropriated in aid of the schools was to be apportioned in the same way in which the money for the white schools is apportioned. The ratio found was only six cents to each of the 41,804 colored children in the State. The number of children reported by the

STATE REPORT ON BLACK SCHOOLS FOR 1866

ky docs, 1866, annual rept supt pub inst 1866, legis doc no 3; 1867

Commissioners being so small as compared with the number reported by the assessors, the amount which, had the law of 1866 not been repealed, would have been set apart to be drawn out by the Commissioners, would have been far less than the amount which would have remained as surplus in the Treasury to the credit of the counties in which no schools had been taught, or from which the number of children reported by the Commissioners was less than the number reported by the assessors. The law was repealed, however, before the time for the honoring of the drafts of the Commissioners had arrived, and another one enacted in its place. The new law requires that the money collected in each county from negroes and mulattoes shall be appropriated therein in aid of colored paupers and colored schools, and that the county courts shall draw out the money already paid into the Treasury, under the law repealed, and appropriate it in the same way. The new law is found on page 217 of this Report.

I am inclined to the opinion that the new law will, in some respects, prove to be a better one than the old one.

The number of colored schools reported to this office as Common Schools does not embrace all the colored schools that were taught in the State in the year 1866. Probably a very large majority of the schools taught were not reported, not having been taught as Common Schools. In most cases the trustees of the districts took no pains to have such schools taught. But this, I suppose, will be less the case in the future than it was during the year 1866. One year has wrought a very marked change in the views and dispositions of the white citizens of the State on the subject of the education of the colored people. Many persons, who, if not opposed to the education of the negroes, were at least silent upon the subject, have now become warm advocates of the measure. The probability is that the next year will witness quite an increase in the number of these schools. The interest manifested by the colored people themselves in the education of their children is very great.

D. STEVENSON,
Superintendent of Public Instruction.
EDUCATION OF COLORED CHILDREN.

The new law, approved March 9th, 1867, has not operated to the satisfaction of its framers, as was hoped. I think the following extract from a letter of one of our Commissioners explains the chief ground of difficulty:

"There were no colored schools taught in my county in 1867, under the supervision of trustees; consequently, none reported. The trustees have all been apprised of the fact that the law makes it their duty to have colored schools taught. But they reply, the law says they may have, but don't say they shall have, colored schools taught in their districts. The trustees, therefore, are perfectly indifferent in regard to colored schools."

There is nothing obligatory in the law making the trustees responsible for neglecting its enforcement. They have no personal interest in its operations, and to leave its execution to the chance impulses of the spirit of philanthropy, is a very doubtful reliance for the application of a general law. The difficulties are magnified, also, by the fact that there exists yet in some quarters much of morbid and unreasonable prejudice against legislating in any way for the benefit of the colored population, and especially for the education of their children. Trustees do not like always to encounter this prejudice, especially when they conclude that they have no personal interest in so doing, and the law is left to become a dead letter.

I prepared some amendments to the law, which, I thought, would make it practicable and efficient; but these did not seem to meet the approval generally of the Legislators, and were not adopted. But another amendment was introduced, and became a law, which requires all the revenues from taxes collected of negroes and mulattoes to be used, first, for pauper purposes; and, if there should be any excess, to be appropriated for school purposes. The amendment is published as part of this Report. With the embarrassing provisions of the original law, it virtually destroys the practicability of existing legislation to furnish the colored people with any educational advantages. I think there is little hope of accomplishing anything for the education of the negroes until a law, independent of any pauper scheme, is passed, and the execution of such law left, in its details, to agencies from among their own people.

Z. F. SMITH,
Superintendent of Public Instruction.
AN ACT to amend "An act for the benefit of the Negroes and Mulattoes of this Commonwealth," approved March 9, 1867.

WHEREAS, A difference of opinion exists in regard to the application of the fund authorized to be raised by an act, entitled "An act for the benefit of the negroes and mulattoes of this Commonwealth," approved March 9th, 1867:

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

§ 1. That no part of the fund authorized to be raised by the aforesaid act shall be applied to school purposes as therein provided, except whatever excess there may be after providing for the negro and mulatto paupers in each county.

§ 2. No part of said fund collected in the present year shall be applied, except as provided in the first section of this act.

§ 3. This act shall be in force from its passage.

Approved January 9, 1868

COMMON SCH REPORT ON BLACK EDUCATION, SCHOOLS, ETC 1869

ky docs, 1869, annual rept supt of ed for 1869, legis doc no 18; 1870

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

It is worthy of attention that no well-matured and satisfactory plan for the education of the colored population has as yet been considered or established by legislation. This class have generally manifested an earnest desire for the education of their children. Their utter dependence on the will and pleasure of the white population, and their helplessness without encouragement and assistance, should make us feel more deeply the sense of obligation to be just and generous towards them. They have never asked anything from our legislators more than the enactment of a law which would collect a tax from their own scant earnings, and provide for the disbursement of the same, with certainty and economy, for the education of their children.

The legislative experiments upon this question have been most unfortunate, and have inflicted great injury and injustice on this class. The first law which was enacted after they became free, and which was in force until the session of 1866-7, imposed an additional head tax of two dollars on each male over eighteen years of age, and required that the revenues of the tax should be divided equally for the support of colored paupers and the education of colored children. In March, 1867, the terms of this law were so
changed as to require two dollars and one half to be disbursed for each colored child educated for three months, annually; and the residue, if any, to be set apart for the support of colored paupers. On the 9th of January, 1868, an amendment was approved, compelling the disbursement of this revenue for the support of paupers first, and, if there should be a residue after that, it should be used for schooling the children. Here were three radical changes in as many years.

In all cases the execution of these laws was left to county officers, with limited responsibilities attached for non-performance of duty, or no responsibility at all. Without reward for their labor or penalty for non-performance, without a grain of personal interest in the education of a class distinct from themselves, with the law shifted and changed about until its terms and requirements were unintelligible, with a strong current of popular prejudice in opposition, it is not to be wondered at that the money collected from this population for one purpose has been squandered for others, or lies unused in the hands of the treasurers or receivers of the counties.

The following extract of a letter from one of our School Commissioners illustrates the operations of these laws generally:

There were no colored schools taught in my county under the supervision of trustees; consequently, none reported. The trustees

have all been apprised of the fact that the law makes it their duty to have colored schools taught. But they reply, "the law says they may have, but don't say they shall have, colored schools taught in their districts." The trustees, therefore, are perfectly indifferent in regard to colored schools.

Another embarrassment to the execution of these laws has been, that before the money collected under one law was disbursed, another law was enacted altering and diverting the appropriation of it. Thus, confused and perplexed by these unwise and thoughtless changes, the local officers have scarcely known what disposition to make of these revenues. The injustice of collecting revenues under a law for a specified purpose, and, before those revenues are disbursed, enacting another law, diverting the same to a different purpose, involves a question of honest dealing, and places our Commonwealth in an attitude towards a large portion of her subjects, at once obnoxious and indefensible to an instinctive sense of right inherent with us all. It will not exonerate us to say, that such action affects no one except negroes, and it therefore matters little what may be the result of it. The moral quality of an action is not to be determined by the insignificance of the person or persons against whom it may be directed, but by the motives and intent of the author. In this light, it does not alter the character of this legislation.
whether the sufferers by it are whites or blacks. I am sure that our legislators must have overlooked this moral aspect of the question entirely; for they could never have designed to have placed our Commonwealth in the attitude of acting dishonorably or unjustly towards even the humblest and most ignoble of her children.

Again, is such legislation constitutional? Or, has the execution of these laws been in accordance with the constitutional rights of the people? I believe I am not stating the case too strongly when I assert that these revenues have been illegally appropriated in a majority of counties in the State. I publish herewith a letter addressed, at a venture, to the sheriff of Franklin county, and his reply thereto, on this subject:

STATE OF KENTUCKY,
Office Superintendent Public Instruction,
Frankfort, May 3d, 1870.

J. Robinson, Sheriff of Franklin County, Ky.

Sir: Will you do me the favor to report to me the amount of taxes collected from the colored population of Franklin county, annually, since January, 1867; and how the revenues from this tax, and what amount of same, have been disbursed, from year to year, to the present date?

By giving attention to this inquiry, you will confer a public favor, and much obligate

Yours truly,
Z. F. Smith

Mr. Z. F. Smith:

Dear Sir: In response to your inquiries, I have to say, that the amount of taxes collected from the negroes in 1867 were between $500 and $600, as nearly as I can recollect; and in 1868, they amounted to $530. In 1869 we have collected but little. The negro pauper claims amount to from $1,000 to $1,500 annually. All the revenues collected from them have been paid out in support of their paupers. Negroes are after him every week for keeping paupers, and oftentimes white persons are impertinently for the same. It will require some little time if you want a more accurate statement than I am now able to give.

Yours truly,
JO. Robinson, S. F. C.

Now, is this expenditure of revenues for the support of paupers, which were collected for the education of the colored children, legal? Can it not, in any county where such misappropriation has been made, be recovered by action at law by any interested party, from the county authorities who are responsible?

The colored people have come to understand the operations of this prejudicial legislation, and avoid, by every possible subterfuge,
the payment of the tax, and it now amounts to little. It is questionable whether these provisions for the support of pauper negroes were not an evil instead of a benefit. They have encouraged idleness and dependence with a class, very few of whom but can be self-supporting, or find others to support them. For instance, in some counties the pauper appropriations are now, since the revenues have been cut down, by the negroes refusing to pay the tax, restricted to the payment of burial expenses; and in such counties we hear less clamor on account of colored paupers than where there are funds for a wider distribution.

I am satisfied that no experiment of schooling the colored children can be successful while the same is associated with, and made partially dependent on, a scheme for the support of paupers. Imagine the School System of Kentucky for the whites dovetailed into and mixed up with a plan for the support of white paupers, and all managed under provisions of legislation as confused and unintelligible as these! What would be thought of a Legislature that would propose such a policy? The simple statement of such a possibility impresses the mind with its absurdity.

The colored population, as I have reason to believe, are ardently desirous to educate their children, and would gladly pay a reasonable

tax therefor, if they were guaranteed its proper appropriation. I prepared for two sessions previous to the last, of the Legislature, the draft of a bill for a school law, independent of all pauper provisions, for the colored population, which would have been practicable and efficient, as I conceived; but, while several members of the Committee on Education approved it, they were, on the whole, indisposed to risk its introduction into the body of the Legislature.

I trust that this subject will receive the maturest consideration of the General Assembly, and that a law, at once liberal and just, will be enacted for the relief and encouragement of the colored schools.

If a pauper fund is needed in the several counties, let the tax be levied and collected independently, and on its exclusive merits. More revenues can be secured, and a more advantageous distribution of the same had, than by the ill-defined and unreasonable laws upon our statute books.
The most perplexing question connected with our school interests is that which relates to the education of the children of the colored people. In every social aspect of the case they constitute a non-conformable element. Different in history and color, there seems to be no natural affinity between them and the white race. After a long subjection to servitude, the colored people have suddenly been elevated to the franchise of American citizenship. Whatever view we may entertain of the propriety of the amendment to the Federal Constitution conferring this dignity upon them, it confronts us as a fact, and necessitates that we should deal with it as a practical problem, pressing upon us for its proper solution. If education be the basis of civil order, then to elevate the ignorant Africans, who are invested with the tremendous power of suffrage, becomes at once a necessary duty. It has been truthfully said: "An uneducated ballot is the winding-sheet of liberty."

Universal suffrage, without mental and moral education, is the direst of all curses. The power of casting a ballot is far more formidable than that of shooting a rifle. Most appropriately has the ballot-box been called "the urn of fate." The proper performance of official duties by the officers of the law is measurably secured by a solemn oath, but the exercise of the sacred power of the ballot is guarded by no civil sanction. As one has declared: "If the votes which fall so copiously into the ballot-box emanate from wise counsels and devotion to truth, they will descend like
provement of the negroes—the better fitting of them to the exercise of that frightful force which they wield—the power of the ballot?"

Well has it been asked, in view of the increasing venality at elections: “Will it not be a new form of Republic, when the question shall be, not how many voters there are, but how many bullets can be printed and put surreptitiously into the ballot-box?"

An interest and concern for the welfare of the ignorant, to say nothing of the motives of philanthropy, must now be extended from motives of self-preservation.

We presume that no considerable number of our citizens, of either of the political parties, desire to see the two races brought together in the same school. This is simply impossible in Kentucky; and no man actuated by philanthropic principle would desire to inaugurate such a course, which would inevitably result in the destruction of our school system. So far as I know, the colored people do not desire a consummation which would be productive of no good to them, but sore disaster to the white race.

need not appear in the consideration of this subject. Let the opinion of the people be what it may concerning this, the question is one that needs practical treatment. I presume that candid men of all parties will agree that the mixing of the races in the common schools would dismember the system; yet the colored people ask

that something should be done for them to aid in the education of their children, and we should not be so imbecile as to dismiss their entreaty without even thinking over the whole field to at least, ascertain what might be done for them without injury to the whites. I am opposed to a division of the present school fund. It is already inadequate to the establishment of such schools as we require among the whites. Its further distribution to about 100,000 colored pupil children—to be employed, necessarily, in separate schools—would seriously injure the white children, without correspondingly benefitting the blacks. In many counties the amount received by the colored people would be totally inadequate to the support of a single school, as the black population is so sparse in many sections of our State. The result of a distribution of the school fund would be very disastrous to many of the mountain counties, where population is sparse, and where any reduction of their receipts would amount to a foreclosing of their schools. Estimate that there are 375,000 pupil white children that, under the present system of distribution, receive per capita $2.85. Add 100,000 colored pupil children, and you take from each white child about fifty cents, reducing the pro rata to $1.85. Now it is clear that while such a county as Fayette would double its receipts from the school fund, such a county as Whitley, having but a small colored population, would lessen its receipts by about fifteen hundred
STATE REPORT ON BLACK ED, NEED FOR SCHS, ETC 1871

ky docs 1871, rept ham henderson, supt ed, legis doc no 5; 1871

/ f. 23 cont'd /

dollars. This would tell disastrously upon the school interests of Whitley county. Nor would the character of the schools be benefited in Fayette. The Trustees of the white schools would have half a dollar less to the pupil child to give the teacher, and as the wages of the instructor went down the scale, the quality of the teacher would sink also.

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

/ p. 24 /

No blow could be struck our school system more fatal to its interests than legislation which would lessen the prorata which each white pupil child is now receiving. We need more money than we have in order to secure thorough efficiency. We have thought over the whole question patiently, and have discovered nothing better to recommend than this:

"GIVE ALL THE TAXES PAID BY COLORED CITIZENS TO THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN.

In addition to the taxes now imposed, tax their property twenty cents on the one hundred dollars more—the same the whites are taxed—and let the whole amount of revenue from them, for five years, be applied to the education of colored children. Let each

STATE REPORT ON BLACK ED, NEED FOR SCHS, ETC 1871

ky docs 1871, rept ham henderson, supt ed, legis doc no 5; 1871

/ f. 24 cont'd /

county have the benefit of the taxes collected therein. While, by this plan, the scattered colored population of many counties would receive but little benefit, in the populous centers the fund would be sufficiently large to at least form a nucleus around which private enterprise might rally, resulting in the establishment of respectable schools.

It is true that this amount would yield, in gross revenue, only about $15,000, a sum totally inadequate to the establishment of a system of common schools; but it would manifest to them that the State was disposed to apply all they paid in the way of taxation to their own improvement. If a poll tax of two dollars on the head were levied, it would increase their school fund so as to make it approximate one hundred thousand dollars, which would give them nearly an equal prorata with the white children. The difficulty in this would be its collection, as the great majority of the colored people have no property subject to execution. If it could be attached to the elective franchise as a condition of its exercise, the Gordian knot would be cut, and we should have a satisfactory solution of this problem. But it is debatable whether the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution would allow this. Its levy, however,
whether collected or not, would turn over the responsibility to the
delinquent race. I am aware that the levy of such a tax seems to
convey an opinion expressed as to the propriety of a similar tax
upon the whites; but this is a different question, and the same form-
ula of thought will not apply to it as the other. I acknowledge the
logical difficulties in the case, and frankly confess my inability to

present it in that dialectical consistency which I would desire, and
which it deserves, did I have a key to its proper solution.

In many rural localities the whites would aid the colored people
by supplementing the fund by private contributions, if not from
motives of philanthropy, from considerations of policy, as a school
near at hand for the education of their children would add greatly to
the permanent reliability of the labor of the parents.

Under the head of the national educational bill I have made a
practical suggestion upon this subject. I adhere to the views that I
expressed in my “Initial Report,” submitted last winter. However
reluctant we may be to consider this question, it will not down at
our bidding. It is kindred to “negro testimony,” and is destined to
receive a similar solution. “To be forewarned is to be forarmed.”
Friendly legislation, dictated alike by a common sense of that pru-
dence which forecasts the future and provides against its contingencies in advance, and that instinct of self-preservation which should lead us to protect our most valuable interests against the corruption and anarchy engendered of ignorance when invested with suffrage, no less than that magnanimity which dares to do right in spite of
ancestral prejudices, and the natural repulsion to innovations upon
a policy hitherto pursued and defended, should impel us, at least, to
the patient and exhaustive consideration of a subject so intimately
related to our civil fortunes and indissolubly connected with the
history of parties. If education rested upon considerations of public
benevolence, it might be a question as to whom we would make the
wards of State charity; but as it reposes upon foundations of a differ-
ent character, is inseparably connected with the preservation of civil
order and the perpetuation of Republican liberty, it challenges the
attention of the legislator, and demands of him thought, justice,
magnanimity, and statesmanship. With the colored man in the
possession of the ballot, there is no single argument that can be
applied to the defense of the education of white citizens that does not apply with equal force to the black. A naturalized Guinea negro at the polls wields as much power as the most cultivated Caucasian. The premises in the argument are the same; the terms distribute themselves in like manner, and the conclusion is inevitably of like character. Inexorable logic is as invulnerable to the attacks of prejudice and passion as Gibraltar would be to paper pellets.

We have a great personal interest in hastening the day when every man who holds our liberties in the ward of his ballot shall give an intelligent consideration to every question upon which he may be called to vote.

Certainly the welfare of our Commonwealth cannot be promoted by the enforced ignorance of one-fifth of our population. The negro is among us in large numbers. He is governed by the same laws, and entitled to the same privileges, by the decree of an authority which no sane man can think will ever be revoked. If a laborer he can be made more productive by education, more remunerative to himself, his employer, and the State, the loftiest views and noblest motives of duty, benevolence, self-protection, and patriotism, require it at our hands.

I am uncompromisingly opposed to mixed schools, or to any invasion of the school fund raised by the taxation of the whites; but I favor the inauguration of a separate system, supported by taxes ad valorem and poll, imposed upon the negroes themselves.

The Superintendent can only reiterate the views expressed in previous reports, to the effect that our education should be comprehensive enough to embrace all the children of the Commonwealth. If the foundation upon which a free government rests be the intelligence and virtue of the people—which is the only proposition which can be argued to a successful conclusion—sustaining the State in its free educational policy, then, since the negro has become an elector, it is the dictate of duty and of self-interest, and within the purview of dignified statesmanship, to consider how he may be trained for intelligent citizenship. I need not say, that, in common with almost every class of our citizens, I am opposed to mixing the races in our schools. I also think that the present School Fund, clearly voted and dedicated for the education of the whites, should not be invaded. A new and entirely independent fund and system should be created for the colored people. The subject is environed with difficulties, but none the less on this account should it be ignored by legislative wisdom. It is of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the most enlightened statesmanship, and, doubtless, will receive at the hands of the General Assembly patient and thoughtful consideration.
COLORED SCHOOLS.

The last General Assembly passed a school law for the benefit of the colored people, and I at once proceeded to take the initial steps for the organization of the system. The fund at immediate command is small, furnishing only fifty cents to each pupil child. It is hoped that the colored people will take hold of the system, and, by private enterprise, show their desire to have their children educated. As they increase in wealth the per capita will grow into a respectable sum. Their diligent improvement of the encouragement offered may furnish an inducement for the Legislature, in the near future, to devise more liberally for the support of their schools. Should Congress pass what is known as the Educational Bill, appropriating the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, Kentucky's proportion of this fund would aggregate nearly sixty thousand dollars. This, by our laws, is dedicated to the support of colored schools, and would furnish a fund sufficiently large to make their per capita equal to that now apportioned to the whites. I enjoin upon the Commissioners to give the colored people all the facilities possible for the organization of their schools, in which endeavor they will have the hearty co-operation of the Superintendent.

Desiring politicians commit a ruinous mistake when they seek to sow the seeds of discontent in the minds of the colored people with reference to the system that has been provided. The Colored School

STATE REPORT ON BLACK SCHS, ETC 1874; EXISTING SYSTEM

System starts out with as large a fund, and under as favorable auspices, as attended the inauguration of white public schools in the Commonwealth. The feeble plant must be nurtured until it attains a stately growth. The attempt to blight it now should be frowned upon by all who truly desire to see colored citizenship elevated.

For the information of those desiring to know what provision Kentucky has made for the education of the colored people, we make the following compend of the system: The fund consists of the present revenue tax of forty-five cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of property owned by colored persons (all the State taxes paid by colored people is devoted to their education); a capitation tax on each colored male over twenty-one years of age; all taxes levied and collected on dogs owned or kept by colored persons; all State taxes on deeds, suits, or any license collected from colored persons; all the fines, penalties, and forfeitures imposed upon and collected from colored persons due the State; 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. The assessors to keep separate list of property of colored citizens; ages of pupil children from six to sixteen; three colored Trustees to a district, appointed by the County Commissioner; duties of Superintendent and Commissioners similar to those under white laws; separate State Teachers' Association and County Institutes; State Board of Education makes rules and regulations for the government of colored schools.

The Commissioners are informed that it is useless to apply this year for payment of the colored schools before the 1st of April. The system having just been put in operation, the money will not be in the Treasury to pay them before that time. All necessary blanks will be furnished for colored schools in due time.

It is proper to say that Louisville, Lexington, and other cities of this State, have made handsome municipal provisions for the education of colored children.

COLORED SCHOOLS.

We have had one year of experiment with our Colored Common School System, and the results have fully justified the wisdom of its inauguration. In many localities the colored people have received aid by voluntary subscriptions from the whites, the wisdom of farmers suggesting that by schools at hand labor is rendered more permanent and reliable. In many other districts the colored people themselves have rallied around the nucleus supplied by the law, and so supplemented the public fund by tuition fees as to secure most efficient schools. About six hundred colored schools have been taught the past year, and about eighteen thousand colored children have enjoyed their advantages. The Superintendent learns, from numerous sources, that the schools are starting off this year with increased interest manifested. Organization itself has been able to accomplish a great deal. It may be safely said that the experiment of the first year has far surpassed in results those accomplished for the first few years succeeding the inauguration of our system of public white schools.

There are material benefits to be derived from the education of the negroes that may be easily discerned by the political economist, and which should not be superficially considered by the statesman. On the
estimate of those who have made political economy their study, the rudimentary education of our male colored laborers would add $12,500,000 to the wealth of Kentucky, and $650,000 to their gross annual production; and to this exhibit should be appended many other advantages that will readily suggest themselves to the reflecting mind. The public value of our sixty-two thousand five hundred colored men is about fifty millions of dollars. If they degenerate 25 per cent., we lose twelve million five hundred dollars. A degenerating population is constantly impoverishing the State, whilst an improving population is adding daily to its wealth. An outlay of two dollars per capita will add a public value to our colored laborers of two hundred dollars each, besides conferring an additional civil and moral benefit.

The colored population of our State was recently capital. No matter what may be the morals of the question as to property in slaves, they were by hereditary right, and by titles secured by constitutional and statutory law, property. By an arbitrary act of Federal power these slaves were declared free, and by further exertion of this authority were invested with the franchises of American citizenship. The people of Kentucky were not responsible for their introduction to citizenship. Had they been left to their choice, they, probably, would not have invested them, at once, with a power, the fundamental condition for the proper exercise of which is intelligence. Kentucky had not withdrawn from the Union, nor otherwise subjected herself to such conditions as would justify the abolition of her social system upon civil grounds, or as a punishment for assumed treason. It becomes, therefore, very difficult for those who have been stripped of a large amount of property in slaves, and have seen those manumitted by the executive proclamation of Federal authority suddenly elevated to the dignity of equal citizenship, to perceive the propriety of yielding to heavy taxation for the preparation for citizenship of those whom they had no part in introducing as political elements into the affairs of the State, society, and government. In my judgment, the Federal Congress would do well to appropriate from the proceeds of the sales of public lands a sufficient sum, annually, to each of the States containing a large colored population for the education of the children of those whom it has freed. In anticipation of such a measure, the Legislature has dedicated such a fund to this purpose, and it is to be hoped that our representatives in Congress will favor the passage of a bill looking toward such a beneficent end. I heartily agree with Dr. Ruffner, of Virginia, in the remark, that "it
would be wise and just for the Federal Government to prepare negro children for freedom by education. The only possible reparation Congress can make for investing with the elective franchise a vast and ignorant horde, is now to furnish the means for preparing the children of those whom it has enfranchised for citizenship."

If the colored people would pay the capitation-tax levied upon them, their fund would be adequate to the apportionment of the same amount to each pupil that is now given to the white children. As long as they resist the payment of one dollar by each male colored person, above the age of twenty one, while allowed all the other taxes they pay for the education of their children, contributing not a single cent to the support of a government whose benefits they enjoy, it will be difficult to convince legislators and tax-payers of their duty to provide a fund for those who, in the premises, indicate such an indifference to the education of their race.

If the colored people would secure everything they desire, the primary step to such an achievement must be in demonstrating to those in power that they have a sincere desire to have their children intelligent. If they yield to a mere capious disposition to find fault with everything that is done, or proposed by the party in power, is inimical to their interest, they may expect nothing but disappointment in their most cherished schemes. Education is superior to party interests, and those who seek to degrade it to the plane of mere partisanship, are its worst enemies. Certainly, nothing will be accomplished by denunciation, and especially by a refusal to make the most of that which has been already accorded.

The white system had quite as feeble a beginning as the colored. It is a growth. From a rudimental cell it has developed into its present proportions. The lapse of the same number of years will, in the natural growth of sentiment and resources, put the colored system abreast with that of the whites, and every one should be willing, in patience and faith, to wait for the growth of that which cannot be forced by any hot-bed processes. Was it to be expected that a colored school system should at once exhibit a perfect development of all its parts and capacities, springing like a fully panoplied Minerva from the brain of Jove? The Legislature has laid the foundation of a system upon which we may rationally expect, in the near future, a superstructure strong and symmetrical to rise. "The American Citizen," an organ of the colored people, published at Lexington, Ky., says:
There seemed to be a larger attendance of children in the colored public schools during the month of October than there was in September; and we learn that pupils are still applying almost daily for admission. We are thus glad to note the evidences of educational interest manifested by the colored people. We have an efficient corps of teachers, and we are glad to see that their labors are beginning to be appreciated by their own race. In education alone is to be found the hope of the colored or any other race. Intelligence will prove far more potent in securing for them respectability among men than either bayonets or courts.

Let the colored people clearly apprehend and act upon the sentiment contained in the last two sentences of the above extract, and demonstrate their desire and capacity for an education, and public sentiment will generously respond the moment it is convinced of the value of efforts put forth at public expense for the political elevation of the African race.

I have my attention directed to another source without the State, from which I have reason to hope that next year I will receive considerable aid for colored schools.

The interest the colored people themselves have taken in the matter is manifested in the increased census of pupil children over that of last year. The number now reported is probably the maximum, and I fear, indeed, is larger than an actual count of the pupil children would show.

In my judgment, the Federal Congress would do well to appropriate from the proceeds of the sales of public lands a sufficient sum, annually, to each of the States containing a large colored population for the education of the children of those whom it has freed. In anticipation of such a measure, the Legislature has dedicated such a fund to this purpose, and it is to be hoped that our representatives in Congress will favor the passage of a bill looking toward such a beneficent end.

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COLORED SCHOOL FUND.

A Statement of moneys which may be expected to be paid into the Treasury during the year ending June 30th, 1877, subject to the order of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, viz:

Amount of revenue 1876, as per estimated valuation, at 45 cents
Estimated receipts from all other sources

\[ \begin{align*}
&= 16,545.42 \\
&= 14,000.00
\end{align*} \]

Add balance in Treasury 1st July, 1876

\[ \begin{align*}
&= 9,767.40
\end{align*} \]

Deduct sheriffs' commissions, &c., for collection
Deduct estimated amount of unpaid school drafts 1st July, 1876

\[ \begin{align*}
&= 2,500.00 \\
&= 5,500.00
\end{align*} \]

Total estimated receipts to 1st July, 1877

\[ \begin{align*}
&= 32,312.82
\end{align*} \]

Attest: D. Howard Smith, Auditor.

COLORED SCHOOLS.

It should be gratifying to all the friends of the education of the colored people, and to those immediately interested, that, in the third year of its trial, the per capita has reached fifty-five cents, an advance of twenty-five cents per pupil in a single year, and that, too, with a considerably increased census. Many of the Colored School districts are large; the term required to be taught is much shorter, and the fund a great aid, if not, in every instance, adequate to the employment of a good teacher. The white system struggled along many years without superior aid to that afforded the Colored Schools. Even so late as 1867, less than a single decade back, the pro rata to the whites was only seventy-two cents. The colored race has been but ten years freed from bondage. All they have to do is to be industrious and frugal, and the returns from their property will soon afford them a per capita equal to that apportioned the white children. The State has been singularly generous in giving all the taxes paid by colored citizens for the education of their own offspring. They enjoy all the benefits of the State Government, but do not contribute one cent to its support. There is everything to encourage. The prejudices produced by designing men upon the unsuspecting minds of the colored people against the system provided by the generosity of the Legislature is rapidly passing away, and the schools are being taught in almost all the localities organized into districts. In many country neighborhoods their employers, from considerations based upon the permanency of labor, and the satisfaction of laborers, are aiding in the support of the schools. Several cities have added to the State apportionment all the municipal taxes, and excellent schools are maintained in the larger centres of population.
We recommend to all the cities and towns to pursue a like generous course for the elevation of this class of citizenship in intelligence and morals, and a knowledge particularly of the organic and statutory laws, and the general theory of good government, and the wise maxims of political economy, is matter of prime importance.

It is not as a charity simply that this matter should be enterprised, though, in this respect, this class has claims upon the heart of the Commonwealth, but for the consideration more important to the State that the colored man, having been invested with the elective franchise, it is equally necessary to make him intelligent and virtuous as it is the white voter. A ballot in the hands of an African is quite as potent as in the hands of an American. "An uneducated ballot is the winding sheet of liberty." Already we have a white electoral population of 40,000 unable to read the ticket put before their eyes, and of course with no independent ability to acquaint themselves with the fundamental law and the great questions that agitate currently the public mind, and contest the places of political preeminence and power. To this vast and appalling census of ignorance has been added, by a constitutional amendment, more than fifty thousand negroes, making an aggregate of more than ninety thousand illiterate electors, or one third of the entire voting population of the Commonwealth.

While it is granted that an ignorant people can be governed by autocratic power, supported by bayonets, it is equally true that none but an intelligent people can govern themselves. In every form of government it is deemed essential that the governing power should be educated. We find it impossible to conceive of an ignorant Czar, or an illiterate Parliament of nobles enjoying hereditary functions of government. What ought to be the character of the citizenship in a country where every man is born a king and sovereign heir to the highest trusts and franchises of the Commonwealth and country? Illiterate masses are but pliant tools in the hands of artful demagogues, and neither life, property, nor happiness can be regarded secure while vicious ignorance holds the reins of power and drives the chariot of State.

All republican governments are built upon treacherous quicksands, that rest their foundations upon a majority that can be easily deluded by traitors to liberty and brokers in the peace and prosperity of a people. Our census of ignorance is already sufficiently appalling, and to rapidly diminish this baleful power is alike the duty, as it should be esteemed
the priceless privilege, of both patriot and philanthropist. Wealth is interested in all efforts put forth to raise the plane of popular intelligence, for it holds its titles and securities by the consent of the people. Once let an unreasoning majority of ignorant men become thoroughly imbued with agrarianism, and the frightful presence of a communistic sentiment will render all tenures subject to the caprices of the mob, and all values will shift as it shouts in the streets. Artists, poets, litterateurs, scientists, musicians, are all concerned; for, without an appreciative constituency, vain are the finest touches of pencil or chisel, the sweetest lyrics, the most exquisite rhetoric, the finest graces of oratory, and the grandest disclosures of the wonders of nature. Tax-payers are interested, for as intelligence increases, wealth grows, labor becomes more productive and reliable, society more provident and frugal, and there is a corresponding lessening of taxation, decrease of pauperism and crime, and all those burdening agents which necessitate large levies upon the fruits of industry, virtue, and skill. Religionists are interested; for, with the growth of knowledge, morality and piety keep equal pace, and all sacred institutions are in the benefits flowing from an enlightened public sentiment. Indeed, we can think of no argument not founded upon irrational hereditary prejudices or the violent passions of the heartless, which does not urge the plea for the education of every mind capable of thought.

The wisdom of our Legislature, in ordaining this system for colored children, has already been demonstrated, and each succeeding year will only add fresh proofs of its beneficence, justice, and utility.

Would our colored citizens seek larger aid at the hands of the General Assembly, they may depend upon it that it can only be secured by making the best of what they already have, thus convincing of their ardent desire for education, and their determination to avail themselves of every facility by which they may hope to attain it.

We advise the colored teachers and Trustees to take immediate steps to organize County Institutes and a State Teachers' Association, that they may combine for larger influence, and be taught in the arts and agencies of education. The Superintendent pledges himself to afford them all the personal and official aid within his power to consummate these desirable ends.

Educational Conventions, held under the authority of the laws, will contribute much more to the accomplishment of rational designs and ends than mere partisan conventicles, hurling reproaches and idle complaints into the air, which are often like arrows shot from the bonnerang, returning to wound the hands that launched them, and, in almost every instance, as silly and harmless as the Thracian, who exhausted his quiver in the idle attempt to bring down a thunderbolt as his game.
The wisdom of the State has been made manifest in establishing a Colored Common School System. Five hundred and thirty-two schools were taught last year. Though the aid given by the State is comparatively small, the colored people have rallied around this nucleus, and by private subscriptions supplemented the public bonus, and, in many instances, had good schools taught. In some localities, the farmers, recognizing the value of Colored Schools in contributing to the permanency of their labor, have generously aided the colored people.

If the colored people would pay the poll tax, it would yield them a per caput equal to that of the whites. In my judgment, the law with reference to this should be so changed that at the district, or at least county, in which the capitation tax was collected, should have the benefit of it. In many localities such a provision would encourage a public sentiment that would greatly aid in its collection. But when the colored people of the populous cities realize that a large proportion of the capitation tax they are asked to pay will go elsewhere, upon the present basis of apportionment, they are reluctant to pay it, and as, in most instances, the payment cannot be enforced by any legal process, the provision levying it amounts to a dead letter.

The law requiring a colored school-house to be a mile from any white school-house, in many instances works oppression, and should be changed.

There is no provision for condemning ground for the site of a colored school-house. One should be introduced into the law.

All the provisions, affording facilities for building school houses for the whites, should be accorded to the colored people.

A little liberality in these respects, upon the part of the Legislature, will do much to remove prejudice among the colored people, and induce them to energetically strive to produce the largest possible results from their system.

That antagonism which at the first, stimulated as it was by designing demagogues, threatened the overthrow of the system, or rather the negativig of its usefulness, is rapidly yielding to more enlightened views, and the judicious counsel of prudent, intelligent men of their own race.

In several counties Teachers' Institutes are being organized, composed of the colored teachers, and the better class of colored citizens are accepting the office of Trustee.

Such men as J. M. Maxwell, of Louisville; Jackson, of Lexington; Mason, of Henderson, educated colored men, are lending their mighty influence to the cause of education among the pupils of their race, and they manifest a spirit in every way commendable and deserving of appreciative recognition by the Superintendent.
THE COLORED AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL ASSOCIATION OF FAYETTE COUNTY.

This is the largest and best appointed Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Association in the State. They held their tenth annual fair at their Fair Grounds, near Lexington, Kentucky, on the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th of August, 1878. The premiums amounted to over $1,500; and the articles on exhibition were numerous, well arranged, and of excellent quality. Much of the livestock was very fine. The meeting was orderly, well patronized, and in every way a success. Mr. A. L. Hardin, Secretary, sent me the following report of the proceedings and awards of premiums:

FIRST DAY'S AWARD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles exhibited</th>
<th>To whom awarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White flannel</td>
<td>Mrs. Charlotte Frazer, Bourbon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarn socks</td>
<td>Mrs. Keziah Braxton, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton socks</td>
<td>Miss Fannie Richardson, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk quilt</td>
<td>Miss Mary Warfield, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolen quilt</td>
<td>Miss Jane Chatman, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton quilt</td>
<td>Miss Sallie Dotson, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt, hand-made</td>
<td>Miss Thelma Jones, Bourbon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crochet work</td>
<td>Mrs. Ann Emily Hammond, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk embroidery</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Chatman, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worsted embroidery</td>
<td>Miss Queen Ballard, Fayette.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Butter                                  | Mrs. Rose Ramer, Fayette.           |
| Pound cake                              | Mrs. Lucy Smoot, Bourbon.           |
| Sponge cake                             | Miss Sallie Bush, Fayette.          |
| Ginger cake                             | Mrs. H. Jackson, Fayette.           |
| Silver cake                             | Mrs. Sidney Dunn, Fayette.          |
| Marble cake                             | Mrs. Charley Lewis, Fayette.        |
| Black cake                              | Miss Emmie Jackson, Fayette.        |
| Light bread, yeast made                 | Mrs. Lucy Smoot, Bourbon.           |
| Light bread, salt rising                | Miss Eliza Talbott, Fayette.        |
| Preserves, peaches                      | Miss Ella Talbott, Fayette.         |
| Quince jelly                            | Miss Ella Taylor, Fayette.          |
| Preserves, plums                        | Miss Ella Taylor, Fayette.          |
| Preserves, strawberry                   | Miss Mary Warfield, Fayette.        |
| Blackberry jam                          | Miss Maria Williams, Fayette.       |
| Grape jelly                             | Miss Ella Taylor, Fayette.          |
| Currant jelly                           | Mrs. H. Butler, Fayette.            |
| Crab-apple jelly                        | Mrs. E. R. Jackson, Fayette.        |
| Grape wine                              | Mrs. E. R. Jackson, Fayette.        |
| Currant wine                            | Mrs. Julia Johnson, Fayette.        |
| Blackberry wine                         | Mrs. Julia Johnson, Fayette.        |
| Blackberry cordial                      | Robert Hughes, Fayette.             |
| Peach cordial                           | Mrs. Jane Richardson, Fayette.      |
| Natural cut flowers                     | Mrs. Tillman Tibbs, Fayette.        |
| Irish potatoes                          | J. H. Dodd, Fayette.                |
| Sweet potatoes                          | Albert Coleman, Fayette.            |
| Beets                                   | J. H. Dodd, Fayette.                |
| Cabbage                                 | Mrs. Charlotte Frazer, Fayette.    |
Second annual report of state bureau of agriculture, horticulture, & statistics, legis doc no 1, 11, 1879.

Watermelon
Musk melon
Houdan chickens
Brahma chickens

Ducks
Turkeys

Best drilled commandery of Knights Templar.

First price—Cincinnati Commandery.
Second—Lexington.

Buggy horse or mare, 3 years old and upward... Aubry & Nichols, Fayette.
Saddle horse or mare, 3 years old and upward... Aubry & Nichols, Fayette.

Second day's award.

Horse male, under 1 year old... Chas. Covington, Fayette.
Mare male, 1 year old and under 2... A. Pearse, Fayette.
Mare male, 3 years old and upward... Anderson Ellis, Fayette.
Jack, 1 year old and under 2... Robert Meur, Boyle.
Jack, 2 years old and under 3... P. Atkins, Fayette.
Jack, 3 years old and upward... Kolt. Meur, Boyle.
Jennet, under 1 year old... William Davis, Fayette.
Jennet, 1 year old and under 2... Wesley Carter, Fayette.
Jennet, 2 years old and under 3... Wesley Carter, Fayette.
Jennet, 3 years old and upward... William Davis, Fayette.
Jack, any age... Robert Meur, Boyle.

Harness stallion, 2 years old and under 3... Jasper Rogers, Fayette.
Harness gelding, 2 years old and under 3... James Thomas, Scott.
Harness mare, 2 years old and under 3... Thos. Jefferson, Harrison.
Heifer calf, under 1 year old... H. R. Shaw, Fayette.
Cow, 1 year old and under 2... Ben. Fry, Fayette.
Cow, 2 years old and under 3... Ben. Fry, Fayette.
Cow, 3 years old and upward... Anthony Eligan, Fayette.
Bull calf, under 1 year old... Ben. Fry, Fayette.
Bull, 1 year and under 2... Ben. Fry, Fayette.
Bull, any age... Ad. Russell, Fayette.
Cow, any age... Anthony Eligan, Fayette.
Yoke oxen... Abe Mathews, Fayette.
Buck, 1 year old and under 2... E. Milton, Bourbon.
Ewe, 1 year old and under 2... E. Milton, Bourbon.
Ewe, 2 years old and upward... E. Milton, Bourbon.
Buck, any age... E. Milton, Bourbon.
Ewe, any age... E. Milton, Bourbon.
Boar under 1 year old... Owen Morton, Fayette.
Boar, 1 year old and under 2... L. R. Huffman, Fayette.
Boar, 2 years old and upward... L. R. Huffman, Fayette.
Sow, under 1 year old... L. R. Huffman, Fayette.
Sow, 1 year old and under 2... Henry Lee, Fayette.
Sow, 2 years old and upward... L. R. Huffman, Fayette.
Boar, any age... L. R. Huffman, Fayette.
Sow, any age... L. R. Huffman, Fayette.
Saddle mare, 2 years old and under 3... Charles Faulkner, Woodford.
Saddle mare, 3 years old and under 4... Ed. Christopher, Fayette.
Saddle mare, 4 years old and upward... Hunt Willis, Harrison.
THIRD DAY'S AWARD.

Dressed hemp............................. Jacob Bibbs, Fayette.
Brooms....................................... Levi Burns, Jessamine.
Single harness............................. Thompson & Boyd, Fayette.
Gentleman's saddle.......................... Thompson & Boyd, Fayette.
Saddle colt, under 1 year old............. Hence Miller, Fayette.
Harness colt, under 1 year old............. Dudley Simpson, Fayette.
Harness colt, 1 year old and under 2...... J. H. Blackford, Fayette.
Harness mare colt, 1 year old and under 2... James Coleman, Fayette.
Harness horse or mare colt, 1 year old and under 2... Henry Chivis, Fayette.
Saddle colt, regardless of sex, 1 year old... Elijah Taylor, Clark.
Phaeton pony................................. Dr. Coleman, Fayette.
Model horse or mare.......................... Solomon Pints, Fayette.
Rockaway horse or mare...................... Solomon Pints, Fayette.
Harness gelding, 2 years old and under 3... Andrew Scott, Fayette.

FOURTH DAY'S AWARD.

Brood mare, any age.......................... Robert Mathews, Fayette.
Saddle gelding, 2 years old and under 3... Sidney Dixon, Fayette.
Saddle gelding, 3 years old and under 3... M. G. Featherston, Fayette.
Saddle gelding, 4 years old and upward...... Aubry & Nichols, Fayette.
Combined gelding or mare................... Aubry & Nichols, Fayette.
Harness gelding, mare, or stallion........... James Coleman, Fayette.
Gentleman rider.............................. Thad. Brown, Fayette.
Lady rider..................................... Miss R. Jackson, Fayette.
Finest turnout, lady and gentleman in buggy... Miss M. E. Britton and A. Scott, Fayette.

Finest looking baby, either sex................ Mrs. Tecia Smith, Fayette.
Gentleman driver, single horse................ John Duncan, Clark.
Walking horse or mare........................ Wm. Boyce, Fayette.
Racking horse or mare........................ Jacob Mathews, Fayette.
Harness stallion, 5 years old and upward...... James Coleman, Fayette.
Harness gelding, 5 years old and upward...... James Doyle, Fayette.
Harness mare, 5 years old and upward........ J. H. Blackford, Fayette.
The officers of this Association are:
President—H. P. Gaines.
Vice President—Isaac Lee.
Treasurer—Wm. L. Taylor.
Secretary—A. L. Hardin.
King Master—E. W. Jackson.
Field Marshal—Robert Robinson.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Association</th>
<th>Name of Secretary</th>
<th>Name of President</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colored Fair Ass'n of Shelby County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shelbyville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored Fair Ass'n of Bourbon Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored Fair Ass'n of Clark County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Winchester</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Number of School Districts, 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counties</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of Counties Reporting Colored Schools, 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of Counties in Which Colored Schools Were Taught, 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of Districts in Which Schools Were Taught, Three Months or More, 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>412</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>412</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of Districts in Which Schools Were Taught Two Months, 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of Trustees of Colored Common Schools, 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>2,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>2,319</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of Boards of Examiners, 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
STATE REPORT ON BLACK SCHOOLS 1879-80

Number of children enrolled in census reports for 1880:
- In cities: 9,897
- In counties: 61,167
Total: 71,064

Number of children enrolled in census reports for 1879: 62,973
Increase: 3,091

Number of children between the ages of six and sixteen enrolled in census report to Superintendent of Public Instruction, for 1880: 66,564
Number of children between the ages of six and twenty, enrolled in census report of Assessors to Auditor, for 1880: 47,924
Difference: 18,640

STATE REPORT ON BLACK SCHOOLS 1879-80

Official compensation to Commissioners:
- By the State, 1880: $2,500.00
- By the State, 1879: $2,235.08
Increase: $164.92

Expenses allowed by the State:
- Average compensation to each Commissioner, 1880: $22.98
- Average compensation to each Commissioner, 1879: $21.25
Increase: .73

Contingent Expenses:
- For the School-Year ending June 30th, 1880: $955.21
- For the School-Year ending June 30th, 1879: $446.66
Increase: $508.55

Per Capita:
- State per capita for 1880: $0.48
- State per capita for 1879: $0.50
Decrease: $.02
II. COLORED DEPARTMENT.
SUMMARIES OF SCHOOL STATISTICS

For the School-Year ending June 30th, 1881, Compared with those for the School-Year ending June 30th, 1880:

School Organization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of school districts, 1881</th>
<th>804</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In cities*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of school districts, 1880</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of counties reporting colored schools, 1881</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of counties reporting colored schools, 1880</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of counties in which colored schools were taught, 1881</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of counties in which colored schools were taught, 1880</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of school districts, in which schools were taught, 1881:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In cities</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of school districts, in which schools were not taught, 1881:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In cities</th>
<th>65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* City of Louisville, which reports directly to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. See Table No. 4.
Number of districts in which schools were taught three months, 66 days, or more, 1881—

In cities, 220 days ........................................... 1
In counties, 66 days ........................................... 413

Increase .................................................................. 1

Number of districts in which schools were taught two months, or 44 days, 1881 ........................................... 328

Number of districts in which schools were taught two months, or 44 days, 1880 ........................................... 305

Increase .................................................................. 21

Number of Trustees of colored common schools, 1881 ........................................... 2,412
Number of Trustees of colored common schools, 1880 ........................................... 2,319
Number of Boards of Examiners, 1881 ........................................... 111
Number of Boards of Examiners, 1880 ........................................... 110

Number of children enrolled in census reports, 1881—

In cities .................................................. 6,120
In counties .................................................. 64,114

Number of children enrolled in census reports, 1880 ........................................... 66,564

Increase .................................................. 3,470

Number of children between the ages of six and sixteen enrolled in census report to Superintendent of Public Instruction, for 1881 ........................................... 70,334
Number of children between the ages of six and twenty enrolled in census report of Assessors to Auditor, for 1881 ........................................... 47,215

Difference .................................................. 23,119

State Appropriation.

Amount apportioned by the State, 1881, at 58 cents per child—

In cities .................................................. $3,540 60
In counties .................................................. 37,186 12

$40,735 72

Amount apportioned by the State, 1880, at 48 cents per child—

In cities .................................................. 81,950 12

Increase .................................................. $6,785 90
### Official Compensation to City School Bond
- **$38.49**

### Official Compensation to Commissioners
- **By the State, 1881**: $2,549.15
- **By the State, 1880**: $2,344.39
- **Increase**: $204.76

### Expenses Allowed by the State, O.
- **Average Compensation to Each Commissioner, 1881**: $24.74
- **Average Compensation to Each Commissioner, 1880**: $22.98
- **Increase**: $1.76

### Contingent Expenses
- **For the School-Year ending June 30th, 1881**: $806.25
- **For the School-Year ending June 30th, 1880**: $955.21
- **Decrease**: $148.96

### School-Houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>City, 1881</th>
<th>County, 1881</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Log</td>
<td>244</td>
<td></td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value, 1881</td>
<td>$10,673.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities,</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties, 1881</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>$21,150.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties, 1881</td>
<td>22,485.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities,</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties, 1881</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>$66,640.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>In cities,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties, 1881</td>
<td>3,450.00</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$70,090.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties, 1881</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value, 1881</td>
<td>$250.00</td>
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### STATE REPORT ON BLACK SCHS 1880-81

**jos desha pickett, common sch report 1880-81;**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of school-houses, 1881, in cities</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of school-houses, 1881, in counties</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of school-houses, 1881, in cities</td>
<td>$68,790 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of school-houses, 1881, in counties</td>
<td>46,856 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total value</td>
<td>$115,646 00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of school-houses rented, 1881, in cities</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of school-houses rented, 1881, in counties</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number rented</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of churches used as school-houses, 1881, in counties</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amounts raised by subscription, and by other means</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities, 1881</td>
<td>$14,897 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties, 1881</td>
<td>5,170 88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$20,068 07</td>
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</table>

### STATE REPORT ON BLACK SCHS 1880-81

**jos desha pickett, common sch report 1880-81;**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Per Capita</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State per capita for 1881</td>
<td>$0 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State per capita for 1880</td>
<td>0 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>$0 10</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Per Capita for 1881</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per capita for 1881, in cities—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State per capita for 1881</td>
<td>$0 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per capita from local taxation</td>
<td>2 45-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per capita from all sources</td>
<td>$3 01-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per capita for 1881, in counties—</td>
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<tr>
<td>State per capita for 1881</td>
<td>$0 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per capita from subscription, etc.</td>
<td>0 8-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per capita from all sources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total average per capita from all sources</td>
<td>$0 64-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**BLACK CHILDREN BETWEEN 6 & 20 AS REPORTED BY AUDITOR, SUPT ED (1885)**

**f. xxxvii / COLORED.**

**TABLE No. II.**

Showing Number of Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age, as Reported to Auditor of Public Accounts by the Assessors of Taxes; Number of Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age, as Reported to Superintendent of Public Instruction by the County Superintendents of Common Schools, and Excess in Number of Children Reported to Superintendent, as Compared with Number Reported to Auditor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
<th>Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age as Reported by the Auditor</th>
<th>Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age as Reported to Superintendent</th>
<th>Excess of children reported to Superintendent as Compared with Number Reported to Auditor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adair</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>1,271</td>
<td>1,904</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballard</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barren</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>2,461</td>
<td>1,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyle</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathitt</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**BLACK CHILDREN BETWEEN 6 & 20 AS REPORTED BY AUDITOR, SUPT ED(1885)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
<th>Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age as Reported by the Auditor</th>
<th>Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age as Reported to Superintendent</th>
<th>Excess of children reported to Superintendent as Compared with Number Reported to Auditor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breckinridge</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullitt</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calloway</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>106</td>
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<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casey</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>4,891</td>
<td>5,397</td>
<td>1,066</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>1,206</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crittenden</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
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<td>571</td>
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<td>Elliott</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estill</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>3,462</td>
<td>4,281</td>
<td>829</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fleming</td>
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<td>216</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1,217</td>
<td>1,041</td>
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<td>Fulton</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>398</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallatin</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>121</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garrard</td>
<td>990</td>
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<td>170</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>118</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
<th>Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age as Reported by the Auditor</th>
<th>Children between Six and Twenty Years of Age as Reported to Superintendent</th>
<th>Excess of children reported to Superintendent as Compared with Number Reported to Auditor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graves</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayson</td>
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<td>122</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
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<td>944</td>
<td>204</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>218</td>
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<td>69</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,040</td>
<td>722</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hardin</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Supt.</td>
<td>Auditor</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>34</td>
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<tr>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>2,875</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>607</td>
<td>668</td>
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<td>2,409</td>
<td>295</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>308</td>
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<tr>
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<td>147</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>1,618</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Black Children Between 6 & 20 As Reported by Auditor, Supt Ed (1885)**

**KY Docs 1887-88, Rept Supt of Pub Inst 1881-86; Legis Doc No 7; 1886**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Auditor</th>
<th>Supt Ed</th>
<th>Difference</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelby</td>
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<td>1,538</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simpson</td>
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<td>979</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>2,254</td>
<td>1,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigg</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumle</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>2,621</td>
<td>1,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webster</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitley</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolfe</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodford</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,938</td>
<td>1,938</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Taken from the Auditor's Report.
† The increase of 58 pupils is caused by correcting errors made in the Census Reports by several County Superintendents.

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EPISTOLARY REPORTS OF COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS

CONCERNING THE CONDITION, PROGRESS, AND PROSPECTS
OF THE COLORED COMMON SCHOOLS OF
KENTUCKY, 1886.

**Adair.**—The colored districts are in earnest, and considering disadvantages are doing extremely well.

**Allen.**—Colored schools are not doing so well as desired. Their houses are inadequate, and they will not build unless forced to do so. The school law is not equal to the emergency. Improvement is not looked for until the County Superintendent can force them to work on school-houses.

**Barren.**—To the gratification of the people the colored schools of the county have been stimulated by the same spirit that moved the whites to action, and have made unprecedented strides in the way of qualifications of teachers, and in erection of good, comfortable school-houses. With the beginning of the school year there was not a desk or any provision for a single one of the 1,904 colored children in the county. And now, every one of the 26 districts have either made or are making provision for comfortable houses and some suitable furniture. They have raised over $1,000 by subscription to build houses, supplement salary of teachers, and for other needs. Great...
self-denial is shown in their efforts to elevate the status of their schools. They feel their only hope and safeguard is in the public schools. They only need the proper attention. A normal school for instruction of colored teachers, to be held at Glasgow, was organized during the Colored Institute. It will begin the first of March, and continue three months. They have a systematic organization which is doing great good.

Bath.—There are eight colored schools organized in the county, and all doing well. In conjunction with Montgomery and Nicholas counties, an Institute was held at Sharpsburg, in this county. Every teacher was present and all hungry to learn. Ohio and New York are furnishing a number of the teachers, and they come well qualified for their work, having had good normal training. Strangers would be astonished at the interest the colored people (of the better class) are taking in their schools. Their houses average well with those for the whites. The State can never regret the opportunities she has given her colored citizens, nor can she be a loser thereby. The County Superintendent joins heartily in the effort to reclaim them from the ignorance which had so long been their heritage.

Bell.—Schools were taught in all the districts. The teachers were prompt in attendance at the Institute. Patrons seem to appreciate the educational advantages they now enjoy. Harmony and peace prevail in every district. There is every reason to believe the present scholastic year has been one of substantial improvement in the educational affairs of Bell county.

Boyd.—The two colored schools have no houses, and no clear way of getting them—still, they manage to secure houses, and are getting along nicely. Their attendance is much larger, and more regular than the whites.

Bracken.—All the schools taught except one. All were visited by Superintendent, and marked improvement found, and the teachers eager to improve.

Breckinridge.—The interest in education among the colored people is more general than would be supposed. They seem to realize to a certain degree that education is the basis of hope for future good to and from their race. They need better school-houses, better teachers, and better supervision, and more attention, generally, from the white citizens. Their will is good, but they do not know how to proceed to obtain what they wish. To the credit of examiners, teachers are much better than formerly. Their great drawback is lack of means to build school-houses. This is a very considerable burden upon them—owing to their numbers and the comparatively small amount of property they possess. The outlook, however, is favorable.

Caldwell.—There are ten districts in the county. Three good log houses have been built and one frame—the log-houses worth $300, the frame $200. Three houses have been ordered to be built, another condemned, and three more will be condemned this year. They will then be in good condition, and Superintendent thinks will make fair progress.
Calloway.—The colored schools of Calloway county have made wonderful improvement; but are yet in want of much improvement. Half of the districts have houses. The other half have none; the result is, they scarcely ever have schools in such districts. Their teachers very well qualified—some of them doing almost average work. There are but few colored citizens in the county; but among them is a love for education.

Carroll.—There was a school taught in each district. The teachers did good work, considering their certificates are only third-class. There has never been a really good colored teacher in the county, although paid good wages. The colored people, however, are aroused on the subject of education, and patronize the schools reasonably well. The children learn fast while small, but, as a rule, quit school at an early age. There is no resident teacher in the county.

Christian.—Ten years ago the Superintendent commenced forming districts, and only succeeded in reporting about 500 children in the first census. There were only three or four competent colored teachers in the county. Now there are fifty or more colored teachers engaged in teaching. Most of them competent and well-qualified, and the schools are orderly and well conducted throughout the county. The children attend remarkably well. The progress made by them is wonderful. And the interest manifested by parent and child is creditable to both.

Clark.—Full terms were taught in every district.

Clinton.—There are two colored districts. The schools were visited and found working industriously.

Cumberland.—All the schools were visited, and Superintendent tried to give them all the encouragement he could. There are two very good teachers in the county, and a better grade of teachers and schools is hoped for in the near future.

Daviess.—The colored common schools are making some progress. The Superintendent has been impressing on the minds of the trustees the importance of improving the schoolhouses, which are in a very bad condition in some districts. He has made it a special consideration that the State is furnishing the money to pay the tuition of their children, and is calling on them to furnish houses, etc. Already there are two new school-houses in course of erection, and a number undergoing repairs—a number have been condemned. The trustees are notified that they should keep uniform text-books. The wages of the teachers are rarely supplemented.

Edmonson.—There are only four colored districts in Edmonson. They are all on the south side of Green river. One-half of the county has no colored children in it, and the children are so scattering in the other half, it is difficult to locate a school so that all the children can attend. The teachers are not so well qualified as they should be. None of them hold even a second-class certificate, but all third-class certificates. There are but three colored school-houses in the county, and they are used as churches. When they get better teachers and better houses, these schools will be a perfect success.
Fayette.—During the school-year every district in the county had taught a school for the full term of five months.

Fleming.—All the territory of the county is now included in school districts, and every colored pupil is now enrolled in the census. There are six districts, and all have well defined boundaries. Plainly written copies of these are in the hands of their trustees. But one of these, Nepton, has a school-house of its own. In the others, schools are taught in churches or in rented houses. The teachers are well qualified. Some were educated in the North—one made an average grade of 80 per cent. in her examination. Others were educated at home. One, Thomas Fletcher, occasionally writes for the press, and his articles read very well—few teachers return better registers than he. Another, Geo. O. Moore, is of excellent moral character and considerable experience in teaching. The schools were visited and found doing well. Some of them did astonishingly well in their examinations in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar.

Floyd.—Had no colored school. No colored person could be found who could obtain a certificate to teach. Examinations should be made lighter on applicants for these schools. Every effort was made to get teachers from abroad, but the pay was not sufficient to induce any one to come.

Franklin.—There are five districts for colored children in the county; a school was taught in each. All these schools were visited while in session, and found in very good condition.

Fulton.—Has seven colored districts. Some are doing well for colored people, and are making some progress. One suffers from the “overflow” of the Mississippi river, and from the self-importance of one or two who try to rule the district. A tax has been voted to build one school-house in Hickman, but it will take several years to raise money to build a good one.

Garrard.—The colored schools are taught almost exclusively by teachers who have graduated at Berea College, and the majority are well qualified. Upon the whole, the schools are in good condition.

Graves.—The present outlook is very encouraging for the education of the colored population of the county. They are building better school-houses, having better teachers, and larger attendance than usual.

Grayson.—There is not a colored teacher in the county, and unless teachers can be obtained from abroad, the schools will not be taught.

Green.—On the whole, the colored people are taking greater interest in education in this county than the whites. The Institute was conducted by W. H. Graham, of the Examining Board, and Mr. W. H. Milby, County Attorney; 15 teachers were in attendance, and had a very interesting and profitable time. Nearly every teacher in the Institute took an active part in the work, and as it is the first Institute they have ever had, they enjoyed it very much.
Harrison.—There are 9 districts in this county, but there have never been but 8 schools. They are in a prosperous condition. With the exception of a few from the county, the teachers are from a distance, and as a general thing are well-qualified. On an average they are paid better wages than the whites. The chief trouble is, they change teachers too often. The city council of Cynthiana had built, this year, an addition to the colored people's school-house, of the city, at the cost of about $1,000. Everything bids fair for prosperity in the colored schools as well as the white schools of the county.

Hart.—Attendance is largely increased. There is a livelier and a more active interest in patrons and trustees. The good accomplished for the school-year is equal to, if not greater than, in any two preceding years. Teachers are much better, are more experienced, better educated, better trained, and far more competent than they have ever been before. One of the principal troubles is, districts are so few and so large. Some of the pupils live five miles from school, yet many of them attend. The attendance is wonderful, considering the distance some have to travel. The Superintendent hopes to make two or three new districts for their benefit.

Henderson.—Regarding colored schools, the county is thought to be above the average in colored teachers. An Institute was held this year for their benefit. There was agreeable surprise at both the attendance and the intelligence of the teachers. A County Association will be organized at an early day by Superintendent, for his colored teachers.

Henry.—The colored schools of the county have accomplished but little. Few of their people seem to care anything for schools. All that could be done has been done to arouse them, and it is hoped some impression has been made.

Jefferson.—The colored schools have received their relative portion of time and attention. What has been said of schools for whites of this county is equally applicable to the colored schools.

Jessamine.—There is much interest manifested in the cause of education by the colored people, and much better attendance by the children than ever before. The school-house in No. 8 was burned to the ground. Three new ones are in progress.

Kenton.—Owing to sparsely settled districts, colored schools are impracticable in this county.

Knox.—What the Superintendent has said of the white schools of his county, is also applicable to the colored schools. He will say this much, however, in behalf of the colored schools: They are better attended, generally speaking, than the white schools; and he believes they take more interest in education than the white people; from what cause he does not know. He sometimes thinks it is because it is something new to them.

LaRue.—The county is sparsely populated with colored people; therefore, they labor under many disadvantages. The districts are too large, and the patrons too poor to build suit-
able school-houses. Trustees should have power to levy a tax at the beginning of the school-year to cover incidental expenses, and at any time to build a house after the old one has been condemned by the County Superintendent. They need better facilities for educating their teachers—Normal Schools where they can afford to attend them. If possible, parents should be encouraged to send their children to school.

Laurel.—There are three districts in the county. The children are scattered all over the county, and so thinly that it is impossible to arrange the districts so that all will be convenient to school; but, on the whole, they are making fair progress.

Two of the houses are bad, and one good. Two new houses will be built this year. There is difficulty in procuring well qualified teachers. By the aid of Berea College it is hoped to eliminate this difficulty next year.

Lawrence.—The report for the white schools of this county is intended to include the colored schools also.

Lee.—The colored schools in this county are only two, and in bad condition, owing to inefficiency of teachers and poverty of patrons. The people are sparsely settled; hence, the children must go a long distance to school. They are poorly clad, and poorly supplied with books; the term is short, and they are in danger of being reared in ignorance until funds can be raised to induce competent teachers to come and teach them; the number of pupils being too few to furnish a salary sufficient to pay an educated teacher.

Logan.—Schools small generally; but few comfortable houses; better teachers than formerly; districts not yet well arranged—too large as a general thing. There is one difficulty in getting houses—most of the land is owned by white people, who do not wish colored schools on their premises. There is a much brighter prospect before the colored schools in this county. Ignorant teachers are being eliminated as rapidly as possible. The teachers had an excellent Institute. They seem to appreciate what is done for them in the way of advice from the Superintendent.

Madison.—There are 14 colored school districts in the county; in every one of these a school was taught for five months. In the larger districts two and three schools were taught, in proportion to the number of pupils. Teachers do not complain of their wages—their average pay is far in excess of the white teachers. Berea College is in this county. It is devoted to the education and development of the race. The best teachers are those who have attended this college. They are fully imbued with the spirit to labor patiently for the elevation of their race. School-houses are badly needed. Trustees should be empowered to levy a poll-tax without a vote, for the purpose of building. The people are gradually awakening to the value of education.

Marshall.—The colored common schools in this county are not doing very well. The causes are incompetent teachers and trustees. In fact, there are so few children, and they so scattered, that much success can not be expected except in the town of Birmingham. The reports show only 137 pupils in the county.
McCracken.—The colored schools of McCracken county are in better condition than ever before. The teachers are becoming better educated for their work, through contact brought about by Institute work, and through the desire of parents to educate their children. The severest drawback to progress is the need of suitable school-houses.

McLean.—There are five colored school districts in the county, but only three had schools taught this year. There is an increasing interest in schools among the colored people generally. All the schools were visited, and the teachers were found to be doing good work. The greatest drawback is the need of suitable school-houses.

Metcalf.—The colored schools of Metcalfe are getting along reasonably well. The greatest difficulty to contend with, is the illiteracy of the colored trustee. One trustee to a district would be better than three, and that one should be appointed by the County Superintendent. Most of the teachers have been attending school since last winter, and show marked proficiency and progress in the branches taught. The county should be divided into smaller districts. The average attendance is but 24 per cent. The number of pupils decreased from 333 in 1885 to 376 in 1886—cause not known. The laws for colored schools should be bound separately from the laws for whites. They seem to confuse trustees when bound together. The colored people are doing well considering their surroundings. Every district had a school taught. One for three, one for four, and five for five months' sessions; wages of male teachers per month, $29.64; females, $16.12. Better houses are needed; four districts have good houses; the others are inferior. The increasing per capita seems to give the colored teacher more enthusiasm.

Monroe.—For their chance, the colored people have done well. Those that have gone to school have learned as rapidly as could be expected; but the raising of the grade of certificate has almost stopped their schools. They seem much concerned about education. Attendance would be good if they could have schools. School-houses are in bad condition. The means furnished by the State are not sufficient to justify teachers to come from abroad. The colored people here can have few schools taught by qualified teachers. For the present, the teachers should be favored as to certificates. Superintendent wishes something could be done for them. He has done much to encourage them by speeches, advice and counsel.

Montgomery.—The report for white schools, with the exception of the latter part, applies to the colored schools of this county. The colored people rely wholly on the State fund. With a few exceptions, they refuse to vote a tax, or to subscribe for school purposes.

Nelson.—There was only one colored common school not taught in the county. The greatest difficulty was experienced
in obtaining competent teachers. Certificates were refused to a number of colored teachers. For this reason some schools may have to go untaught for awhile, but this is a lesser evil than bad teaching, and there will be full compensation in the end if the plan secure competent teachers. The people as yet lack the interest to supplement the public money with local aid.

Nicholas.—There were but four colored schools taught in the county. See report for white schools.

Pendleton.—The colored schools are so scattered, there being only three in the county, that they can not be well attended; yet the children are learning to read, write, cipher, and are obtaining some knowledge of grammar, and will be prepared to conduct business for themselves; but the schools suffer from the want of intelligent trustees, which can not be obtained from the older colored people.

Robertson.—There is but one colored school in Robertson. There are but few colored children in the county; and those not in the neighborhood of this school must go without education. No chance is seen to have another colored school in the county.

Rockcastle.—There is only one colored school in the county at present; but it is a good common school in every particular—in fact, it compares very favorably with any white one in the county.

Russell.—There are only three districts in the county. Schools were going on at different times, and could hold no Institute. The schools are prospering, considering their chances to get along. The Superintendent visits and advises the schools. He also delivers lectures for their improvement.

Scott.—There are 14 colored schools in the county, but only 13 were taught in 1884-85. The colored people take great interest in their schools, and their attendance is generally very good. The principal trouble is, they have not the means to build. In almost every case they are compelled to rent school-houses, and in several cases the teacher is compelled to pay part of the rent. It would be a grand thing for both the white and the colored schools, if the county courts in the different counties were authorized to appropriate money to build school-houses in the different districts, as they are authorized to appropriate money to build turnpikes.

Shelby.—The number of common schools is 12. Churches are used as school-houses as a general thing. About one-third of the children reported attended school. The branches taught are reading, writing, spelling, geography, arithmetic, grammar. In some districts an interest is manifested. Teachers receive only the public money.
Simpson.—The colored schools are doing as well as could be expected, and better than many had hoped.

Taylor.—The colored people of this county are interested in the common schools. They have never had any advantages until recently, and they deserve praise for what they have already done. There are only nine districts, and all have houses except one; and that one has a condemned house. Most of the houses are tolerably good ones. As a rule, the children are much more regular in attendance than the whites. The teachers are wide awake and very well posted. They are progressing. Their Institute continued three days. It was the first of the kind ever held in the county. They were highly pleased, and much good was accomplished. There were only six teachers present. The spectators were numerous. One of the great difficulties is the text-books, and this can only be cured by time. A regular set of books has been adopted for the county. Take it altogether, the colored people are doing well in their schools.

Todd.—There has been a school in every district except one. There are so few colored children, it is an absolute necessity to walk at least three miles to school or not go at all. Some districts are considerably more than seven miles square. Where there are only ten or fifteen children of pupil age, three or four miles from any school-house, it is only choosing between going that far and not going at all.

Trimble.—There are three colored schools in this county. They have a very good attendance, and the patrons take much interest in having their children educated. Good school-houses are needed; only one in the county. The others are taught in their churches, which are very comfortable. The schools are taught by very good teachers.

Union.—The colored citizens in this county take great and most commendable interest in the education of their children. Every district would have had a school taught, if the services of a qualified teacher could have been obtained. A sufficient number applied for certificates to have taught all of these. It will be many years before teachers can be obtained, if the same qualifications are required as from the white applicants for certificates, as they are not possessed of the means to obtain like qualifications.

Warren.—The schools of the county were taught by the best teachers that could be had, and while the greater number were not very well qualified, they did fair work, and manifested great interest in the education of the colored children of the county. The interest in education among the colored people seems to be developing as well as could be expected—more general interest among them is needed to make their schools
what they ought to be. A number of better teachers is needed. Some of the school-houses are very good, but more are needed. The great trouble with the colored people is to get sites on which to build. District organization is not very good at present, but it is improving. The standard of education is ordinarily good, but could be greatly improved. Wages are fair for the class of teachers, but more good teachers and better wages are needed. Money to supplement salaries is raised by subscription. Would make the same suggestions that are made in white epistolary report. The visits to the schools of the county were both interesting and beneficial, and the Superintendent tries to manage them in such way as to comply with the law and benefit the schools.

Washington.—There are few school-houses, and they are inadequate to meet the wants of the districts. Every district has a church organization, and it is better to have their school-house and place of worship under the same roof. They are obliged to depend on other counties for most of their teachers, nearly all of whom taught with third-class certificates last year, and there is not much improvement in the grade of certificate this year. Consideration must be taken of their poor opportunities, or the most of them would be denied certificates of any kind, and the County Board has thus decided. They are striving for a better education, but have a hard

struggle to overcome the difficulties. All of the districts but one were visited, and found doing pretty fair work. An appropriation of the State fund sufficient to build a house in districts that have no houses would help them forward, and meet the wants of the districts.

Wayne.—In most of the districts good schools were taught this year; the course embracing nearly all the branches required for the common schools. They seem to appreciate their increased advantages, and are trying to improve them as much as possible. They are providing school-houses in the different districts, which will be over an average with those of whites. As a race, the colored people in the county are in the advance both in morals and education over those in towns, and with proper encouragement, which the Superintendent is trying to give, they will be on a much higher plane in a few years.

Woodford.—The schools are very successful. The greatest difficulty in the road to success is good, comfortable school-houses. The colored people as a class are very poor; hence they have no taxable property, and all money has to be raised by subscription—a very slow process. If the Legislature would allow the use of State money towards erecting school buildings in those districts that have no school it would be of material aid. There must be good houses before there can be good schools.
At the very outset, the Superintendent congratulates your Honorable Body on the condition, progress, and prospects of the Common Schools of the Commonwealth.

Among the many matters of weight and of welfare to the people, to be laid before you at the present session, the following statements, in condensed and compact form, are presented for ready and reliable reference.

On the succession of the present Superintendent to office, in September, 1879, he found that, owing to the shrinkage of values in taxable property and general financial depression, the apportionment for the white school fund had declined to $768,192.50 for the school-year 1880, with a consequent decline of the per capita from $1.00 to $1.25. The apportionment of the colored school fund for 1880, was $81,950.72, an increase over the previous school-year of $464.22, but the increase in the census had exceeded the corresponding increase in the fund, and the per capita declined from $0.50 to $0.48.

With a fruitful promise of revenue for 1881, the "estimates" were accordingly made by the Auditor, and the "apportionments" correspondingly declared by the Superintendent at $1.45 for the white schools and $0.58 for the colored schools, but owing mainly to excessive drought and consequent depreciation of property values, a deficit followed, and the per capita for 1882, was reduced to $1.40 and $0.50 for the white and the colored schools, respectively. Had it not been for the equalization of the colored per capita with the white per capita by act approved May 12th, 1882, $1.40 would have been maintained for the latter in 1883 with a steady, sterling annual increase, realizing for the present school-year $1.85. By act of April 24, 1882, the annual "capitation tax of one dollar on each male colored person above the age of twenty-one years," for the benefit of the colored schools, was repealed by the General Assembly. In view of the tax being confined to the colored people, although exclusively for the benefit of the colored schools, it had been pronounced unconstitutional by the United States District Court. The abolition of this tax, which had been the most fruitful source of support to the colored schools, was the main cause of the reduction of the Auditor's estimate of $41,644.52 for the school-year 1883, to $12,007.78 for the school-year 1883, which alone, not deducting the contingent expenses of the department, would have yielded a per capita of only $0.13. Just at this crisis, the act levying an additional "tax of two
SOME COMPARISON OF SCHOOL TAX FIGURES--BLACK-WHITE--1880-86

ky docs 1887-88, rept supt of pub inst 1881-86; legis doc no 7; 1886

cents on each one hundred dollars of property in this Commonwealth subject to taxation for State revenue purposes," for the benefit of the Common School Fund, equalizing the per capita and the school ages, for the white and the colored school children, was submitted by authority of the General Assembly to the qualified voters of the Commonwealth for their ratification or their rejection. The act was confirmed by the people at the polls.

By examining the statistics of the Common School Fund of the Commonwealth, it will be seen that, while the white taxpayers were heavily taxing themselves for the benefit of the children and the grandchildren of their former slaves, who had been emancipated without compensation to the owners, there was an annual increase of the estimate of the resources of the white school fund to the present school-year, while the estimates of the colored school fund do not indicate a corresponding increase.

As a matter of interest and of information to the General Assembly and People of the Commonwealth, the Superintend-

ent presents herewith, a tabular statement, exhibiting from the school-year 1882-83, the annual amount paid by the colored tax-payers into their school fund, and the corresponding amounts paid by the white tax-payers to supplement the colored school fund in order to maintain the equalization of the per capita:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1882-83</th>
<th>1883-84</th>
<th>1884-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount disbursed for colored schools</td>
<td>$106,117 25</td>
<td>$120,849 49</td>
<td>$147,850 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts from colored taxpayers</td>
<td>16,601 19</td>
<td>17,905 12</td>
<td>13,988 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount paid by white tax-payers to equalize the per capita</td>
<td>$89,456 06</td>
<td>$102,940 37</td>
<td>$123,862 73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SCHOOL POPULATION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1886</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White School Population</td>
<td>478,554</td>
<td>524,448</td>
<td>45,894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored School Population</td>
<td>66,564</td>
<td>99,799</td>
<td>33,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregated Totals</td>
<td>545,118</td>
<td>624,247</td>
<td>79,129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total increase, during this period, 79,129; white, 45,894; colored, 33,235. The extraordinary relative increase of the latter over the former, must be referred, mainly, to the extension of the school age in 1882-'83, to correspond with the school age of the white children. The increase of the census of white children for 1886 over that of 1885, is 9,093, while that of colored children is only 1,905; but it is readily seen from the above statement, that, for the school-year ending June 30, 1886, an aggregate of 624,247 school children, ranging in ages from six to twenty years, had been presented to the Superintendent of Public Instruction for recognition and for record, in virtue of the sworn statements of the County Superintendents as to the correctness of their compilations of the census reports of the Trustees of the respective districts in their respective counties.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT--BLACK--WHITE--SCH FUNDS 1880-1886

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1886</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White School</td>
<td>$805,339 20</td>
<td>$960,839 20</td>
<td>$257,146 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored School</td>
<td>$164,608 35</td>
<td>$219,950 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Increase</td>
<td>$399,864 33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

White, per capita 1880 | $1.26 40 | $1.25 40 |
Colored, per capita 1880 | 48 17 |

For the White Schools
For the Colored Schools
### AMOUNTS RAISED BY LOCAL TAXATION AND BY SUBSCRIPTION FOR WHITE AND FOR COLORED SCHOOLS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White Counties</th>
<th>White Cities</th>
<th>Colored Counties</th>
<th>Colored Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>$240,890.83</td>
<td></td>
<td>$19,210.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>$159,852.74</td>
<td></td>
<td>$5,170.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Increase: $81,038.09

1880 Total: $379,739.21
1885 Total: $570,042.22

Increase: $190,303.01

### SUMMARY.

1880 to 1886. Increase in apportionment of General School Fund: $399,864.33

1880 to 1885. Increase of Local Taxation and Subscription, White: $190,303.01

1880 to 1885. Increase in Local Taxation and Subscription, Colored: $14,862.74

Total: $205,165.75

Total Auditor's estimate: $805,030.08

### APPORTIONMENT OF WHITE--BLACK SCH FUNDS 1884

#### THE APPORTIONMENT for the School-Year ending June 30th, 1885, is as follows:

**WHITE.**

- 501,207 pupils, at $1.40 each: $701,689.80
- Commissioners' salaries, $100 each: 11,000.00
- 6,477 districts, at $3 each: 19,431.00
- One per cent on $701,689.80: 7,016.89
- Estimated contingent expenses: 1,256.00

Total: $740,407.69

**COLORED.**

- 92,550 pupils, at $1.40 each: $129,542.00
- 914 districts, at $3 each: 2,742.00
- One per cent on $129,542.00: 1,295.42
- Salary of Clerk and estimated contingent expenses: 900.00

Total: $134,479.42

#### RECAPITULATION.

- Total Auditor's estimate: $901,467.13
- Total white apportionment: $740,407.69
- Total colored apportionment: 134,479.42

Balance: $26,580.01

JOS. DESHA PICKETT, Superintendent.
The Apportionment for the School-Year ending June 30th, 1882, is as follows:

### WHITE

- 148,815 pupils, at $1.50 each: $223,222.50
- Commissioners' salaries, $100.00 each: $11,700.00
- 839 districts, $30.00 each: $25,170.00
- One per cent. on $84,341: $843.41
- Estimated contingent expenses in full to October 11th, 1881, out of School Fund, and forage, postage, & express out of School Fund to end of School Year: $2,250.60
- Total: $241,418.41

### COLORED

- 74,432 pupils, at $0.50 each: $37,216.00
- 846 districts, $30.00 each: $2,529.00
- One per cent. on $37,216: $372.16
- Salary of Clerk and estimated contingent expenses for the entire School-Year: $950.00
- Total: $41,067.16

### Recapitulation

- Total Auditor's estimate: $786,218.64
- Total white apportionment: $724,124.41
- Total colored apportionment: $41,067.16
- Balance: $1,025.07

JOS. DESHA PICKETT, Superintendent.
## White

The apportionment for the school-year ending June 30th, 1886, is as follows:

### White

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>463,678 pupils, at $1.30 each</td>
<td>$641,774.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioners' salaries, $100 each</td>
<td>11,700.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,376 districts, $3.00 each</td>
<td>19,128.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One per cent. on $641,774.90</td>
<td>6,417.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated contingent expenses</td>
<td>1,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$680,120.64</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Colored

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>87,640 pupils, at $1.30 each</td>
<td>$113,902.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>884 districts, $3.00 each</td>
<td>2,562.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One per cent. on $113,902.60</td>
<td>1,129.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary of Clerk and estimated contingent expenses</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$118,533.32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Colored

The apportionment for the school-year ending June 30th, 1886, is as follows:

### White

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>524,448 pupils, at $1.65 each</td>
<td>$865,339.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries of Superintendent and clerk</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated contingent expenses, including expenses of Board of Education, portage, postage, expressage, etc.</td>
<td>1,560.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$870,999.20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Colored

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>99,799 pupils, at $1.65 each</td>
<td>$164,668.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary of clerk and contingent expenses</td>
<td>1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$165,868.35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FINANCIAL CONDITION BLACK SCHOOLS 1875-1886

ky docs 1887-1888, rept supt pub inst 1881-86; legis doc no 7; 1886

p. 147/

TABLE Exhibiting the Census, the Financial Condition, the Per Capita, etc. of the Colored School System for each Year since its Foundation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>School Fund</th>
<th>Per Capita</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Equalization of School Age.  † Equalization of the Per Capita.

APPORTIONMENT OF BLACK--WHITE SCH FUNDS 1887

ky docs 1889, Common Sch Report.  leg. doc no 2, 1888

p. 26/

The Apportionment for the School-Year Ending June 30th, 1887, is as follows:

WHITE

538,949 pupils at $1.65 each .............................................. $889,298 85
Salaries of Superintendent and clerks .................................. 5,000 00
Estimated contingent expenses, including expenses of Board of Education, portage, postage, expressage, etc. ...................... 1,650 00

Total ................................................................. $896,248 85

COLORED

102,837 pupils, at $1.65 each ........................................... $169,681 05
Salary of clerk and contingent expenses ................................ 1,200 00

Total ................................................................. $170,881 05

RECAPITULATION.

Total Auditor's estimate ............................................... $1,067,888 43
Total white apportionment ............................................... $896,248 85
Total colored apportionment ............................................. 1,067,129 90

Balance ............................................................... $708 53
Adair.—The Colored Schools of the county are doing as well as could be expected under the circumstances. The great difficulty is, want of good school-houses and qualified Teachers. It is with great difficulty, at times, that the colored people can obtain a suitable location for a school-house; many are unable to contribute for the purpose of building, while a great many are law-proof, and too negligent to assist—hence the work goes on slowly.

Barren.—The Colored Schools of Barren county are in fair condition. The attendance during the last school-year, was better than ever before; a greater number of school-houses was built, and a larger amount supplementing the Teachers' salaries was raised than ever before. It is hoped the State Normal for the preparation of colored Teachers, will supply, in a measure, a great need in this county.

Bath.—The eight colored districts had live, progressive schools, each one being taught for five months. The Trustees take great interest in their duties. The Teachers are energetic and faithful, the attendance is reasonably fair, and the houses are in good condition or being made so. In conjunction with the counties of Clark and Montgomery, an Annual Institute is held, from which great good results. The proficiency of many of the Teachers is astonishing, and the Superintendent is encouraged to believe that, the Colored School System is no longer an experiment, but an actual success.

Boone.—During the year, schools were taught according to law in every district. The schools are improving in every respect; the grade of Teachers is much better; school-houses are being improved; the People see they can not get along without the common schools, but rely too much upon the public fund, and do not supplement it sufficiently.

Bourbon.—The number of children enrolled in the Colored Schools is proportionally greater than the number enrolled in the White Schools. The school-houses are generally small, the furniture is mean, the facilities are poor, and the poverty of the People will long delay the desired improvement in these respects. In the face of these formidable obstacles, the schools are taught, at least, the term required by law. The position of Trustee, a glorious burden to the white citizen, is regarded as an honor by the colored man, and his zeal in discharging its duties is in proportion to the honor in which it is held. The colored Trustee visits the school very often, and watches the progress with great interest. Considering the gross ignorance of the class from which Trustees must be selected, their poverty and the incapacity of many Teachers, the progress of the Colored Schools is a matter of wonder. Without education themselves, the colored People with a devotion truly heroic, and a self-sacrifice truly philanthropic, are making an effort to obtain for their children, those blessings they have not enjoyed. A better class of Teachers is needed, and Trustees sufficiently educated, to select such Teachers, is a great necessity.

Boyd.—The colored children attend much better than the whites. Each of the Colored Schools has this year, a splendid Teacher.
Boyle.—The Colored Schools are making some progress. The great trouble is the want of suitable houses. Superintendent thinks they are not taking as much interest in building as they did at first. Many districts are not able to build such an house as they need. There has been great improvement in the Teachers. They now have some very fair Teachers, who pass very respectable examinations.

Breckinridge.—There is only one colored district in this county. It was visited by Superintendent, and a good attendance was found; the patrons seemed deeply interested. During the year, a good school-house has been built, and the interest is greatly increased. The Teacher was found in full discharge of his duty. The next year promises success as the Teacher has been attending college the last five months.

Bullitt.—Less than one-half of the colored children of pupil age attended the Public Schools. The Colored People, generally, are taking some interest in the education of their children. They need better school-houses, and more school appliances. Their greatest need is qualified Teachers. The Teachers appear attentive, and interested in their work, and do the best they can with the qualifications they possess.

Butler.—There are 7 Colored Schools in this county, and none but what was taught. (See White Report.)

Calloway.—The Colored People are making rapid progress in the way of education. There are eight colored school districts in the county. All were taught and well-attended except one—considering the negligence of the Colored People.

Carroll.—The Colored People are laboring with commendable zeal to improve their schools. There is a school-house in each district. Better Teachers were in charge of the schools than ever before, and good work was done by them. Taxes have been levied in three districts to improve the houses.

Casey.—There are 5 Colored Schools in the county; all were visited, and found in fair condition, with every appearance of great interest in them, by both Teachers and patrons. The written information in reference to White Schools of this county applies also to the Colored Schools.

Christian.—In opinion of the Superintendent some of the Colored School districts in this county are too large and should be curtailed as soon as possible. The Colored Institute held in August, continued three days, and was pronounced the most interesting and important of any previous meeting of the kind. It was presided over by Prof. A. H. Payne, Principal of Hopkinsville Colored Schools, who displayed much talent, dignity, and decision in discharging the responsible duties of his position. This Institute was largely attended by the Teachers of the county, and also by the friends of popular education, both white and colored.
Clay.—People, Teachers, Trustees—all seem interested. Teachers go to school at Berea, Madison county, Ky., winter and spring, and return much improved. Schools were taught in all the 4 districts. The districts are so large and the People so scattered, that some have to go and return a good distance to and from school; yet, attendance is good. School-houses bad. Superintendent will have new ones built, when can agree about location most convenient to all.

Cumberland.—The Colored Schools are doing well considering all the surroundings. The population is so sparsely settled, that there are only six localities with children enough to go to school, while there are 8 districts. The greatest trouble is money to build houses, and Trustees are ignorant of their duty. The schools were visited and found well disciplined, and the children learning rapidly. There are two first-class Teachers in the county—the other districts have trouble getting Teachers who can obtain certificates.

Edmonson.—The Colored Schools in this county are only 4. The People are sparsely settled; hence the children must go a long way to school; the patrons are poor; the houses are bad to attend school in. The Colored Teachers are improving, and Superintendent thinks their standard will soon be raised. The patrons do not take the interest they should.

Fayette.—The Colored Schools did as well as could be expected in the face of many obstacles. They have very poor houses, and the prospect for better ones is not bright. They are too poor to build, and in many instances do not make the effort to supply such houses as they have with proper fuel for the winter months. The problem of comfortable houses, etc., for them is hard to solve. The Teachers attended the Institute, and manifested much interest. On assuming his duties in 1886, the Superintendent offered a five dollar gold medal to the Teacher who would show the most progress in his school. This was presented at a literary meeting largely attended, with literary addresses made by prominent citizens.

Fleming.—There are six colored school districts in this county—in five of these public schools were taught by competent Teachers, the attendance being very good. The school-houses are located in towns where most of the People live, and the children have easy access to them. Exepting in the district having no school, parents show great interest in the education of their children, and the children are remarkably diligent in study and orderly in behavior. Three of the Teachers are from the North—the other two are home production. They receive better pay than most of the white Teachers, because the colored districts report more pupils, and, therefore, draw more of the public money.

Fulton.—The Colored Schools are doing well considering the great disadvantages under which they labor. District No. 1 has secured the services of an excellent Teacher, W. H. Ballard, who is rapidly improving his fellow Teachers. A good school-house is being built in this district, and it is hoped to
have soon an excellent school of ten months in each year. The schools in the country have poor houses, and the children walk a long distance. The People are too poor to pay the Teachers well; besides they are not always encouraged. But many of the best citizens are helping them to secure sites, and are subscribing to help them erect better houses. The Teachers have a Reading Circle and County Association doing excellent work. The Institute was well attended, and great interest was manifested.

**Graves.**—There is a colored population in Graves county of 1,110. There are 16 colored districts, and schools were taught in all.

**Hardin.**—Schools were taught in every district.

**Harrison.**—Every school has been taught the length of time required by Law, and many of the Teachers are doing good work; and so far as the Superintendent can judge, these schools have been better than the average, in the past year.

**Hart.**—All the schools but one were visited. Some were visited twice. All were taught. Some of the Teachers are wide awake and well-posted. There are 9 districts; 4 have good houses—two houses have been condemned, others should be condemned. The attendance, with two or three exceptions, is good. The Colored People are interested in their schools. Some of the districts are too large, making the salaries of the colored better than those of the white Teachers.

**Hopkins.**—There are 18 colored districts, in 15 of which schools were taught, and Teachers have been doing their duty as a general thing.

**Jessamine.**—The Colored Schools of Jessamine county are in good working order, and the interest of the schools is increasing. All the Teachers were present at the County Institute, and took part in the discussion.

**Laurel.**—The colored children are so scattered that many of them do not get to attend school at all. Those that live convenient enough seem to take some interest in the education of the children. There are very good Teachers for the Colored Common Schools of this county.

**Lewis.**—The entire county is included in one district of about 800 square miles—many of the children not within reach of Vancburg where the school is taught, and many at convenient distance do not attend on account of indifference of parents. The school was of but little benefit to the majority of pupils of the county. The Superintendent made two visits to the church in which the school was taught, but failed to find any school in session. He has planned for better work in the coming year.

**Logan.**—There is a gradual increase of interest among the People on the subject of education. Trustees are beginning to understand their duties better, and to look more to the qualifications of Teachers. There is a better class of Teachers com-
ing into the field. Some from home schools and some from the North. There were 21 enrolled July 26-29, nearly twice as many as last year. Many of the Teachers are trying to improve themselves in methods of work. One of the greatest wants of the Colored Schools is houses—many are taught in churches. Examinations not rigid, but sufficiently so for the demand of colored work. The outlook is hopeful.

Lyon.—The cause of education among the Colored People of Lyon county is improving to some extent. There is trouble keeping up their districts, as many change their location almost every year, and there is trouble securing Teachers who can pass required examinations, but they are doing better on this point, and it is thought this impediment will soon disappear. Good Teachers, moral and intellectual, are needed, also a compulsory law. All things considered, the People are doing as well in regard to education, as could be expected.

Madison.—There are 27 colored districts in Madison. All the schools except one, have been taught, it being a three months' school, will be taught in the spring.

Marshall.—The county is divided into 3 colored districts. It can be readily seen that regular attendance is an impossibility, besides, the People are not able to build and furnish sufficient houses; Trustees are not competent, and are too indolent to make competent reports. It will take much effort on the part of County Superintendent to elevate to any high point of intelligence.

McCraiken.—The Colored Schools of this county are at a low ebb, with no houses, and the People unable to build. They are not concerned very much about their schools, and do not patronize them very liberally; only three or four schools are doing much good. The People are not densely settled, districts are large, and the number of pupils is small, with few exceptions. There is hope to better their condition soon.

McLean.—There are five colored districts; all had schools taught mostly in churches. The People are poor; and provisions for building inadequate. It is almost impossible for them to build school-houses. They are manifesting greater interest each year, and the standing of their Teachers in point of morals and learning is constantly growing better.

Meade.—About three-fourths of the Colored Schools visited by Superintendent. He expects to visit all this school year, and will remind Teachers of the importance of filling out their registers and reports.

Mercer.—The Colored Schools are doing well, and the People take a great deal of interest in them. The Colored Institute will be held in September. Schools were taught in every district in this county except one.
REPT OF CO SUPTS ON PROGRESS OF BLACK SCHS 1887

Metcalf. — A school has been taught in each of the 7 colored districts. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7, had very fair schools. The schools receive all the attention that the Superintendent can give them, but the officials are ignorant and very troublesome. There are but two good houses in the county for their schools—they are too poor to build by taxation, and not willing to work much. Average attendance is very low. A Teachers' School is needed. The blacks are trying to educate their children—perhaps, all things considered, are manifesting greater desire than the whites.

Montgomery. — See report of White Schools of this county, which "applies as well to the Colored Common Schools."

Muhlenberg. — The Colored Schools are at a stand-still—perhaps retrograding; the only remedy apparent, is good Teachers at low salaries.

Oldham. — The Colored People, as a class, are very poor—few have any tax-list, except a poll—hence the law allowing a tax to build, is for them, practically, no provision at all—one dollar per head, in small districts, would scarcely buy the necessary hardware—it would not in any district, buy one-tenth of the necessary material for building. Some provision should be made for relief in this matter—with some show of justice too.

Pendleton. — Only 3 colored districts in this county, two of which are country districts, embracing large territory, each. The patrons are nearly all in reduced circumstances; yet, they are manifesting a great deal more interest in education than heretofore. Schools were taught in each of the 3 districts.

Pulaski. — There were 6 schools taught in this county.

Scott. — The Colored Teachers did not carry on their Association after its organization last fall; still, they are making some progress and improvements in their schools.

Shelby. — Every Colored School was taught this year.

Simpson. — There are ten Colored School districts in the county; most of the school-houses are inferior. The Teachers are well-qualified, do first-class work, and advance their pupils well. The County Superintendent, with the assistance of Prof. T. M. Goodnight, conducted the Institute this year with satisfactory results.

Taylor. — The Colored Schools of Taylor county are in very good condition—taking into consideration the difficulties to be contended with. Until recently, their school fund has been but a meagre sum—consequently their Teachers were very inferior as educators, and their progress was slow. This year there are some good Teachers, and some are still inferior; though they are industrious, and are preparing themselves as rapidly as they can for their work. Their daily attendance is much better than the whites. They have some good houses, and some that are inferior, but are not able to make them better. Some districts are too large, and some too small. Some neighborhoods are densely populated—other parts of the county are very sparsely settled over a large scope of country, and, therefore, it will be difficult to remedy this defect.

Trigg. — The Colored Schools have many things to contend with—poverty, and ignorance of patrons, and very poor school-houses; but they are making some improvements in their
houses, and will build several new ones between now and next year. The majority of Trustees are inefficient—unable to read or write; but Superintendent is compelled to say that their Teachers have improved more in the last few years than the whites.

Union.—There are 9 colored districts in the county—three had no schools, because they are so small that sufficient means can not be raised to employ a qualified Teacher. All schools taught were visited by the Superintendent.

Warren.—The schools of the county have been very good. The grade of Teachers is far above an average, and the Teachers performed their work well and faithfully. More local enterprise is needed, though the Colored People manifest considerable interest in education. Better Teachers could be had if there were more money to pay them better salaries. School-houses are good. The School Law is good and very few changes are needed.

Washington.—The condition of the schools is moderately good. Attendance medium. Progress slow. Prospects not encouraging. Needs and wants of the schools—better qualified Teachers—and if they could be had, better subjects to teach.

Wayne.—Schools were all taught, and generally by good Teachers.

Woodford.—Succeeded in placing in nearly every community, a good school. The greatest difficulty and one hard to remedy, is a want of good houses. The Colored People as a class, have no real estate, and subscription must be depended on to build all school-houses.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT—FUND APPOINTMENT 1885-87

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>For White Schools</th>
<th>For Colored Schools</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>$865,839.20</td>
<td>164,668.85</td>
<td>$1,030,507.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>$889,335.15</td>
<td>169,867.45</td>
<td>$1,059,202.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>$23,996.95</td>
<td>4,699.20</td>
<td>$28,696.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equalization of the Per Capita—White and Colored.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount disbursed</th>
<th>Receipts from colored tax-payers</th>
<th>Amount paid by white tax-payers to equalize the per capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>$150,252.46</td>
<td>14,538.76</td>
<td>$144,713.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>$155,971.84</td>
<td>12,546.65</td>
<td>$153,426.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Amount disbursed | $4,719.38 |
| Receipts from colored tax-payers | $1,993.11 |

School Populations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White School Population</th>
<th>Colored School Population</th>
<th>Aggregated Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>688,911</td>
<td>102,647</td>
<td>791,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>649,779</td>
<td>107,170</td>
<td>756,949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td>10,788</td>
<td>4,523</td>
<td>15,311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**FINANCIAL STATEMENT—FUND APPORTIONMENT 1885-87**

ky docs 1889, rept supt pub inst; legis doc no 1; 1888

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amounts Raised by Local Taxation, Subscription, etc.</th>
<th>1885-'86</th>
<th>1886-'87</th>
<th>Increase.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For the White Schools—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Counties</td>
<td>$216,189 15</td>
<td>$254,160 25</td>
<td>$38,021 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Cities</td>
<td>319,692 81</td>
<td>391,594 70</td>
<td>71,901 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>$535,881 96</td>
<td>$645,754 95</td>
<td>$109,872 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the Colored Schools—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Counties</td>
<td>$11,262 97</td>
<td>$16,207 82</td>
<td>4,944 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Cities</td>
<td>18,549 82</td>
<td>28,548 50</td>
<td>9,999 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>$29,812 29</td>
<td>$34,756 11</td>
<td>4,944 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Totals, white and colored, counties and cities</td>
<td>$555,744 25</td>
<td>$680,311 36</td>
<td>$124,567 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The difference between the Apportionments in this Statement and in the Apportionment Tables is, of course, referable to correction of errors in columns as originally reported by certain County Superintendents. The distinction between amounts *apportioned* and amounts actually *disbursed* will be readily understood.

**SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91**

ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts—</th>
<th>1887-'88</th>
<th>1888-'89</th>
<th>1889-'90</th>
<th>1890-'91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>1,086</td>
<td>1,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>1,029</td>
<td>1,043</td>
<td>1,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In which schools were taught—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>1,017</td>
<td>1,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td>1,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In which schools were not taught—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In which schools were taught, but not reported in detail—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools, length of session—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five months or more, in cities and counties.</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four months, in counties</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three months, in counties</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td>1,062</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91

**ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County Superintendents—</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Common Schools visited by</td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of visits to Common Schools by</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational meetings held by</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases definitely decided by</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Trustees— |  |
| Number of | 3,068 | 3,067 | 3,129 | 3,201 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boards of Examiners—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Reports, Number of Children Enrolled in—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children Attending School—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in School—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Number—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lowest Number—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91**

**ky docs 1891-92, kept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average number—</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>4,450</td>
<td>5,078</td>
<td>5,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>24,005</td>
<td>28,190</td>
<td>24,866</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Average percentage of attendance—** |
| Based on highest number at school— |
| In cities | .30 | .31 | .30 | .29 |
| In counties | .43 | .41 | .43 | .42 |

| Based on average number at school— |
| In cities | .25 | .24 | .26 | .25 |
| In counties | .27 | .26 | .28 | .28 |

| Throughout the State— |
| Counting highest number at school— |
| .40 | .39 | .40 | .39 |
| Counting average number at school— |
| .26 | .26 | .28 | .28 |

| **Average cost of tuition for each child—** |
| In counties— |
| Average session, counting highest number in attendance | $4.57 | $5.23 | $5.28 | $5.04 |

| In cities— |
| Graded common schools, counting highest number in attendance | $8.78 | $8.66 | $9.59 | $9.81 |
| Per month | 88 | 88 | 96 | 98 |
| Public high schools, counting highest number in attendance | 25.00 | 24.50 | 22.22 | 19.08 |
| Per month | 2.50 | 2.45 | 2.23 | 1.90 |
### SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91

**ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of teachers</th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total males and females in cities and counties | 1,159 | 1,200 | 1,222 | 1,246 |

**Average wages of teachers in counties**

- **Average session, five, four and three months' schools combined**
  - **Males** $168.48 |
  - **Females** $168.48

- **Average wages of teachers in cities**
  - **Graded common schools, for session of ten months**
    - **Males** $598.51 |
    - **Females** $426.94 |
  - **Average per month**
    - **Males** $59.85 |
    - **Females** $42.69 |
  - **Public high schools, for session of ten months**
    - **Males** $950.00 |
    - **Females** $888.00 |

- **Total number issued**
  - **Males** 774 |
  - **Females** 898 |

*No report from Bell county for either of these years.*

---

**SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91**

**ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Per month</th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>$96.00</td>
<td>$85.80</td>
<td>$88.80</td>
<td>$88.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average per month<strong>Graded Common Schools</strong></th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>$168.89</td>
<td>$176.19</td>
<td>$181.43</td>
<td>$174.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>$168.48</td>
<td>$176.19</td>
<td>$181.43</td>
<td>$174.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County Certificates issued<strong>First Class</strong></th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Class</strong></td>
<td>116</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>221</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Class</strong></td>
<td>240</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>238</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>476</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number issued</th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>411</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>368</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Total** | 774      | 859      | 916      | 898     |

---
### SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91

**ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of applicants for Certificates rejected</th>
<th>64</th>
<th>104</th>
<th>90</th>
<th>100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Certificates revoked</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No experience in teaching</th>
<th>86</th>
<th>64</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers' Institutes</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Members in attendance</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers' Associations</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average number of months taught per year</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers Graduates of</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| State Apportionment                           | $38,402.00 | $38,816.55 | $42,058.80 | $46,877.00 |
|-----------------------------------------------| 170,221.00 | $185,457.88 | $197,481.70 | $207,483.60 |

| Interest on County Bond and the Surplus       | $382.64 | $296.32 | $276.88 |
|-----------------------------------------------| 4,859.49 | 4,422.50 | 4,480.94 |

|                                               | $5,222.18 | $4,718.82 | $4,707.82 |
SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91

ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892

Per capita—
\[
\begin{array}{l|c|c|c|c}
& 1887-'88 & 1888-'89 & 1889-'90 & 1890-'91 \\
\hline
\text{State} & \$1.90 & \$2.05 & \$2.11 & \$2.38 \\
\text{Average from local taxation, subscription, etc.} & \$0.86 & \$1.04 & \$1.04 & \$1.04 \\
\text{Average from interest on county bond and distributable surplus} & \$0.25 & \$0.25 & \$0.25 & \$0.25 \\
\hline
\text{Debts of the school districts—} & & & & \\
\text{In cities} & & & & \\
\text{In counties} & & & & \\
\text{Total amount raised by local taxation, subscription, etc.—} & & & & \\
\text{In cities} & & & & \\
\text{In counties} & & & & \\
\text{Amount of local taxes and subscriptions disbursed—} & & & & \\
\text{In cities} & & & & \\
\text{For sites of school-houses} & & & & \\
\text{For building school-houses} & & & & \\
\text{For repairing school-houses} & & & & \\
\text{For furnishing school-houses} & & & & \\
\text{For supplementing salaries of teachers} & & & & \\
\text{For fuel, buckets, brooms, etc.} & & & & \\
\text{For rent of school-houses} & & & & \\
\text{Amount not reported disbursed} & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

* Not distributed to colored school districts until 1889. \(† \) The receipts and expenditures of the white and colored schools are not kept separate in a number of the cities. (See white statistics.) \(‡ \) No report from Fayette, Kenton, Powell and Washington.

SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91

ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892

In Counties—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1887-'88</th>
<th>1888-'89</th>
<th>1889-'90</th>
<th>1890-'91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For sites of school-houses</td>
<td>$880.68</td>
<td>$402.66</td>
<td>$220.76</td>
<td>$230.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For building school-houses</td>
<td>$4,494.08</td>
<td>$9,991.16</td>
<td>$2,708.56</td>
<td>$2,738.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For repairing school-houses</td>
<td>$1,429.68</td>
<td>$1,908.66</td>
<td>$4,406.01</td>
<td>$2,860.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For furnishing school-houses</td>
<td>$1,583.19</td>
<td>$2,010.12</td>
<td>$1,234.92</td>
<td>$1,273.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For supplementing salaries of teachers</td>
<td>$6,572.16</td>
<td>$4,764.68</td>
<td>$5,236.10</td>
<td>$5,296.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For extension of school terms</td>
<td>$792.55</td>
<td>$3,994.46</td>
<td>$366.00</td>
<td>$1,645.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For fuel, buckets, brooms, etc.</td>
<td>$2,748.56</td>
<td>$3,278.93</td>
<td>$2,598.19</td>
<td>$2,108.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For rent of school-houses</td>
<td>$849.30</td>
<td>$683.65</td>
<td>$587.32</td>
<td>$586.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount not reported disbursed</td>
<td>$635.92</td>
<td>$522.68</td>
<td>$334.44</td>
<td>$2,065.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School-houses—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1887-'88</th>
<th>1888-'89</th>
<th>1889-'90</th>
<th>1890-'91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Log—</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of in counties</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of in counties</td>
<td>$28,672.60</td>
<td>$22,025.00</td>
<td>$21,122.00</td>
<td>$18,192.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frame—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1887-'88</th>
<th>1888-'89</th>
<th>1889-'90</th>
<th>1890-'91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of in cities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of in counties</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of in cities</td>
<td>$3,500.00</td>
<td>$2,800.00</td>
<td>$2,500.00</td>
<td>$5,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of in counties</td>
<td>$84,432.00</td>
<td>$87,912.50</td>
<td>$90,012.00</td>
<td>$93,600.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHOOLS 1887-91

**ky docs 1891-92, rept supt of ed for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of School-houses rented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Churches used as School-houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>162</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of School Furniture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>$6,930 00</td>
<td>$18,100 00</td>
<td>$4,100 00</td>
<td>$5,859 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>12,976 35</td>
<td>16,970 40</td>
<td>16,279 90</td>
<td>174,401 75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of reported</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>225</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of months taught per year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In cities</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In counties</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td></td>
<td>6+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Academies or High Schools</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of reported</td>
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SUMMARY STATISTICS BLACK SCHS 1887-91

ky docs 1891-92, rept supt pub inst for 1891; legis doc no 34; 1892

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*No report from Fayette, Kenton, Powell and Washington counties.*

J H JACKSON BELIEVES COL NORMAL SCH NOT BEING TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF BY BLACKS (1891)

The attention of County Superintendents, District Trustees, and others interested in the education of all the children in their respective communities, is respectfully called to the provisions of the following act establishing this school. While the accompanying report shows that there has been a steady increase in attendance, and that a fair proportion of graduates have been sent out to engage actively in the education of their race, the fact remains that the colored people are not availing themselves as they should of the benefits so generously held out to them by Kentucky.

It will be noted that in the reports of County Superintendents much stress is laid upon the circumstance that the colored schools can not be supplied with trained teachers; and it has been ascertained at the State office that these schools in a number of counties are mainly in the hands of imported teachers, who are here for a few months and then leave, to spend in neighboring States the money that should be earned by native teachers, and expended among their own people—thus contributing, in some measure, to the good of those who give them employment, and in whom they would feel a greater degree of interest than is possible to transient instructors.
With present facilities, and the present strength of faculty, the school can give efficient training to about double the number of students heretofore enrolled for any year; and this fact, together with full information as to the opportunities held out to ambitious and deserving young persons of their race, ought to be kept prominently before the colored people of every school district in Kentucky.

The addition during the past year of an Agricultural Department, by an appropriation from the General Government, as referred to in the report of the Principal, offers new and inducements to those who would avail themselves of both intellectual and industrial training.

The following is the act establishing the school, and providing for its maintenance:

CHARTER FOR STATE NORMAL SCH FOR COL PERSONS (May 1886)

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky: § 1. That there shall be established and maintained, as hereinafter provided, a State Normal School for colored persons, the object of which shall be the preparation of teachers for teaching in the colored public schools of Kentucky.

§ 2. In order to the establishment and maintenance of a normal school for colored persons, the Governor shall appoint, subject to approval by the Senate, three competent persons, one from each Superior Court district, who shall, in themselves and their successors, constitute a perpetual body-corporate, with power to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, and to hold in trust all funds and property which may be provided for said normal school, and who shall be known and designated as "The Board of Trustees of the Kentucky State Normal School for Colored Persons." The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall be ex officio a member of this board.

§ 3. One member of this board shall retire, as may be determined by lot, in one year after their appointment, and another in two years, and the remaining one in three years; whereupon the Governor shall appoint, as aforesaid, their successors for a period of three years. All vacancies occurring by death or resignation shall be filled by the Governor.
CHARTER FOR STATE NORMAL SCH FOR COL PERSONS (May 1886) 6670-A

ky docs 1891-92, rept supt pub inst for 1891, including principal's report for state normal sch; legis doc no 34; 1892

§ 4. Said Board of Trustees shall meet on the second Thursday in May, 1886, at the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and shall organize by electing one of its number president and one secretary for a period of two years; and at this or a subsequent meeting it shall elect some suitable person outside of its number as treasurer, who, before entering on his duty, shall give bond in such a sum as the board may prescribe.

§ 5. Said board shall, at its first meeting, open books to receive from different parts of the State proposals for donations of grounds and buildings, or funds for the procuring of grounds and erection of buildings for said normal school. Said board shall locate said school at such place as shall obligate itself for the largest donation: Provided, That such place shall possess reasonable facilities for the success of said school.

§ 6. Said board shall, immediately after the selection of a place of location, proceed to let a contract for the erection of suitable buildings: Provided, That no member of the board be a contractor for building or furnishing any material therefor.

§ 7. Said board shall prescribe the course of study for the said normal school; shall select the instructors and fix their salaries, and shall determine the conditions, subject to the limitations hereinafter specified, on which pupils shall be admitted to the privileges of the school.

CHARTER FOR STATE NORMAL SCH FOR COL PERSONS (May 1886) 6670-B

ky docs 1891-92, rept supt pub inst for 1891, including principal's report for state normal sch; legis doc no 34; 1892

§ 8. Any pupil to gain admission to the privileges of instruction in the said normal school shall be at least sixteen years of age, possess good health, give satisfactory evidence of good moral character, and sign a written pledge, to be filed with the principal, that said applicant will, so far as practical, teach in the colored Common Schools of Kentucky a period equal to twice the time spent as a pupil in said normal school, together with such other conditions as the board may, from time to time, impose. Should any pupil fail to teach the prescribed time in the colored Common Schools of the State, he or she shall be liable for such tuition as the board may determine.

§ 9. Tuition in the said normal school shall be free to all colored residents of Kentucky who fulfill the conditions set forth in preceding section, and such other conditions as the board may require. The board shall fix the rate of tuition and the conditions on which pupils who are not residents of Kentucky may be admitted to the privileges of said normal school.

§ 10. No religious tenets shall be taught in said normal school, but a high standard of Christian morality shall be observed in its management, and, so far as practicable, shall be inculcated in the minds of the pupils.
§ 11. The Board of Trustees shall make a biennial report to the Legislature, setting forth the financial and scholastic condition of said normal school, making such suggestions as in their opinion will improve the same, and in the years in which there is no session of the Legislature they shall make their report to the Governor.

§ 12. The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall annually appoint a committee of three, who shall, in a body, or by one of their number, visit said normal school once during each term, witness the exercises, and otherwise inspect the condition of said school, and by the close of the normal school year they shall make a report to the Board of Trustees. The board of visitors shall be allowed their traveling expenses for their services, to be paid out of the State Treasury.

§ 13. The sum of three thousand dollars shall be annually appropriated to pay the teachers and defray other necessary expenses in the maintenance of said normal school, which amount shall be set apart and be known and held as the colored normal school fund; and the sum of seven thousand dollars is hereby appropriated for the erection of said normal school building. These moneys shall be paid out of the State Treasury only on a warrant of the Auditor, drawn on the order of the Board of Trustees.

§ 14. The Board of Trustees is authorized to grant, from time to time, certificates of proficiency to such teachers as shall have completed the prescribed course of study, and whose moral character and disciplinary relations to said school shall be satisfactory. At the expiration of two years after graduation, satisfactory evidence of professional ability to instruct and manage a school having been received, they shall be entitled to diplomas appropriate to such professional degrees as the Trustees shall confer upon them, which diplomas shall entitle them to teach in any of the colored Common Schools of this State.

§ 15. The members of the Board of Trustees shall each be allowed five dollars for each day's actual service and traveling expenses, to be paid out of the State Treasury. Such board shall pay its treasurer, if such be appointed as provided for in this act, such sum for his services as shall be reasonable and just.

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

Approved May 18, 1886.
ENROLLMENT FIGURES STATE NORMAL SCH FOR COL Oct 1887-June 1891
ky docs 1891-92, rept supt pub inst for 1891, including principal's report for state normal sch; legis doc no 34; 1892

P. 235

Frankfort, Ky., January 1st, 1892.

Hon. Ed Porter Thompson, President Board of Trustees "State Normal School for Colored Persons:"

Dear Sir: I herewith submit a quadrennial report of the "State Normal School for Colored Persons" for the scholastic years beginning October 11, 1887, and ending June 4, 1891:

FIRST YEAR, 1887-1888.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number enrolled</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average attendance</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number suspended</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number expelled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counties represented</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of teachers</td>
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SECOND YEAR, 1888-1889.

<table>
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<th>Females</th>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average attendance</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>Number suspended</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number expelled</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Counties represented</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of teachers</td>
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THIRD YEAR, 1889-1890.

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<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average attendance</td>
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<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number suspended</td>
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<td>Number expelled</td>
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<td>Counties represented</td>
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<td>Number of teachers</td>
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FOURTH YEAR, 1890-91.

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<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>77</td>
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<td>Average attendance</td>
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<td>Number suspended</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number expelled</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counties represented</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of teachers</td>
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<td>5</td>
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SUMMARY.

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<td>119</td>
<td>174</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average attendance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number suspended</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number expelled</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Counties represented</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of teachers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of graduates</td>
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THE COURSE OF STUDY.

The course of study and training in the literary department embraces the best methods of school organization and school management and of professional instruction upon all the branches taught in the Common Schools of Kentucky, although some of the high school studies are taught to those who are thorough in the Common School branches. Since the addition of the Agricultural and Mechanical Departments, in consequence of an act of Congress, approved July 30th, 1890, it is suggested that the entire course of study be so arranged as to secure consistency, to conduco to the dignity and to preserve the harmonious co-operation of all departments. By these means not only could we qualify teachers for the Common Schools of the State, as we are now doing, but we could also furnish our city schools with teachers abundantly equipped for the more responsible positions in the great work of teaching.

STATE DIPLOMAS.

The policy of maintaining normal schools by the people of any State can, in my judgment, be justified only upon the presumption that, by virtue of such expenditure of money, the people should receive teachers, thoroughly qualified both in the science and the art of teaching, to instruct their children. In view of this fact, it would seem the part of wisdom for the Trustees to secure, if possible, from the Legislature the right to grant to all graduates of the "State Normal School for Colored Persons" authority, in consequence of such graduation, to teach in the Common Schools of Kentucky a certain term of years without examination. This, in my opinion, would secure a better class of teachers for our colored schools, and do much to increase our attendance.

DORMITORY.

As will be seen from this report, the number of females enrolled for the past four years exceeds that of the males nearly fifty per cent., and, by the United States Census Report of 1890, Kentucky has 570 colored male teachers and 639 colored female teachers. These facts plainly indicate that, for some years to come at least, the larger per cent. of our students will be females.

The school building is located one and a half miles from Frankfort, and there is no dormitory to accommodate our female students; and those few persons in the vicinity of the school who have boarded our young ladies heretofore, at the urgent request of the faculty, are refusing to do so now upon the plea that they have not sufficient lodging accommodations to make it pay them.
I, therefore, regard the building of a dormitory of some kind as an absolute necessity, and most respectfully urge the Trustees to take such steps as, in their judgment, will secure us a building by September, 1892.

The work of constructing such a building can be done by the professors and students of the Mechanical Department at a very little cost to the State. Such a dormitory building will increase the attendance of female students a hundred per cent., and add much to the permanent growth of the school.

By the addition of the Agricultural, Mechanical and Domestic Economy Departments, our present building of only five small rooms has become so crowded as greatly to impair the efficiency of the work to be done, and which is reasonably expected of the present teaching force. Three of the rooms, built for normal purposes only, are now being used for these additional departments, and only the other two are used exclusively for normal work.

It is suggested that at least two additional rooms be attached to the present building for the purpose of accommodating the industrial departments, which are doing so much to place manual training and the trades within the reach of the colored youth of the State.

The practical work to be done in the Department of Agriculture is prevented by the lack of proper fencing, leaving the grounds exposed entirely on the north and east. It is hoped that before spring the entire grounds can be inclosed, and that the Agricultural Department can then begin active operations in the field as well as in the laboratory, where the theory of agriculture is now being successfully taught by the instructor.

MATRICULATES' PLEDGE.

It will be seen by this report that, during the past four years, nearly one-fourth of all the colored teachers in the State have been in attendance. Quite a large number who do not attend is reached by the teachers of the school, some of whom conduct Institutes during the summer months. All students who attend are required by law to sign a pledge that they will teach in the Common Schools of the State equal to twice the time of their attendance. It would aid them very much to discharge such an honorable obligation if
CONCLUSION.

I can not close this report without returning thanks to the teachers, who are not only graduates of high schools and colleges, and are, therefore, competent to do the work, but they are also specialists in their several departments with great experience, for their uniform courtesy and hearty co-operation in all matters pertaining to the real interests of the school.

I tender my thanks also to the Superintendent of Public Instruction and to the Board of Trustees for supplying our wants promptly, and for the many valuable suggestions made by them for the advancement of the institution.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN H. JACKSON, Principal.

KY LAW REGARDING APPREHENDING & SECURING RUNAWAYS (1798)

An ACT reducing into one the several Acts for apprehending and securing Runaways.

Approved January 16, 1798.

SECTION 1. BE it enacted, by the General Assembly, That any person may apprehend a servant or slave, suspected to be a runaway, and carry him before a justice of the peace, who, if to him the servant or slave appear by the oath of the apprehender, to be a runaway, shall give a certificate of such oath, and the distance, in his opinion, between the place where the runaway was apprehended, and that from whence he fled; and the apprehender shall thereupon carry the runaway to the last mentioned place, or deliver him to the owner, or some other authorised to receive him, and shall be entitled to ten shillings, and one shilling for every mile of such distance as he shall necessarily carry him, to be paid by the owner. The runaway, if the owner be not identified to the satisfaction of the justice before whom he is taken, or reside not in the commonwealth, shall be by warrant of the justice committed to the jail of his county, the keeper whereof shall forthwith cause an advertisement, with a description of the runaway's person and wearing apparel, to be set up at the door of the court-house within his county; if the owner claim not within two months thereafter, the sheriff shall publish a like advertisement.
for three months in the Gazette of the public printer, and shall hire the runaway for such time and for such wages as his county court shall approve; and out of his wages pay the reward for apprehending, and the expenses incurred on his account; but he shall deliver the runaway over before the time expire, and pay the balance of the wages received, if any, to him who shall claim, and who having proved, before the court, of some county, or a justice of the peace of the county in which such runaway is confined, that he had lost such a one as was described in the advertisement, and having there given security to indemify the sheriff, shall produce the clerk's or justice's certificate of such proof made and security given, proving by his own or another's oath, the runaway, when shown to him, to be the same that was so lost, and pay so much as the expenses aforesaid shall exceed the wages. The runaway being a slave, after the end of one year from the last advertisement, shall be sold, and the proceeds of the sale, with the balance of the wages, paid into the public treasury, for the use of the owner, proving his property at any future time, or otherwise for the use of the commonwealth. If the runaway die in jail, the expense shall be paid by the public.

Sec. 2. Upon any owner's neglecting or refusing to pay the above reward, the taker up may sue for and recover the same, with costs, either by warrant before a single justice, where the reward shall not exceed five pounds, or where the reward shall exceed that sum, by action in any court of record within this commonwealth.

Sec. 3. The keeper of any jail may demand and take for the commitment of any runaway, two shillings, current money, or twenty pounds of tobacco, and the same for release, or for every twenty-four hours keeping him, or her, in jail, one shilling, and no more; and if he or any sheriff or jailor shall demand any other or greater fee, than is or shall be allowed by law for runaways, he or they so offending, shall forfeit and pay twenty shillings to the party grieved, and shall also refund and pay back all money and tobacco received, over and above the lawful fees, recoverable with costs, before any justice of the peace of the county where such offence shall be committed.
1811 KY LAW REGARDING PUNISHMENTS, CRIMES OF BLACKS

wm littell, ed, statute law of ky, iv, 1814

CHAPTER CCXXXV.

An ACT for the more effectual preventing of Crimes, Conspiracies and Insurrections of Slaves, free Negroes and Mulattoes, and for their better government.

Approved January 25, 1811.

Sec. 1. BE it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Kentucky, That if any negroes or other slaves shall at any time hereafter conspire to rebel or make insurrection, every such conspiring shall be adjudged and deemed felony, and the slave or slaves duly convicted, thereof shall suffer death.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That any slave or slaves shall hereafter be convicted of administering to any person or persons any poison or medicine, with the intent that death may thereupon ensue, such slave or slaves shall suffer death.

Sec. 3. BE it further enacted, That any slave or slaves, free negro or mulatto, hereafter duly convicted of voluntary manslaughter, shall suffer death.

Sec. 4. BE it further enacted, That any slave or slaves, hereafter duly convicted of an attempt to commit a rape on the body of any white woman, such slave or slaves so convicted shall suffer death.

Sec. 5. BE it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any trustee of a town to issue his warrant to cause any slave, free negro or mulatto, misbehaving within the limits of the town, to be apprehended and brought before him or some other trustee of said town, who shall have power to punish such slave or slaves, free negro or mulatto, as is now vested by law in a justice of the peace.

Sec. 6. BE it further enacted, That if any negro or other slave, shall at any time hereafter consult or advise the murder of any person or persons whatever, every such consulting or advising shall be punished by any number of stripes not exceeding one hundred, in the discretion of a jury, to be empanelled by order of any justice or justices of the peace, before whom such slave or slaves may be brought for trial.

Sec. 7. All laws, sections and parts of laws coming within the provisions or purview of this act, are hereby repealed: Provided however, that nothing in this section contained shall be construed to prevent any justice of the peace from exerting the powers given to a trustee.
CHAPTER LXIII.

An ACT to reduce into one, the several Acts respecting Slaves, Free Negroes, Mulattoes and Indians.

Approved February 3, 1798.

SEC. 1. BE it enacted by the General Assembly, That no persons shall henceforth be slaves within this commonwealth, except such as were so on the seventeenth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, and the descendants of the females of them.

SEC. 2. No negro or mulatto shall be a witness, except in pleas of the commonwealth against negroes or mulattoes, or in civil pleas where negroes or mulattoes alone shall be parties.

SEC. 3. No slave shall go from the tenements of his master, or other person with whom he lives, without a pass, or some letter or token whereby it may appear that he is proceeding by authority from his master, employer or overseer; if he does, it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend and carry him before a justice of the peace, to be by his order punished with stripes, or not, in his discretion.

SEC. 4. And if any slave shall presume to come and be upon the plantation of any person whatsoever, without leave in writing from his or her owner or overseer, not being sent upon lawful business, it shall be lawful for the owner or overseer of such plantation to give or order such slave ten lashes on his or her bare back, for every such offence.

SEC. 5. No negro, mulatto, or Indian, whatsoever, shall keep or carry any gun, powder, shot, club, or other weapon whatsoever, offensive or defensive, but all and every gun, weapon and ammunition found in the possession or custody of any negro, mulatto, or Indian, may be seized by any person, and, upon due proof thereof made before any justice of the peace of the county where such seizure shall be, shall by his order be forfeited to the seizer for his own use; and moreover every such offender shall have and receive by order of such justice any number of lashes not exceeding thirty-nine, on his or her bare back, well laid on, for every such offence.

SEC. 6. Provided nevertheless, That every free negro, mulatto, or Indian, being a housekeeper, may be permitted to keep one gun, powder and shot; and all negroes, mulattoes and Indians, bond or free, living at any frontier plantation, may be permitted to keep and use guns, powder, shot and weapons offensive and defensive, by license from a justice of the peace of the county wherein such plantations lie, to be obtained upon the application of free negroes, mulattoes or Indians, or by the owners of such as are slaves.
Sec. 7. Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, trespasses and seditious speeches by a slave or slaves, shall be punished with stripes, at the discretion of a justice of the peace, and he who will, may apprehend and carry him, or her, or them before such justice.

Sec. 8. And to prevent the inconveniences arising by the meetings of slaves: Be it further enacted, 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 or she 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, and recoverable with costs, before any justice of the peace of the county where such offence shall be committed.

Sec. 9. Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to prohibit the negroes or slaves of one and the same owner, though seated at different quarters, from meeting, with their owner’s or overseer’s leave, upon any plantation to such owner belonging, nor to restrain the meeting of slaves, on their owner’s, or overseer’s business, at any public mill, so as such meeting be not in the night time, nor on a Sunday, nor to prohibit their meeting on any other lawful occasion, by license in writing from their owner or overseer, nor their going to church and attending to divine service on the Lord’s day, or any other day of public worship.

Sec. 10. If any white person, free negro, mulatto or Indian, shall at any time be found in company with slaves at any unlawful meeting, or shall harbor or entertain any slave without the consent of his or her owner, such person being thereof convicted before any justice of the peace, shall forfeit and pay fifteen shillings for every such offence, to the informer, recoverable with costs before such justice; or on failure of present payment, shall of course receive, on his or her bare back, twenty lashes, well laid on, by the order of the justice before whom such conviction shall be.

Sec. 11. And every justice of the peace upon his own knowledge of such unlawful meeting, or information thereof to him made within ten days after, shall issue his precept upon warrant to apprehend the persons so met or assembled, and cause them to be brought before himself or any other justice of his county, to be dealt with as this act directs; and every justice failing herein, shall forfeit and pay fifty shillings for every such failure. And every sheriff who shall fail, upon knowledge or information of such meeting, to endeavor to suppress the same and bring the
offenders before some justice of the peace, to receive due punishment, shall be liable to the like penalty of fifty shillings, both which penalties shall be to the informer, and recoverable with costs before any justice of the peace. And every under-sheriff or constable who, upon knowledge or information of such meeting, shall fail to perform his duty in suppressing the same, and apprehending the persons so assembled, shall forfeit and pay three dollars for every such failure, to the informer, recoverable with costs before any justice of the county wherein such failure shall be.

Sec. 12. No person whatever shall buy, sell or receive of, to or from any slave, any coin or commodity whatsoever, without the leave or consent of the master or owner of such slave in writing, expressive of the article so permitted to be bought or sold; and if any person shall presume to deal with any slave without such leave or consent, he or she so offending shall forfeit and pay to the master or owner of such slave, four times the value of such article so bought, sold or received, with full costs, by action upon the case in any court of quarter sessions in this commonwealth, where the sum shall amount to five pounds or upwards, otherwise to be recovered by way of warrant, before some justice of the peace of the county in which the matter shall have originated, and shall also forfeit and pay the further sum of four pounds to any person who will sue for the same, with costs, before any justice of the peace; or on failure or refusing so to pay, shall by order of such justice be committed to prison until he or she make such payment; and any slave offering to sell without such permit, shall receive ten lashes by order of any justice of the peace before whom he or she is convicted.

Sec. 13. If any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time lift his or her hand in opposition to any person not being a negro, mulatto or Indian, he or she so offending, shall, for every such offence, proved by the oath of the party before a justice of the peace of the county where such offence shall be committed, receive thirty lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on, by order of such justice.

Sec. 14. And whereas many owners of slaves in consideration of stipulated wages to be paid by such slaves, license them to go at large to trade as free men, which is found to be a great encouragement to the commission of thefts and other evil practices by such slaves, in order to enable them to fulfill their agreements with their masters or owner; for prevention whereof, Be it further enacted, That from and after the commencement of this act, if any master or owner of any slave, shall license such slave to go at large and trade as a free man as aforesaid, the master or owner shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds current money, to be applied towards lessening
the county levy where such slave shall be found going at large and trading as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt in any court of record within this commonwealth; and if after conviction such slave shall be so found going at large and trading, the master or owner shall again be liable to the like penalty, to be recovered and applied as aforesaid, and so as often after conviction as such slave shall be so found going at large and trading.

Sec. 15. If any person shall permit or suffer his or her slave, to go at large and hire himself or herself out, it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend and carry every such slave before a justice of the peace in the county where apprehended; and if it shall appear to the justice that such slave comes within the purview of this act, he shall order him or her to the jail of the county.

there to be safely kept until the next court, when, if it shall be made appear to the court that the slave so ordered to jail hath been permitted or suffered to hire himself or herself out contrary to the meaning of this act, it shall be lawful for the court, and they are hereby required to order the sheriff of the county to sell and dispose of every such slave for ready money, at the next court held for the said county, notice being given by the sheriff at the court-house door at least twenty days before the sale.

Sec. 16. Twenty-five per centum upon the amount of such sale of every slave so going at large, and hiring out him or herself, shall be applied by the court ordering such sale, towards lessening the county levy, and the residue shall be paid by the sheriff, after deducting five per centum for his trouble, and the jailer's fees, to the owner of such slave.

Sec. 17. The justices of the court of quarter sessions shall be justices of the court of oyer and terminer, for a court of quarter sessions to be held, by constables to be chosen by the justices of the peace of said county, for the said county, and the said justices shall order the sheriff to empanel a jury of twelve men from among the bystanders, for determining the matters of fact, and in all other respects proceed agreeably to the rules of law established in the district court, except that no grand jury shall be empanelled on the indictment of any slave.

Sec. 18. Provided always, That, when judgment of death shall be passed upon any such offender, there shall be thirty days at least between the time of passing judgment and the day of execution, except in cases of conspiracy, insurrection or rebellion. One being detained in slavery and having commenced an action to assert his freedom, shall be prosecuted and tried for any such crime in the same manner as a free man ought to be prosecuted and tried.

Sec. 19. And for a declaration of what shall be deemed to be legal evidence in such cases, it is further enacted, That the court may take for evidence the confession of the offender, the oath of one or more credible witnesses, or such testimony of negroes or mulattoes or Indians, bond or free, with pregnant circumstances, as to them shall appear convincing.

Sec. 20. When any negro, mulatto, or Indian, whatever, shall be convicted of any offence within the bounds of the county, judgment of death shall not be given upon the confession of the offender, or the testimony of any witness or witnesses, either negro, mulatto, or Indian, or free, without also the testimony of two other negroes or mulattoes, or Indians, bond or free, having the same circumstances, as to them shall appear convincing. Conspirators can be hanged immediately.
against him or her upon such conviction, but he or she
shall be burnt in the hand, by the jailor, in open court,
and suffer such other corporal punishment as the court
shall think fit to inflict.
Sec. 21. And to the end such negroes, mulattoes, or
Indians, not being Christians, as shall be produced in
evidence on the trial of any slave for a capital crime, may
be under the greater obligation to declare the truth, It
is hereby further enacted, That where any such negro,
mulatto, or Indian, shall be found, upon due proof made,
or pregnant circumstances appearing to any court within
this commonwealth, to have given a false testimony, ev-ery
such offender shall without further trial, be ordered by
the said court to receive thirty-nine lashes on his or her
bare back, well laid on, at the public whipping-post; and
at every such trial of slaves for capital offences, the per-
son first named in the commission then sitting, shall, be-
fore the examination of any negro, mulatto, or Indian,
not being a Christian, charge such evidence to declare
the truth, which charge shall be in the words following,
to wit:—You are brought hither as a witness, and by
the direction of the law I am to tell you, before you give
your evidence, that you must tell the truth, the whole
truth, and nothing but the truth; and that if you be found
hereafter that you tell a lie, and give false testimony in
this matter, you must for so doing, receive thirty-nine
lashes on your bare back, well laid on, at the common
whipping-post.

Sec. 22. Provided always, That the master or owner,
of any slave, may appear at such arraignment and trial,
and make what just defence he can for such slave, so that
such defence do not relate to any formality in the pro-
ceedings on the trial.

Sec. 23. Be it further enacted, That all laws or parts
of laws heretofore in force in this state, respecting the
importation of slaves, shall be and the same are hereby
repealed.

Sec. 24. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the
duty of the several courts of quarter sessions within this
commonwealth, when they determine that any slave shall
suffer death agreeably to law, to value such slave; and
the auditor of public accounts is hereby authorised and
required to issue his warrant on the treasury for the am-
ount, in favor of the owner, on his producing to the said
auditor, the certificate of the clerk of said court, that said
slave or slaves were condemned, and the sheriff's certi-
ficate that said slave or slaves were executed or perish-
ed before execution, and the treasurer is required to pay
the same.

Sec. 25. And be it further enacted, That no slave
shall be imported into this state from any foreign coun-
ty, nor shall any slave who has been imported into the
United States from any foreign country since the first
day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eigh-
ty-nine, or who may hereafter be imported into the U-
Laws on Slaves, Free Negroes, Mulattoes, Indians 1798

Sec. 26. And be it further enacted, That no slave or importation of slaves shall be imported into this state, or any person offending herein, shall forfeit and pay the sum of three hundred dollars for each slave so imported, to be recovered by action of debt or information, in any court having cognizance of the same, one half to the prosecutor, the other half to the use of the commonwealth.

This act shall not be extended to prevent any citizen of this state bringing slaves for his own use, provided they have not been brought into the United States from any foreign country, since the said first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine; nor shall it be construed to prevent persons emigrating to this state, bringing their slaves with them, but either a citizen of this state or persons emigrating to this state, may bring or cause to be brought to this state, any slave or slaves, not prohibited by this act.

Sec. 27. Be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any person by his or her last will and testament, or by any other instrument in writing, under his or her hand and seal, attested and proved in the county court by two witnesses, or acknowledged by the party in the court of the county where he or she resides, to emancipate or set free his or her slave or slaves, who shall thenceforth be entirely and fully discharged from the performance of any contract entered into during his servitude, and enjoy his full freedom as if they had been born free. And the said court shall have full power to demand bond and sufficient security of the emancipator, his or her executors or administrators, as the case may require.

Sec. 28. All negro, mulatto or Indian slaves, in all courts of judicature and other places within this commonwealth, shall be held, taken and adjudged to be real estate, and shall descend to the heirs and widows of persons departing this life, as lands are directed to descend in and by an act of the general assembly entitled "an act directing the course of descent."
Sec. 31. No person selling or alienating any such slave otherwise than by gift, marriage, settlement, deed of trust, or mortgage, shall be obliged to cause such sale or alienation to be recorded.

Sec. 32. It shall and may be lawful for any person to sue for and recover any slave or damage for the detention, trover or conversion thereof, by action personal, as might have been done if this act had never been made.

Sec. 33. Whenever any person shall by bargain and sale, either with or without deed, by his last will and testament, in writing, or by any nuncupative will, bargain and sell, dispose of or bequeath any slave or slaves, such bargain and sale or bequest shall transfer the absolute property of such slave or slaves to such person or persons to whom the same shall be so sold or bequeathed, in the same manner as if such slave or slaves were a chattel, and no remainder of any slave or slaves shall or may be limited by any deed or last will and testament in writing, of any person whatever, otherwise than the remainder of a chattel personal by the rules of common law can or may be limited, except in the manner hereinafter mentioned and directed.

Sec. 34. Where any slave or slaves have been or shall be conveyed or bequeathed, or have or shall descend to any female covert, the absolute right, property and interest of such slave or slaves, is hereby vested and shall accrue to and be vested in the husband of such female covert; and where any female sole is or shall be possessed of any slave or slaves, as of her own proper slave or slaves, the same shall accrue to and be absolutely vested in the husband of such female, when she shall marry.

Sec. 35. Any infant above the age of eighteen years, insane of the by his or her last will and testament, in writing, may dispose of and bequeath the absolute right, property and interest of any slave or slaves, whereof he or she shall be possessed.

Sec. 36. No slave or slaves whatsoever shall be forfeited, except in such cases where the lands and tenements of the person incurring the forfeiture is, should or might be forfeited.

Sec. 37. No executor or administrator hath or shall have any power to sell or dispose of any slave or slaves of his testator or intestate, except for the paying and satisfying the just debts of such testator or intestate, and then only where there is not sufficient of the personal estate of such testator or intestate to satisfy and pay such debts; and in that case it shall and may be lawful for the executor or administrator to sell and dispose of such slave or slaves, as shall be sufficient to raise so much money as the personal estate falls short of the payment of the debts.

Sec. 38. It shall and may be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever, by deed executed in his, her or their life times, or by his, her or their last will and testament, wherein any lands or tenements shall hereafter be settled, conveyed or devised for life or lives, to settle, convey or devise any slave or slaves, and in such deed or last will to declare that such slave or slaves, and their increase so long as any of them shall be living, shall descend, pass and go as part of the freehold, to such person or persons to whom such lands and tenements shall be limited or passed as in his or her life times.
Chapter 1798

1. Be so conveyed or devised, and to whom the same shall from time to time descend and come; and such declaration shall be good and effectual in law to annex such slave or slaves to the freehold and inheritance of such lands and tenements, and they and their increase so long as any of them shall be living, shall descend, pass and go in possession, reversion and remainder with such lands and tenements; or where any person shall by his deed executed in his life time, or by his last will and testament in writing, settle, convey or devise any lands and tenements for life or lives, and shall in the same deed or will, settle, convey or devise any slave or slaves with the same limitation or limitations with which such lands and tenements shall be so settled, conveyed or devised, such limitation or limitations shall amount to a declaration of the intent of the party selling, conveying or devising the same, that the same should be annexed to such lands and tenements, and shall descend, pass and go therewith from time to time as aforesaid.

Sec. 39. Where any person or persons have or shall have right to demand dower, or have partition of any slave or slaves, such person or persons shall and may exhibit a bill in equity for that purpose against the person or persons of whom the same may be demanded, and the court before whom such bill shall be exhibited, shall compel the defendant or defendants to answer, and shall and may proceed upon such bill and answer, although the defendant or defendants, or any of them, be under the age of twenty-one, according to the course and rules of equity, and shall and may make such decree for the assignment of dower, or making such partition, in such manner as shall be most agreeable to equity; and such assignment of dower, or partition, shall be as effectual as if the same were made in the ordinary methods of the common law.

Sec. 40. Where one or more slaves shall descend from a person dying intestate, and an equal division thereof cannot be made in kind, on account of the nature of the property, it shall be lawful for the court of chancery of the county, by which the administration of the estate of the intestate was granted, to direct the sale of such slave or slaves, and the distribution of the money arising therefrom, according to the rights of each claimant; Provided always, that each claimant shall be first duly summoned, to shew cause, if any he can, against such sale.

Sec. 41. And whereas many frauds have been committed by means of secret gifts, made, or pretended to have been made, of slaves, by parents and others, who have notwithstanding remained in possession of such slaves, as visible owners thereof, whereby creditors and purchasers have been frequently involved in expensive law suits, and often deprived of their just debts and pur-
chases; for prevention whereof, Be it enacted, that no gift or gifts of any slave or slaves, shall be good or sufficient to pass any estate in such slave or slaves, to, any person or persons whatsoever, unless the same be made by will, duly proved and recorded, or by deed in writing, to be proved by two witnesses at the least, or acknowledged by the donor, and recorded in the county court, or court of quarter sessions where one of the parties lives, or in the district court or court of appeals, within eight months after the date of such deed or writing.

Sec. 42. Provided always, That this act shall be construed to extend only to the gift of slaves whereof the donors have notwithstanding such gifts remained in possession, and not to gifts of such slaves as have at any time come into the actual possession of, and have remained with the donee, or some person claiming under such donee.

Sec. 43. Provided always, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to alter any adjudication heretofore made, nor to affect the interest of any bona fide purchaser, for a valuable consideration, or creditor of the donor before the donee had been at least three years in the possession of the slave or slaves under such gift, nor in any manner to restrain or affect the operation of the act of limitation.

AN OWNER MAY BAIL OUT A SLAVE 1801

One section of an act passed December 20th, 1800, is in force three months after its passage. 2 Litt. 418.

Sec. 8. When any slave or slaves shall be imprisoned by virtue of this act, the owner of such slave or slaves may bail such slave or slaves, in those cases in which free persons are bailable, agreeable to the rules established by law with respect to free persons.
A SLAVE PASSING THROUGH KY, SENTENCED TO DEATH FOR A CRIME, NOT TO BE PAID FOR (1801)

wm littell & jacob swigert, eds, digest of statute law of ky, ii, 1822

An act passed November 26th, 1801, in force from its passage. 2 Litt. 428.

Any slave brought into this state for merchandise, or which shall be passing through this state, by land or water, to the Spanish dominions, or Mississippi territory, or to any other state or country, who may commit felony, for which they are tried and executed by the laws of this commonwealth, shall not be paid for out of the public treasury.

FINE FOR PERMITTING SLAVES TO HIRE THEMSELVES 1802

wm littell & jacob swigert, eds, digest of statute law of ky, ii, 1822

An act passed December 16th, 1802, in force from its passage. 3 Litt. 84.

Sec. 1. If any person, whether the owner or hirer of a slave, shall permit his or her slave to go at large and hire himself or herself out, such owner or hirer shall forfeit ten pounds, to be applied towards lessen ing the county levy where such slave shall be found going at large and hiring himself or herself as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt or information, in any court of record within this commonwealth, having competent jurisdiction; and if, after conviction, such slave shall be so found going at large and hiring himself or herself, the owner or hirer, as the case may be, shall again be liable to the like penalty, to be recovered and applied as aforesaid; and so often after conviction as such slave shall be found going at large and hiring himself or herself. Provided always, that if the owner or hirer aforesaid shall not have a sufficiency of property to discharge the penalty aforesaid, such slave shall be liable to be sold under execution therefor.
Sec. 19. Whenever the punishment of any offence shall be confinement in the penitentiary, such punishment shall be considered as applicable to the case of free persons only. Any slave convicted of murder, arson, rape committed on a white woman, robbery from the person, or burglary, shall suffer death. Any slave convicted of any other offence, or of being accessory thereto before the fact, shall be sentenced to receive, on his or her bare back, at the public whipping-post, any number of lashes not exceeding thirty-nine.

Sec. 20. On and after the 23d day of December, 1802, all persons convicted of offenses against the commonwealth, or other offenses, shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges, and shall be subject to the same duties and obligations, as are applicable to free persons; and no difference shall be made of the color, condition or sex of any such slave, except in cases of offenses committed against the person or property of any white person, and in such cases the punishment shall be the same as would have been given to any free person.
An act passed January 25th, 1811, in force from its passage. 4 Litt. 2:35.

Sec. 1. If any negroes, or other slaves, shall, at any time hereafter, conspire to rebel or make insurrection, every such conspiring shall be adjudged and deemed felony, and the slave or slaves duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death.

Sec. 2. Where any slave or slaves shall hereafter be convicted of administering to any person or persons, poison, any poison or medicine, with the evil intent that death may thereby ensue, such slave or slaves shall suffer death.

Sec. 3. Any slave or slaves, free negro or mulatto, Manslaughter hereafter duly convicted of voluntary manslaughter, shall suffer death.

Sec. 4. Any slave or slaves hereafter duly convicted of an attempt to commit a rape on the body of any white woman, such slave or slaves so convicted shall suffer death.

Sec. 5. It shall be lawful for any trustee of a town Trustees of to issue his warrant to cause any slave, free negro or town may mulatto, misbehaving within the limits of the town, to be apprehended and brought before him or some other trustee of said town, who shall have power to punish such slave or slaves, free negro or mulatto, as is now vested by law in a justice of the peace.

Sec. 6. If any negro, or other slaves, shall at any time hereafter consult or advise the murder of any person or persons whatever, every such consulting or advising shall be punished by any number of stripes not exceeding one hundred, in the discretion of a jury, to be empanelled by order of any justice or justices of the peace before whom such slave or slaves may be brought for trial.

Sec. 7. All laws, sections and parts of laws coming within the provisions of or purview of this act, are hereby repealed: Provided, however, that nothing in this section contained shall be construed to prevent any justice of the peace from exercising the powers given to a trustee.
An act passed February 8th, 1815, in force from the first
of May thereafter. & Litt. 298.

Sec. 1. From and after the passage of this act, no
slave or slaves shall be imported into this common-
wealth.

Penalty. Every person hereafter importing slaves in-
to this commonwealth, contrary to this act, shall for
feit and pay the sum of six hundred dollars for every
slave so imported; and every person selling or buying
any such slave, shall, in like manner, forfeit and pay
the sum of two hundred dollars for every such slave
sold or bought; which sums shall be recoverable on
an indictment or information in any court of record
and shall belong to the commonwealth, and be payable
into the treasury thereof. An indictment for any of
the penalties inflicted by this act, shall be subject to
any shorter limitation than five years from the time
of the commission of the offence; and such indictment
may be found on the information of any one of the
grand jury, or any other credible person, and no pro-
secutor shall be necessary in said indictment. On the
trial of any such indictment, if it be proved on behalf
of the commonwealth, that the defendant or defendants
have brought to this state any slave, and sold the same,
it shall be sufficient to subject such defendant or de-
fendants to the penalties inflicted by this act, unless
he, she or they can prove to the satisfaction of the ju-
ry, that he, she or they have taken the oath, hereafter
required, and have not violated the same; and that
he, she or they have removed from any other state or
territory of the United States, and have become a per-
manent resident of this state; or that he, she or they,
having been residents of this state, acquired or deriv-
ed title to the slave or slaves in question, by marriage,
descent or devise, made to them; and that at the time
such title accrued, by marriage, descent or devise, said
slave or slaves were in some other state or territory
of the United States; and that such slave or slaves
took bear and in consequence thereof; or that, resid-
ing in this state, he, she or they have brought such
slave with an intent of keeping him, or her, or them,
for their own service; or that he, she or they were
travellers, or were sojourners, making only a transit-
ient stay in this commonwealth, and brought such slave
or slaves for the purpose of necessary attendance, and
with intent of carrying such slave or slaves again out
of this state.

Sec. 2. No defendant or defendants, who have been
resident or residents of any other state or territory
of the United States, and shall remove to this state to
reside therein, and bring with him, her or them any
slave or slaves, shall be discharged or acquitted from
the pains and penalties inflicted by this act, unless he,
she or they can satisfactorily prove, by competent le-
gal evidence, that within sixty days after his, her or
their arrival in this commonwealth, he, she or they
slaves taken the following oath or affirmation, before some justice of the peace, to wit: "I, A. B. do swear, (or affirm,) that my removal to the state of Kentucky was with an intention to become a citizen thereof, and that I have brought with me no slave or slaves, and will bring no slave or slaves to this state, with intent of selling them." And shall further show and prove that the certificate of such oath or affirmation, granted by the magistrate, has been recorded in the clerk's office of the county where such oath or affirmation was taken, within thirty days after the date thereof. Each certificate of the oath or affirmation, filed with the clerk of any county in which the same was administered, shall be recorded by him; for which he shall be entitled to a fee of twenty-five cents.

Sec. 4. This act shall be given in charge to every grand jury empannelled in the circuit courts of this state: Provided, however, that no purchaser shall be subject to the penalties of this act, unless he shall have committed the act knowingly.

PENALTY OF ABUSING SLAVES OF ANOTHER 1816

An act passed February 8th, 1816, in force from its passage. 5 Litt. 368.

If any person shall hereafter whip, strike, or otherwise abuse the slave of another, without the consent of the owner of such slave, the person owning such slave shall have a right to commence and prosecute an action of trespass, in any circuit court in this commonwealth, against the person so offending; notwithstanding the slave may not be so injured that the master may lose his or her services thereby; and notwithstanding the slave shall not have been in the possession of the master at the time he or she was so whipped; and the court shall render judgment for such damages as the jury shall assess, and the costs; Provided, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to prevent any person or persons from inflicting such punishments on slaves, as the laws now in force permit.
PUNISHMENT OF SLAVE FOR SHOOTING, WOUNDED A FREE WHITE 1819

An act passed February 10th, 1819, in force from the first of April thereafter. Session Acts 787.

Sec. 1. If any slave shall wilfully and maliciously shoot at any free white person, with a gun or other instrument, with intent to kill such person; or if any slave shall wilfully and maliciously wound any free white person, with intent to kill such person, or with intent to kill any other person, the slave so offending, his or her aider, abettors and counsellors, being a slave or slaves, shall be held guilty of felony, and shall therefor suffer death.

Sec. 2. Hereafter, every slave who shall be charged with an offence punishable with death, by the laws of this commonwealth, shall be tried and proceed in the circuit courts of this commonwealth only, in the same manner, and under the same forms of trial as are by law prescribed in the cases of free persons.

ACT TO ALLOW FRANKFORT TO STOP DISORDERLY HOUSES 1810

ky. acts of gen assembly, 1809-1810; 1810

AN ACT

To amend the several acts of assembly concerning the town of Frankfort.

Approved January 27, 1810.

WHEREAS many slaves are, by their owners in the country, permitted to reside in Frankfort, some of whom keep disorderly houses, and others lead idle lives, calculated to corrupt and seduce other slaves to steal, and misappropriate their time, to the injury of their owners, and others: For remedy whereof—

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the general assembly, That the trustees of the town of Frankfort are, and shall be, at any time after the first day of March next, authorised and empowered to cause to be apprehended any slave, or slaves, who may be at any time residing, strolling, or harbouring for the space of forty-eight hours, within the said town, whose master or mistress shall be unknown, or reside in the country; unless such slave, or slaves be actually hired to some free white person resident in the said town; and every slave so apprehended may be committed to close jail, and there kept at the costs and expenses of
ACT TO ALLOW FRANKFORT TO STOP DISORDERLY HOUSES 1810

His or her owner, or owners, until he, or she shall be thence removed, all costs and charges for such apprehension and detention being first paid, or every such slave being apprehended, may by order of the trustees aforesaid, be hired at public auction, for any term not exceeding one month at a time, and so from time to time, so often as such slave, or slaves, shall be so apprehended: Provided, that the owner of any slave, or slaves so hired, shall upon application to the said trustees, obtain an order for the delivery of such slave, or slaves, to him, her, or them, on the payment to the person, who shall have hired such slave, or slaves, a portion of the hire thereof equal to the time such slave, or slaves shall then have to serve: and he, she, or they, who have hired such slave, or slaves, shall obey such order accordingly; and the money arising from the hire of such slave, or slaves, shall be applied by the said trustees, in aid of the public funds of the said town. But it shall be lawful in such case, for the trustees to provide for the necessary clothing of the slave during such hiring, either by stipulating with the person hiring the slave, to furnish the clothing, or by appropriating so much of his time thereto as shall be necessary.

And whereas, it is expedient also, to place within the control of the trustees of the town of Frankfort, such free negroes, mulattoes, and people of colour as resort thereto, or reside therein: therefore,

ACT TO ALLOW FRANKFORT TO STOP DISORDERLY HOUSES 1810

And whereas, it is expedient also, to place within the control of the trustees of the town of Frankfort, such free negroes, mulattoes, and people of colour as resort thereto, or reside therein: therefore,
§ 21. And be it further enacted, That whenever information shall be lodged with the trustees, that any free negro, mulatto or person of color, is, or shall be going at large, or harboring within the said town, without any visible means of subsistence; or if any such person be disorderly or riotous, or keep a disorderly or riotous house, the said trustees may, by order made in the board, cause such person or persons to be apprehended and committed to jail, or bailed to appear at the next county court, who have, and shall have, authority to enquire into such allegation, and to discharge the person accused as aforesaid, or order him or her to be hired by the sheriff to the highest bidder for any time not exceeding one month; and the money raised by such hiring, shall also be paid to the said trustees, and go in aid of the funds of the said town.

§ 22. The trustees, or any officer by them authorised, may punish by stripes, not exceeding ten lashes, any slave that may in the night time, be found in said town off of the premises of his or her master or mistress, without a pass or reasonable excuse therefore.
NEW KY LAW ON FUGITIVE SLAVES 1820

ky, acts of gen assem, 1819-1820; 1820

An ACT to amend the act reducing into one the several acts authorising the apprehending of fugitives from justice.

Approved January 27, 1820.

BE it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That in all cases where any negro slave or slaves, have, or may hereafter runaway from his, her, or their owner or owners, and take protection in any of the United States, and the owner or owners of such slave or slaves, by themselves, their agent or any other person with their approbation, shall have removed, or shall hereafter remove any such slave or slaves from any other state within the United States into this commonwealth, and he, she or they have been, or shall hereafter be indicted for the same, in any one of the United States, and the governor of said state shall demand of the governor of this state the person or persons so indicted, or who may hereafter be indicted, to be delivered to him agreeably to the constitution of the United States and this state; it shall be the duty of the governor of this commonwealth, upon such requisition being made according to law, to issue his warrant to the sheriff of the county where the supposed fugitive resides, requiring him to take into custody such supposed fugitive or fugitives from justice, as are named in such warrant and indictment, and bring him, her, or them before a circuit judge; and if the circuit judge shall be of opinion that the person or persons named in such warrant and indictment, are the owner or owners of the slave or slaves named in such indictment, or that he, she or they acted as the agent or by the approbation of the owner or owners of such slave or slaves, it shall be the duty of the judge to discharge the person or persons taken by virtue of said warrant, out of custody.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That if the judge shall be of opinion that the person or persons taken into custody by virtue of the governor's warrant, is not the owner or owners of the slave or slaves, in the indictment found against him, or her, or them, in any one of the United States for stealing and conveying a slave or slaves, which are not their own property; or that he or they did not act as the agent, or by the approbation of the owner or owners of such slave or slaves, then it shall be the duty of the judge to demand such person or persons into custody again to be dealt with according to the laws now in force on that subject.
Chap. 65.—An act concerning the town of Bowling Green.

Whereas, it is represented to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, that the citizens of Bowling Green, are desirous, that the trustees of said town should be vested with authority to organize a town watch, for the purpose of patrolling said town: Therefore.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the trustees of the town of Bowling Green, be, and they are hereby authorized to compel all white male citizens residing in said town, and living within two hundred yards of the limits of said town, over eighteen and under fifty years of age, in regular rotation, to watch, guard and patrol said town and the suburbs thereof, within three hundred yards of the exterior boundary of the town lines, in the night time, for the purpose of guarding against fire, suppressing disorderly conduct, and apprehending slaves and persons suspected of evil designs; who, their powers and duties.

May be found out at late hours of the night, and may not be able to give a satisfactory account of his, her, or their business; and to this end, it shall and may be lawful for said trustees, from time to time, to form the citizens of said town within the ages aforesaid, into companies or guards, not exceeding six persons to each company or guard, and to appoint a captain for each company or guard, designating each guard by a number, and to require of the guards so formed the performance of any duties in watching and patrolling said town, as the said trustees may prescribe by their by-laws: Provided that no person or persons who may, be found lurking about said town at a late hour of the night, without being able to give a satisfactory account of his, her, or their business, shall be detained in custody by the guard, acting under authority of the by-laws of the trustees, longer than nine o'clock in the morning, without due process of law.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That the captains of the guards appointed as aforesaid, may, under the by-laws of the trustees of said town, should such laws vest them with authority, inflict any number of stripes not exceeding ten, upon any slave who may be found after ten o'clock at night on his or her owner's premises, without a pass from the owner; or without some good excuse, to be judged of by the captain of the guard, or any such slave so found, may be imprisoned until the sun is one hour high in the morning, in lieu of the stripes, at the discretion of the captain of the guard.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That the trustees of said town shall cause the guards so appointed as aforesaid, formed to serve in rotation, and said trustees may impose a fine not exceeding three dollars, on any who refuse to act.
LAW REGARDING SLAVE PATROL FOR BOWLING GREEN (Dec 17, 1825)

ky, acts of gen assem, 1825; 1826

Sec. 1. Be it further enacted, That whenever the trustees of said town may deem it expedient, they may discontinue the guards hereby provided for, and may again require their services from time to time; whenever the safety and good order of the town in their opinion shall demand such a police.

Approved December 17, 1825.
ACT TO ALLOW SLAVE NARCISSA TO CONTRACT FOR HER FREEDOM (1825) 6689

Whereas, it is represented, that Austin Hubbard, by his last will, devised the whole of his estate to a mulatto girl, slave, named Narcissa, provided she could obtain her freedom; and whereas, it is represented that William Elliot and Lucinda, his wife, are the owners of the said Narcissa, and are willing to contract with her for her freedom, but cannot without the aid of the legislature. Therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That it shall and may be lawful for the said William Elliot and Lucinda, his wife, (notwithstanding the non-age of the said Lucinda,) to make any contract or bargain with said Narcissa relative to her freedom; and the said Narcissa is hereby vested with authority to give or refuse her assent to any contract or bargain relative to her freedom, and to make the same obligatory upon her when she may become free; (notwithstanding her slavery.) Provided however, That any contract or bargain so made, shall be recorded in the clerk's office of the Nelson County court, and previous to its being recorded, shall be approved by the county court of said county, in open court, whose duty it shall be, to see that the interest of said Narcissa are properly guarded in such contract or bargain, and the price so contracted to be paid is reasonable.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That said Narcissa may give any lien on the estate devised to her by said Hubbard, to secure the sum which she may contract to pay for her freedom, at the time of entering into the contract for her freedom, that she might or could give were she now free, of full age, and possessed in fee simple of the estate so devised.

Approved, December 17, 1824.

LOU TRUSTEES TO PROCEED AGAINST SLAVES HIRING THEIR OWN TIME (1825) 6690

Sec. 8. That it shall be the duty of the several trustees of towns in this Commonwealth, to examine and see if there are not slaves in their town who are hiring their time, and for whom some individual stands master or mistress; and when they find a slave thus situated, they are hereby authorized and required to cause said slave to be hired out for one month, and the amount of money thus produced shall be applied to the improvement of their town.

Approved, December 17, 1824.
Ch. 145. — An act to provide for binding out poor free children of color.

Whereas, By the laws of this commonwealth respecting poor children whose parents are incapable of bringing them up in honest courses, no distinction is made between white children and children of color, and in relation to each the persons who receive them are required to enter into similar covenants respecting their treatment, education, &c. 

Therefore,

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the justices of the county courts, the sheriffs and attorneys for the county courts shall give to their respective county courts, at their monthly terms, information of the poor children of colour who are free, and whose parents, or those with whom they live, they shall think incapable of supporting and bringing them up in honest courses; and the said county courts are hereby authorized, if to them it shall seem right, after summoning the next friend of, or person with whom such poor child, or children of colour shall reside, to make an order directing their clerk to bind out such poor child or children of colour, to such person or persons as the court shall name, until the age of twenty-one years, if a boy, or eighteen if a girl.

The indentures of such poor children of colour shall contain proper covenants, to oblige the person or persons to whom they shall be bound, to learn some business to be designated by the court, and to treat them with humanity, and to furnish them with good and wholesome meat and drink, and suitable clothing, and to pay him or her the sum of thirty dollars if a male, and if a female twenty dollars, and to furnish him or her a decent suit of new cloaths at the expiration of his or her service, and to teach, or cause him or her to be taught, to spell and read, so as to read the New Testament with facility, when the term of service shall not be less than three years.

Sec. 2. No person or persons to whom a child or children shall be bound, under the provisions of this law, shall have the right to take or send such child or children out of this commonwealth, nor to sell the term of service, or any part thereof, to any other person whatever, so as to give such person any right to the services or control of such child or children.

Sec. 3. The said county courts shall have power to hear and determine the complaints of all persons bound out under the provisions of this law, and whenever it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court, (reasonable notice being previously given,) that the person complaining has been treated with cruelty, inhumanity, or otherwise improperly, to be
judged of by the court; it shall be the duty of such court forthwith to discharge him or her from the custody of the person or persons, to whom he or she was thus bound, and order him or her so discharged to be bound to some other proper person, as directed by the first section of this act; and in order to bring such questions before the county courts, it shall be the duty of the county court attorneys, upon the application of the friend or friends of such children of colour, to attend and prosecute on their behalf; and upon the conviction of the person or persons to whom children are thus bound, of cruel, inhuman or improper conduct towards them, the person or persons thus convicted shall pay the costs accruing in the investigation and trial, and judgment shall be rendered therefor accordingly.

Sec. 4. That it shall be the duty of the several county courts of this commonwealth, upon the application of any person of colour, who is not claimed as a slave, upon such person producing to the court satisfactory evidence that they were born free, to cause a record to be made, stating the facts as proved before them, and directing their clerk to furnish the person so applying with a certificate of emancipation, as is now directed by law where persons of colour are emancipated by deed or will.

Approved, December 21, 1825.
and a decent new suit of clothes at the expiration of the time; which indenture shall be approved by the court and recorded.

SEC. 4. The courts of every county shall at all times receive the complaints of apprentices or hired servants, being citizens of any one of the United States, who reside within the jurisdiction of such court, against their masters or mistresses, alleging unserved or improper correction, insufficient allowance of food, raiment or lodging, or want of instruction; and may hear and determine such cases in a summary way, making such orders thereupon as in their judgment will relieve the party injured in future, or removing the apprentices and binding them to other masters or mistresses when it shall seem necessary; (b) and may also in the same manner hear and determine complaints of masters or mistresses against their apprentices or hired servants for desertion without good cause, and may oblige the latter for loss thereby occasioned, to make retribution by further services after the expiration of the times for which they had been bound.

1825.

IN FORCE FROM ITS PASSAGE.

An Act to provide for binding out poor Free Children of Color. Approved Dec. 21, 1825. Herndon, 4 Tert. 197.

WHEREAS by the laws of this commonwealth respecting poor children whose parents are incapable of bringing them up in honest courses, no distinction is made between white children and children of color; and in relation to each, the persons who receive them are required to enter into similar covenants respecting their treatment, education, &c.; wherefore,

(e) A contract binding an infant apprentice, is one of a personal nature, based on the confidence placed on the skill, care and capacity of the master himself; and therefore, the apprentice cannot be assigned and set over to the instruction, provision and care of any other person, even though it be apparent that the new master would and could instruct the apprentice to as great advantage as the first.—Cockran Ex'rs v. Davis, 5 Litt. 118.

4. A contract to teach an apprentice a trade, is personal, and dies with the master; but his representatives are bound to perform every other stipulation in the indenture.—Ibid.

(b) The proceedings in the county court for the release of an apprentice, must be in his name, and not in that of his father. His father may conduct the matter for his son, but he must do it in his own name.—McDaniel v. McGowen, 3 Mon. 9.

2. In a contract between the master and an infant apprentice, by which the master sells to the infant his time to come, is against the policy of the law, and void.—Ibid.

3. An indenture of apprenticeship made by the order of a county court, containing a covenant for the benefit of the apprentice, not required by the statute, is good. The county may make the best bargain they can for the appren-

Proc. 1163

Masters and Apprentice.

SEC. 1. Do it enacted by the General Assembly of the Common

wealth of Kentucky, That the justices of the county courts, the sheriffs and attorneys for the counties, shall give to their respective county courts, at their monthly terms, information of the poor children of color who are free, and whose parents, or those with whom they live, they shall think incapable of supporting and bringing them up in honest courses; and the said county courts are hereby authorized, if to them it shall seem right, after summoning the next friend of, or person with whom such poor child or children of color shall reside, to make an order directing their clerk to bind out such poor child or children of color, to such person or persons as the court shall name, until the age of twenty-one years, if a boy, or eighteen if a girl. The indentures of such poor children of color shall contain proper covenants, to oblige the person or persons to whom they shall be bound, to learn some business to be designated by the court, and to treat them with humanity, and to furnish them with good and wholesome meat and drink, and suitable clothing; and to pay him or her the sum of thirty dollars if a male, and if a female, twenty dollars, and to furnish him or her a decent suit of new clothes at the expiration of his or her service, and to teach, or cause him or her to be taught, to spell and read, so as to read the New Testament with facility, when the term of service shall not be less than three years.

SEC. 2. No person or persons to whom a child or children shall be bound, under the provisions of this law, shall have the right to take or send such child or children out of this commonwealth, nor to sell the term of service, or any part thereof, to any person whatever, so as to give such person any right to the services or control of such child or children.

SEC. 3. The said county courts shall have power to hear and determine the complaints of all persons bound out under the provisions of this law, and whenever it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court, (reasonable notice being previously given,) that the person complaining has been treated with cruelty, inhumanity or otherwise improperly, to be judged by the court, it shall be the duty of such court forthwith to discharge him or her from the custody of the person or persons to whom he or she was thus bound; and order him or her so discharged to be bound to some other proper person, as directed by the first section of this act; and in order to bring such questions before the county courts, it shall be the duty of the county court attorneys, upon the application of the friend or friends of such children of color, to attend and prosecute on their behalf; and upon the conviction of the person or persons to whom children are thus bound, of cruel, inhuman or improper conduct towards them, the person or persons thus convicted shall pay the costs accruing in the
ACT FOR CONTROL OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOR IN KY (1834)

ky, acts of gen assem, 1834; 1834

1834. or some one of said Trustees, as jurors are now sworn in civil cases, and who shall hear the evidence, both for the Commonwealth and the defendant, and render their verdict thereon; upon which the said Mayor or Trustees shall enter up a judgment of condemnation or acquittal, as the case may be.

Defendant may challenge juror.

Defendant may not be tried unless the summons is executed within the time was set for trial; and if upon such trial, the said defendant shall make default, or upon a full hearing of the case shall be adjudged guilty by said jury, then it shall, and may be lawful for said Mayor or Trustees, to cause said defendant to be taken into immediate custody, and to be hired out at public auction, to the highest bidder, for any term not exceeding three months; taking from the hire, bond with approved security, for the price of hire, payable to the said Mayor or Trustees, or their successors in office, at such
time as they may require; the amount of which bond, when collected, shall be applied, first to the payment of the debts, if any he owes, and to the improvement of the streets of said town or city, or in such other manner for the benefit of said town or city, as the Mayor and Council of such city, or the Trustees of said town may direct, unless the defendant has a free family, and if he has, then the amount of hire to be applied to their use and benefit.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That the person hiring said free person of color, in pursuance of the provisions aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby permitted to take said person into his custody, and have the use and benefit of his services, during the term of hire aforesaid: Provided, however, That the person hiring as aforesaid, shall be required to provide good, wholesomediet, lodging and clothing, for the said person of color, during the time of hire aforesaid; and to that end shall execute bond with good security, to the said Mayor or Trustees, for the use of said person of color, conditioned for the faithful performance of the above

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That if any free person of color, residing out of the incorporated limits of any town or city, as aforesaid, shall be guilty of any of the offenses enumerated in the first section of this act, it shall be lawful for any free white person to apply to any justice of the peace of the county, in which said free person of color resides, for a summons to be served, executed and tried before said justice, in the same manner, and under the same regulations as herein provided, for trials before Trustees of towns, except that the proceedings of hire shall be applied to the use and benefit of the defendant's family, if he has a free family, if not applied in lessening the county levy; and to that end, the bond required of the hirer shall be executed to the said justice for the use of the county court of said county, or for the use of the family of the defendant, as the case may be, and be lodged with the clerk of said court.

Sec. 7. Be it further enacted, That if any free person of color as aforesaid, shall at any time presume to sell any ardent spirit to any slave or slaves, he or she so offending, shall be deemed guilty of keeping a disorderly house, and shall be subject to be dealt with according to the provisions of this act.

(Approved February 24, 1834)
1849 LAW REGARDING BRINGING SLAVES INTO KY

ky, acts of gen assem, 1848-49; 1849

CHAPTER 398.

AN ACT to amend an act, entitled, an act to amend the law to prohibit the importation of slaves into this State.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the citizens of this Commonwealth are hereby not prohibited from purchasing and bringing into this State, any slave or slaves from any other State in the United States, for his, her or their own use: Provided, That the person or persons so purchasing and bringing into this State, any such slave or slaves, shall, within forty days after so purchasing and bringing the same into this State, make oath or affirmation before the Clerk of the county in which such slave or slaves are brought, that the said slave or slaves were purchased and brought into this State for his, her or their own private use alone, and that the said slave or slaves were not bought for speculation, to be sold again for profit, or as merchandise; and, also, make out a true and correct list and description of each and all of such slave or slaves, in which he, she or they shall give the name, age, color and sex, of each of such slaves, and make affidavit before the said Clerk that the same contains a true and correct list and description of each of such slaves; which list and description, together with the affidavit thereof, shall be recorded by the said Clerk, who shall receive, for recording the same, fifty cents for each slave.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, so purchasing and bringing any slaves into this State, as aforesaid, shall sell, within the State, any such slave or slaves, within five years after he, she or they shall have so brought the said slave or slaves into this State, or shall make any contract, during the said time, for the sale of such slave or slaves, or shall hire out such slave or slaves for a term of years, or shall use any device whatsoever to evade this act, by sale, hiring, or otherwise, he, she or they, so offending, and for each and every such offence, shall be subject to all the pains and penalties in like manner denounced by the act approved February 2, 1833, prohibiting the importation of slaves into this State.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That if any person or persons shall buy any such slave or slaves, knowing them to have been so brought into this State within the term of eighteen months, as aforesaid, he, she or they, for each such slave, shall forfeit and pay the sum of $200, to be recovered in like manner, according to the provisions of the act aforesaid.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted, That any slave or slaves, purchased and brought into this State; as aforesaid, shall not be subject to be sold, by virtue of an execution, within the said term of eighteen months, until all the other property of the defendant in the execution, real and personal,
1849 LAW REGARDING BRINGING SLAVES INTO KY

1849.

subject to execution, shall have first been sold; and if the defendant in any execution shall suffer any such slave or slaves to be sold, when he has other property subject to execution, he shall be liable and subject to pay the sum of $200, recoverable as aforesaid; or if any Sheriff, or other officer, by virtue of any execution, shall sell any such slave or slaves, knowing them to have been brought into this State, as aforesaid, while the defendant has other property in the county, subject to execution, that might be levied on by reasonable diligence, he shall be liable, and fined, the sum of $200, recoverable in the same manner prescribed by the said act, approved February 2, 1833.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That if any person or persons shall swear falsely, in taking the oath in this act prescribed, he, she or they shall be held to be guilty of perjury, and upon conviction thereof, shall undergo confinement in the Jail and Penitentiary of this Commonwealth for the term of two years.

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That so much of the said act, approved February 2, 1833, as comes within the purview of this act, be and the same is hereby repealed.

Approved February 24, 1849.

KY LAW BENEFITTING THOSE WHO IMPORTED SLAVES CONTRARY TO 1833 LAW

AN ACT for the benefit of those who have imported slaves contrary to the law of 1833

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That any and every person or persons, who have purchased or imported into this State, any slave or slaves, contrary to the provisions of an act, approved February 2d, 1833, entitled, "an act to amend the law prohibiting the importation of slaves into this State," shall be, and the same are hereby forever absolved from all the penalties and liabilities incurred by the purchase or importation of said slaves: Provided, That such person or persons, having so purchased or imported, shall, within six months from the passage of this act, go before some Justice of the Peace of the county in which said purchase was made, or slave imported, and take the following oath or affirmation, as the case may be: "That I, or we, did, on the day of , 18-, purchase, or import, bona fide, for our use and benefit, said slave or slaves, (here name them,) and not for merchandise: so help me God;" and shall, moreover, cause said oath or affirmation to be recorded, in thirty days thereafter, in the Clerk's office of the County Court of said county: Provided, That said slaves, so imported, as aforesaid, shall not be sold within this State within the period of five years from the date of said oath.

Approved February 27, 1849.
SLAVES, RUNAWAYS, FREE NEGROES, AND EMANCIPATION.

ARTICLE I.

Who shall be deemed slaves.

§ 1. No persons shall be slaves in this state, except such as are now slaves by the laws of this commonwealth, or some other state or territory of the United States, or such free negroes as may hereafter be sold into slavery under the laws of this state, and the future descendants of such female slaves.

§ 2. Every person who has one-fourth, or other larger part of negro blood, shall be deemed a mulatto, and the word negro, when used in any statute, shall be construed to mean mulatto as well as negro.

§ 3. Slaves, after this chapter takes effect, shall be deemed and held to be personal estate. They shall be distributed in kind, without sale, when practicable.

§ 4. Slaves shall not be sold by the personal representative, unless, for the want of other assets, it be necessary to pay the debts of the decedent. Nor shall slaves, specifically devised, be sold by the personal representative or a creditor, but by a decree of court, which may be obtained in a summary way, on petition, after ten days’ notice, in writing, to the devisee. Suits may be maintained by the personal representative, for the recovery of slaves, or injuries to slaves devised.

§ 5. Slaves may be taken and sold for debt, when there is not a sufficiency of other personal estate within the jurisdiction of the officer.

§ 6. No free negro shall be capable of acquiring, in fee, or holding or owning for any length of time, as hirer, or otherwise, any slave, other than the husband, wife, parent, or descendant of such free negro.

§ 7. No gift of a slave shall pass the title, or be good against creditors or purchasers, unless it be made by will, duly proved and recorded, or by deed, in writing, acknowledged by the donor before the clerk of the county of his residence, or attested by two witnesses, and proved by one of them before such clerk, and lodged for record, except where the possession of the slave, at the time of the gift, be in fact delivered to the donee, and in good faith continued with him; nor shall such gift, when evidenced by deed recorded, affect the rights of a pre-existing creditor of the donor, until the donee shall, in good faith, have had three years’ continued possession of said slave.

§ 8. Every owner of a slave, for his own or another’s life, and the guardian or husband of such owner, shall, on the first day of January, or within sixty days thereafter, within each year, file with the clerk of the county in which he resides a statement, in writing, of the names, sex, and ages of such slaves, which shall be recorded at the cost of the person in remainder, in a book to be kept for that purpose. If the owner, guardian or husband fail to file such annual statement, he shall be fined not exceeding fifty dollars for each offense, for the use of the person in remainder, to be recovered by suit or indictment, at the cost of the person suing. Sheriffs and assessors of tax shall report to the clerk of the circuit court the names of all persons, within their knowledge, who have failed to comply with the provisions of this statute.
§ 9. If any widow, or other person, holding a life estate in a slave, or the vendee, immediate or remote, of such tenant for life, shall remove, or permit the slave to be removed out of this state, without the consent, in writing, of the person in remainder or reversion, or his guardian, if he be under age, such life estate shall be forfeited and cease, and the person in reversion or remainder may recover the slave, or he may recover of the person removing, or consenting to the removal, its value, with such other damage, besides the hire, as a jury may assess, not exceeding one half the value of the slave removed. A court of chancery may, for good cause shown, compel the tenant or owner of a life estate in a slave to give bond, with good surety, for the forthcoming of the slave at the termination of the same, and, upon a failure to give the bond, make such order and decree as may be equitable.

ARTICLE II.

Of the importation of slaves.

§ 1. Slaves imported from a foreign country since the first day of January, 1808, or which may hereafter be imported from such country, or slaves who have been tried and convicted of felony in any other state or territory, shall not be imported into this state. Any person knowingly violating this section, shall be fined three hundred dollars for each slave so imported.

§ 2. No slave shall be imported into this state as merchandise, or for the purpose of sale or barter, in or out of this state, under the penalty of six hundred dollars for each slave so imported.

Penalty for importing slave for merchandise

§ 3. Immigrants to this state, intending to reside here, may bring with them, and citizens residing within this state may purchase and import into this state for their own use, such slaves as are not prohibited by the first section of this article.

§ 4. Immigrants bringing with them their slaves, as permitted in the next preceding section, shall, within sixty days after their arrival, take the following oath before a justice of the peace of the county of their residence: "I do swear, that my removal to the state of Kentucky, was with the intention of becoming a citizen thereof; that I have brought with me no slave with the intention of selling him;" which oath, certified by the justice, shall be recorded in the office of the county court, within sixty days. The two preceding sections shall not apply to travelers or sojourners in this state.

§ 5. Persons resident within this state, deriving title by gift, will, descent, distribution, or by marriage, to slaves, may import them, if they be not such as are prohibited by the first section of this article.

§ 6. A citizen importing slaves under the provisons of this article, shall, within forty days after such importation, present to the clerk of the county court of his residence a true and correct list of such slaves, with their names, ages, and sex, verified by his oath. He shall also, before the clerk, take the following oath: "I do swear that I have purchased, or received, and imported into the state of Kentucky, the slaves named in the list this day made out by me, and filed with the clerk of county, for my own pri-
§ 7. If any citizen shall import into this state, under the provisions of this article, a slave, and shall sell said slave before the expiration of five years after such importation, or shall hire out such slave for a term of more than one year, or shall use any device whatever, whereby to evade the provisions of this article, he shall be fined the sum of six hundred dollars, to be recovered by indictment or suit in the name of the commonwealth; one-half to the use of the prosecutor or relator, and if there be neither, then, the whole to the use of the commonwealth.

§ 8. If any person shall buy a slave, knowing that he has been imported into this state contrary to the provisions of this article, or if he shall buy a slave imported by a resident citizen, under the provisions of the third section of this article, within eighteen months after such importation, knowing the same, he shall be fined, for each slave, the sum of two hundred dollars, to be recovered as in the last section named.

§ 9. Slaves imported by citizens, under the provisions of the third section of this article, shall not be subject to sale, or be sold under execution, or other legal procedure for the payment of debts, unless all other estate of the debtor, subject to the payment of debts, shall be first exhausted, until after the expiration of eighteen months from such importation. If the defendant shall suffer or permit such slave to be sold, when he has other estate, he and the sheriff who makes the sale, knowingly in contravention of this section, shall each be fined two hundred dollars for every slave so sold.

§ 10. A person taking an oath under the provisions of this article, knowing the same to be false, shall be guilty of perjury.

§ 11. Indictments, for importing slaves contrary to the provisions of this article, may be found upon the personal knowledge of any one of the grand jury, or upon the oath of a credible witness. All suits or prosecutions, for a violation of the provisions of this article, shall be commenced within five years after the offense committed or cause of action shall have accrued, and not after.

ARTICLE III.

Of dealing with slaves, and suffering them to go at large.

§ 1. If the owner or hire of a slave shall license him to go at large and trade as a freeman, or shall permit him to go at large and hire himself out for his own benefit, or that of another, he shall be fined forty dollars for each offense, to be recovered by a presentment of a grand jury, or suit in the circuit court.

§ 2. Any person may, and officers shall, with or without warrant, arrest any slave as to whom there is a violation
of the preceding section, and upon proof of the fact, by order of a justice of the peace, the slave shall be committed to jail, unless his master, or some person for him, enter into recognizance, with good surety, for the forthcoming of the slave at the next term of the circuit court, to abide the order of said court. If the owner be found guilty, upon indictment, of having violated any of the provisions of said section, and fail forthwith to pay the fine and costs, the slave shall be sold therefor, in the same manner as slaves are sold under execution.

§ 3. If any person shall receive from, deal or trade with, a slave, for money or other thing, without the consent, in writing, of his owner, designating the article, commodity, or thing, in which such slave is permitted to deal or trade, shall forfeit and pay to the owner ten dollars, and four times the value of the commodity so bought or sold, to be recovered by a suit before a justice of the peace, when the sum claimed is under sixteen dollars, and when it exceeds that amount, by presentment of a grand jury in the circuit court.

A slave offering to deal or trade with a free person, without such permit, shall be punished by order of a justice of the peace with a number of stripes not exceeding ten.

§ 4. If any person shall sell, give, or loan spirituous liquor, of any description, to the slave of another, unless for the time being he shall have the rightful custody and care of such slave, without the written order of the owner, he shall be fined fifty dollars for each offense.

§ 5. If any master, or other person, give written permission to a slave to obtain, or furnish him with intoxicating liquor, with intent he shall barter, or sell, or trade the same, or any part thereof, such master, or other person, shall forfeit twenty dollars, and give surety for his good behaviour for twelve months. If the offender against either of the two preceding sections shall be a tavern keeper, or person licensed to retail spirituous liquors, his license shall be annulled by the judgment of the court; nor shall such license be granted him for two years thereafter.

§ 6. If any person having the control of a house or plantation, shall, knowingly, permit or suffer any slave not his own to remain in such house, or upon such plantation, for the space of four hours, without the leave of the owner of such slave, he shall forfeit and pay ten dollars for every such offense. If such person shall permit more than five negroes or slaves, not his own, at one time, to remain in his house, or on his plantation, he shall forfeit one dollar for each negro; which fines and forfeitures may be recovered to the use of any person suing for the same, before a justice of the peace, or by the presentment of a grand jury.
§ 7. The preceding section shall not apply to negroes owned by the same person, seated and located at different plantations, meeting by the consent of their owner or overseer, nor to negroes meeting at any public mill in the day time on the business of their owners, nor on the Sabbath day, nor to meetings on any other lawful occasion by the permission of their owner, nor to negroes attending upon divine service.

§ 8. If any free person shall be found in company with slaves or negroes, at any unlawful meeting, or shall harbor any slave, without the consent of the owner, he shall forfeit and pay fifteen dollars for each offense. If a slave harbor the slave of another person, he shall, upon conviction by the judgment of a justice of the peace, be punished by stripes, not exceeding twenty.

§ 9. Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, breaches of the peace, and seditious speeches by slaves, shall be punished with a number of stripes not exceeding thirty-nine, upon conviction by the judgment of a justice of the peace.

If a slave shall go from the residence of his owner without a written permit, specifying the place to which such slave is licensed to go, and the time of absence, he may be apprehended, taken before a justice of the peace, and punished by stripes, not exceeding thirty-nine, at the expense of the owner.

§ 10. If any slave shall assault a free white person, by his hand or by any other means, he shall, upon conviction before a justice of the peace, be punished with stripes, not exceeding thirty. If a free negro so assault a free white person, he shall, upon conviction by indictment, be fined, not more than one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than three months.

§ 11. If any slave, without leave, in writing, from his owner, shall come upon the premises of a free white person, not being sent on lawful business, the owner of such premises, or the manager of the same, may punish such slave, for each offense, by the infliction of ten stripes.

§ 12. If any negro shall keep or carry a gun, or other deadly weapon, powder, or shot, the same may be seized by any free white person; and upon due proof thereof, before a justice of the peace, it shall be forfeited, and vested in the person seizing; and if the negro offending be a slave, he shall, by a judgment of a justice of the peace, be punished by stripes, not exceeding thirty-nine; if a free negro, fined five dollars.

ARTICLE IV.

Of insane, aged, and infirm slaves, and the abuse of them:

§ 1. If the owner of an infirm, insane, or aged slave, or any person having such slave under his control, suffers him to go at large, or fails to make adequate provision for his

PENALTY FOR KEEPING OR CARRYING A GUN.

PENALTY AGAINST FREE NEGROES FOR HARBORING SLAVES.
support, he shall be punished by fine not exceeding fifty dollars; and the county court, or other public authorities, charged with the supervision and care of the poor, or any city, town, or county, in which such slave may be found, shall provide for his maintenance, may charge such person, quarterly or annually, with a sum sufficient therefor, and recover it, from time to time, by a motion, in the name of the commonwealth, in the county court. If any person shall, by gift, sale, or otherwise, dispose of any insane, aged, or infirm slave, which is, or is likely to become, chargeable to the county, vendee, or donee, such person, at the election of the county court, or other public authorities, may be proceeded against as the owner of the slave, under this section.

§ 2. If the owner of any slave shall treat him cruelly and inhumanly, so as, in the opinion of a jury, to endanger the life or limb of such slave, or materially to affect his health, or shall not supply his slave with sufficient wholesome food and raiment, such slave shall be taken and sold for the benefit of the owner.

§ 3. On the petition of any person, verified by oath, or upon the presentment of a grand jury, setting forth, substantially, the ill treatment of the slave, the court shall cause the owner of the slave to be summoned, and may, if it shall appear proper, direct the sheriff or other officer to take possession of the slave, and hire him out, pending the proceeding; and such judgment and orders shall be given by the court as the finding of the jury shall justify.

§ 4. If the hirer of a slave for a term of time shall treat him in the manner described in the second section, or shall fail to furnish such slave with food and raiment, the owner of the slave may proceed against him, by petition, in the manner prescribed in the third section, and, upon the facts, or any of them, being found against the defendant, the court shall rescind the contract of hiring, upon equitable principles, and restore the slave to his owner.

§ 5. A suit may be maintained by the owner of a slave, though not in his actual possession, against any person who shall unlawfully whip, strike, or abuse such slave, and recover damages for such act, notwithstanding the said slave, by such whipping, striking, or abuse, may not have been rendered incapable of labor.

ARTICLE V.

Of the abduction and stealing of slaves, removing them out of the state, by boatmen and others, and exciting them to rebellion.

§ 1. If any free person not having lawful, or, in good faith, a color of claim thereto, shall steal, or shall seduce or entice a slave to leave his owner or possessor; or if he shall make, or furnish, or aid, or advise in the making or furnishing a forged or false pass, or deed of emancipation,
or other writing purporting to liberate a slave; or if, in any manner, he aid or assist a slave to make his escape, or to attempt to make his escape from such owner or possessor, he shall be confined in the penitentiary for a period of not less than two, nor more than twenty years.

§ 2. A free person convicted of an attempt to persuade or entice away a slave, from the service of his master, or owner, or the person in possession of the slave; or if convicted of the attempt to persuade or induce, by any means, a slave to run away from his master, or owner, or person in possession of him, shall be confined in the penitentiary for a period not less than two years, nor more than five years.

§ 3. A free person suspected of an attempt to entice or take a slave from his owner or lawful possessor, upon complaint, on oath, to a judge of the circuit or county court, shall be apprehended, and brought before the officer issuing the warrant, or some other of equal jurisdiction in the county where the offense is charged to have been committed; and upon such attempt being proved to the satisfaction of the judge, he shall recognize such offender, with one or more good sureties, to be of good behavior during his stay or residence in this state, or for such other time as the judge shall think proper. If the accused shall fail to give such bond, or a bond with sufficient surety, that he will forthwith quit the commonwealth, and not again return, he shall be committed to the jail of the county, there to be kept until the next term of the circuit court, at which time he may, for sufficient cause, be discharged from confinement, with or without bail, as the court may adjudge.

§ 4. If any person shall be convicted of the offense of attempting to excite a slave to insurrection, he shall be confined in the penitentiary for not less than five, nor more than twenty years.

§ 5. If any free person shall be convicted of the offense of knowingly concealing a stolen slave, or a slave enticed from the service of his master or owner, or of harboring a runaway slave, with the intention to prevent the owner from obtaining possession of such runaway, he shall be confined in the penitentiary for not less than two, nor more than twenty years.

§ 6. If the owner, his driver, agent, or servant, of any mail stage, railroad car, or any other conveyance for the transportation of persons or property, suffer or permit a slave to go as passenger thereon, with or without pay, without the written request of his master or owner, unless accompanied by the master or owner, the person so offending shall be fined one hundred dollars, and shall, also, be answerable to the master or owner for all damages he may sustain thereby.
ARTICLE VI.

Of runaway slaves.

§ 1. Every slave arrested as a runaway shall be taken before a justice of the peace, and, if there be reasonable cause to suspect that such slave is a runaway, the justice shall give a certificate of the fact, stating therein the county in which the slave was arrested, the name, if known, and description of the negro, the name and residence, if known, of his master, and the name and residence of the person who apprehended the runaway, and the amount due the apprehender, and, by his precept indorsed thereon, command him to deliver the slave to the jailer of his county, or, if the owner is resident in the county of the justice, to deliver the slave to the owner thereof.

§ 2. If the slave be delivered to the jailer for safe keeping, the person apprehending him shall leave with the jailer the certificate of the justice, described in the first section, take the jailer's receipt for the negro, and the jailer shall keep said slave in a close jail until demanded by the owner, or his agent, and shall not deliver him then, until the fee or reward offered for taking up, expenses of keeping, jailer's fees, and costs, are paid to him. If he deliver the slave, without the payment of the fee or reward for taking up, or if the same be paid him, he and his surety shall be liable to the person taking up said slave, for the same. The jailer shall not be liable for a private reward, if he deliver the slave, not knowing that such reward had been offered by the master.

§ 3. The compensation for apprehending a runaway slave, where no larger amount has been offered as a reward, shall be as follows, to be paid by the owner: If the slave be arrested in the county of the residence of his master, or the person who had the legal custody of him when he ran away, and delivered to the master, or the person from whom he escaped, or lodged in the jail of the county, ten dollars; when in any other county, twenty dollars. If the slave be arrested in a state where slavery is not allowed, and delivered to the owner at his residence in this state, one hundred dollars; if lodged in the jail of any county in this state, whether the master or owner reside in or out of this state, seventy-five dollars.

§ 4. When a runaway slave shall be committed to jail, under the provisions of this chapter, the jailer shall, within ten days thereafter, advertise said runaway, in a newspaper nearest his residence, in which he shall give an accurate description of the slave, which advertisement shall be continued for six months, if the slave be not sooner claimed by his master. If said slave be not claimed within six months, the fact shall be reported by the jailer to the county court. The court shall cause the slave to be valued by


To be sold in certain cases.

§ 5. The sheriff shall sell the slave at the court house, upon a court day, to the highest bidder, after having advertised in a newspaper nearest his residence, for at least two months, the time and place of sale. The sheriff shall give, in said advertisement, a description of the slave. The slave shall be sold upon a credit of six months, with interest, the purchaser to give bond and good surety, to the commonwealth, to have the force and effect of a replevin bond. The bond shall be returned to the clerk's office of the county, and if not paid to the clerk when due, execution shall issue upon the same. The clerk, and sheriff, and their sureties, shall respectively account for, and pay over, any money so received or collected by them, in the same manner as they account for public revenue.

§ 6. The sheriff, or clerk, shall pay over, by order of court, to the jailer and clerk, the fees and costs due them, and to the person taking up, the fee or reward allowed. The sheriff shall be paid the costs of advertising the sale, and five per cent. for making the sale. The remainder of the sum for which the slave sold shall be paid into the public treasury, for the use of the owner of such slave, to be paid to such owner when demanded, without interest.

§ 7. The treasurer shall pay the amount so deposited, to the owner of the slave, upon the production of the judgment of the county court, by whose order the slave was sold, that the person claiming the same had, by legal and disinterested evidence satisfied the said court that he was, at the time of the sale, the owner and master of said slave. A payment so made, shall forever exonerate this commonwealth from all claims or liability for the amount, to any other person.

§ 8. When an imprisoned runaway is not sufficiently clothed, the jailer shall furnish him with proper negro clothing, to be paid by the master or owner, as his other jail fees.

ARTICLE VII.

Of felonies committed by slaves and free negroes.

§ 1. If a free negro or slave willfully and unlawfully

burn a court house, county or public prison, a clerk's office of a court, the capitol of the commonwealth, or any building upon the capitol square, the office of a county surveyor, a public office belonging to the commonwealth, or to any county, city, town, or corporation, or a tobacco house, warehouse, stable in which horses are kept, or a stable in a town, a still house, or a house or place where wheat, rye, Indian corn, hay, or any other commodity is usually kept, or a mill, or a factory, or any shed attached to and appur-
tenant to a manufacturing establishment, or a house of
public worship; or if he shall aid, abet, assist, counsel, hire,
or command any person to commit any of said offenses,
such free negro or slave, being thereof convicted, shall suf-
fer death; or, if the offender be a slave, he may be pun-
ished by any number of stripes not exceeding two hundred,
to be inflicted at different times, not more than fifty at a
time; and a free negro may be confined in the penitentiary
for a period not less than two nor more than ten years.

§ 2. If any slave or free negro shall conspire to rebel or
make insurrection, he shall be guilty of felony, and, upon
conviction, shall suffer death.

§ 3. If any free negro or slave shall administer to any
person poison, or other destructive thing, with the intention
to destroy life, upon conviction, he shall suffer death.

§ 4. If any free negro or slave be guilty of murder, rape
committed upon a white woman of any age, or the attempt
to commit such rape, or be accessory before the fact to
either of the aforesaid crimes, upon conviction, he shall suf-
fer death.

§ 5. If a free negro or slave be guilty of arson, robbery,
or of voluntary manslaughter, or of homicide, perpetrated
in the commission, or the attempt to commit, any felony,
upon conviction thereof, he shall suffer death; or, if the
offender be a slave, he may be punished by a number of
stripes not exceeding two hundred, to be inflicted at differ-
ent times, not more than fifty at a time; and if he be a free
negro, he may be confined in the penitentiary for a period
not less than two, nor more than ten years.

§ 6. If a free negro or slave consult about the murder or
advise the murder of any person, he shall, on conviction in
a circuit court, be punished by any number of stripes not
exceeding one hundred.

§ 7. If any free negro or slave shall willfully and malici-
siously shoot at any free white person, with a gun or other
instrument, with intent to kill such person, or shall willfully
and maliciously wound a free white person, with intent to
kill such person, or to kill any other, upon conviction, he
shall suffer death, or the punishment by stripes or confine-
ment in the penitentiary, mentioned in the fifth section.

§ 8. If any free negro or slave unlawfully and malicious-
ly blow up, or attempt to blow up with gunpowder, or to
burn, or by any act to destroy the locks of the Louisville
and Portland canal, or the bridge of said canal, the locks
or dams of the state upon any of the rivers thereof, or a pub-
lic bridge over any water course, upon conviction thereof,
he shall suffer death.

§ 9. If a free negro shall deliver to a slave the original
free papers, or a copy thereof, of himself or of any other
person, or if he write, or deliver to a slave a written pass,
to go from one place to another, or a written authority for
In any purpose, in his name, or in the name of the owner, lender, or other person, known or unknown, he shall be guilty of felony, and upon conviction, he shall be confined in the penitentiary for not less than one, nor more than five years.

§ 10. If a slave commit a larceny, he shall be punished with stripes, not exceeding thirty-nine. If a free negro commit larceny of any kind, he shall be punished in the manner, and to the same extent as though he were a white person.

§ 11. That if a slave molest or injure any line of electromagnetic telegraph, its posts, piers, or the materials belonging thereto, he shall, by order of a justice of the peace, be punished by not more than thirty-nine stripes.

§ 12. If a slave commit any misdemeanor, not specified in this chapter, he shall be punished with stripes. If a free negro commit any misdemeanor, not specified in this chapter, he shall be punished as though he were a white person.

§ 13. In all cases when the punishment for offenses prescribed in this chapter is stripes, if the number be not specified for the particular offense, the number shall not exceed thirty-nine, and to be inflicted upon the bare back of the offender; and all crimes or offenses, committed by a free negro, or slave, which are punishable by stripes, are declared to be, as to them, misdemeanors.

§ 14. Upon all trials, when a negro is to be sworn as a witness, the judge, or justice presiding, shall give to such negro the following charge: "You are brought hither as a witness, and by law, it is my duty to tell you, before you give your evidence, that you must tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and that if it be ascertained that you tell a lie, and give false testimony in this matter, you must, for so doing, (if a slave,) receive thirty-nine stripes upon your bare back." If the witness be a free negro, that he will, upon conviction of the offense, be confined in the penitentiary.

§ 15. If the judge, or court, before whom a slave is called to testify, shall be satisfied that he has given false evidence, knowingly and willfully, he shall, after the trial is closed, cause the punishment imposed by the preceding section to be inflicted.

§ 16. If a free negro shall, in any trial in which he shall give evidence, or in any oath required by law to be administered to him, and when administered by a person authorized, commit perjury, he shall be guilty of felony, and punished as though he were a white person.

§ 17. The final trial of a slave, for offenses punished with death, shall be held in the circuit court of the county in which the offense was committed; and he shall be tried by a jury, in the same mode and manner as free persons are tried.

§ 18. The master or owner of any slave may, on the trial of his slave for crimes or misdemeanors, defend him.
§ 19. When any slave shall be charged with felony, the master or owner may bail such slave in those cases in which free persons are bailable, according to the laws regulating bail in criminal cases.

§ 20. It shall be the duty of the master or owner, personal representative, or guardian of such owner, to employ counsel to defend a slave, when tried in the circuit court. If no counsel be employed, the court shall assign counsel to defend him. The master or owner, or his personal representative, or the guardian, shall pay such counsel the sum awarded him by order of the court, for such defense, not exceeding fifty nor less than twenty dollars, and may be attached and compelled to pay the same.

§ 21. No free negro or slave shall be exempt from the punishment prescribed by law, by reason of any benefit of clergy.

§ 22. When judgment of death shall be passed upon a free negro or slave, there shall be thirty days, at least, between the time of passing such judgment and the day of execution, except in cases of conspiracy, insurrection, or rebellion.

§ 23. Upon the trial of a free negro or slave, the court may receive as evidence, his confession, if freely and voluntarily made, the weight of which shall be judged of by the jury.

§ 24. When the court shall sentence to death a slave, the value of such slave shall be fixed by the court, and entered on record. If the slave be executed, or die in jail, after conviction, before the day of execution, the value, so fixed, shall be paid out of the public treasury to the master or owner, upon a presentation of a copy of the record, and certificate of the sheriff of the fact of the death or execution of such slave. If a slave, imported into this state contrary to law, or passing through this state, by land or water, to any other state, territory, or country, be executed for crime, or die before execution, he shall not be paid for as above.

§ 25. In all cases of a conviction of a negro for any offense, except that of murder, insurrection, rebellion, or rape, or the attempt to commit the offense of rape upon a white person, if the punishment imposed be death, the governor of the commonwealth shall have power to commute such punishment to a confinement in the penitentiary for life; and, if such convict be a slave, the owner shall be paid for him as though he were executed, or take the proceeds of his labor in the penitentiary, at his election, to be made in open court at the term succeeding the mandate of commutation of punishment.
ARTICLE VIII.

Of misdemeanors by free negroes.

§ 1. If any free negro shall keep a disorderly house, or shall be found loitering about, engaged in no honest calling to obtain a support, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

§ 2. The police judge of any city or town, where the offense is committed in a city or town, judge of a county court, or justice of the peace, shall issue a summons against the offender, described in the preceding section, stating therein, substantially, the nature of the offense; which summons may be executed and returned by a constable or other officer, before the police judge, or the judge of a county court; and when executed, the constable, or other officer, shall give a copy of the same, and state also in said copy the time and place of trial, giving said defendant at least two days between the service and the day of trial, to prepare his defense.

§ 3. The police judge of a city or town, or a judge of a county court, shall have jurisdiction to hear and try offenders, denounced in the first section of this article, within their respective jurisdictions. A jury shall be impaneled to try the facts.

§ 4. If the defendant be found guilty, he shall be taken immediately into custody, and hired out as a servant, at public auction, to the highest bidder, for a term not exceeding six months; bond and good surety shall be given by the person hiring, for the payment of the amount to the commonwealth, and also that he will provide good wholesome diet, lodging, and clothing for said person of color, during said time, and that he will not remove the said free negro out of the state, or permit it to be done.

§ 5. The amount, when collected, after the payment of all costs, shall be applied, under the order of the officer who tried the offender, first to the payment of his debts, next to the support of his family, if free; if no such family, then to be paid into the city treasury, or to the use of the county, as the case may be.

§ 6. If a free negro sell or give ardent spirits to a slave, without the consent of the owner, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

§ 7. If a free negro shall engage in the manufacture of whisky, brandy, or other spirituous liquors, except as the hired servant of a free white person; or if he shall sell to any person, in any quantity, whisky, brandy, or other spirituous liquor, he shall, upon indictment and conviction, be fined in a sum not less than fifty, nor more than three hundred dollars, and stand committed until the fine and costs be paid; one-half of the fine, when collected, to the use of the commonwealth's attorney.
§ 8. It shall be the duty of the justices of the peace, when they have reason to believe, upon complaint made to them, that any free negro has violated the provisions of the two preceding sections, to issue a warrant for his apprehension, returnable before a justice of the peace. The officer to whom such warrant is directed shall arrest the defendant, and immediately bring him to trial. If, upon trial, the justice shall believe defendant guilty, the negro shall give bail for his appearance at the next term of the circuit court of the county, in a reasonable amount; if such bail be not given, the accused shall stand committed for trial.

ARTICLE IX.

Emancipation of slaves.

§ 1. Slaves may be emancipated by the owners in fee thereof, in the following manner, and upon the following conditions, and not otherwise:

1. By deed, acknowledged or proved by two subscribing witnesses, in the county court.
2. By last will and testament.
3. Subject to the debts and liabilities of the owner.
4. Upon condition of their being removed from, and continued residence out of, the state of Kentucky.
5. The deed of emancipation, and so much of any will as emancipates a slave, shall not vest the absolute right of freedom in the slave, until after he shall have removed out of the state.

§ 2. No slave shall be emancipated who is over sixty-five years of age, or who is, by disease or infirmity, incapable of labor for a support, unless the owner provides the means for his transportation out of this state, and one year's support.

§ 3. When the person emancipating a slave, by deed or will, shall fail to provide for his removal out of the state, the county court shall, by order, direct the slave to be hired out from year to year, until a sufficient fund shall be created thereby to defray the expenses of moving said slave to some place out of this state, and to maintain him for twelve months.

§ 4. The county court shall appoint trustees, who shall not be members of said court, from time to time, in their respective counties, for such slaves as may be emancipated under the provisions of this article. They shall take from the trustees bond, with good surety, for the faithful discharge of their duties, and shall cause them to report and settle their accounts once in each year, and pay over the funds in their hands, which shall be preserved by the county court, or placed at interest, from time to time, until the same shall be required for the purposes named in the third section of this article.
§ 5. The trustee, appointed under the provisions of the preceding section, shall have the right to control the slave placed under his care, and shall possess all the rights, powers, and privileges, and be subject to all the responsibilities, of the master of said slave, so long as he may be continued as trustee.

§ 6. When the county court shall be of opinion that a sufficient fund has been created by the labor of the slave, or otherwise provided for him, to remove and support him, as required by the third section of this article, the court shall ascertain, by personal examination of the slave in open court, his willingness to be removed out of the state, and to accept his freedom upon the conditions prescribed by law, and in the tenth article of the constitution of Kentucky; and if the consent of said slave be given, the fact shall be entered on record, with the age, and particular description of the said negro, a copy of which, with the deed, or will of emancipation, under the seal of the court, shall be delivered to said negro, and such other orders made by the county court as may be deemed necessary to effect the safe and certain removal of the slave out of this state, for permanent residence.

§ 7. If a family of negroes shall be emancipated, the proceeds of the labor of all shall be united in one common fund, and applied for the removal of all at the same time, and to the same place.

§ 8. The county court shall have power, for good cause, to remove a trustee or agent, appointed by them under the provisions of this article, and to appoint another in his place.

§ 9. The issue of a slave emancipated by deed, born after the date of the deed, shall have the same right to his freedom that the mother has under said deed, and shall be treated accordingly.

§ 10. The issue of a slave willed to be free, born after the death of the testator, shall have the same right to freedom as the mother, and be treated accordingly, unless it shall manifestly appear by the provisions of the will that such issue is not intended to be emancipated.

§ 11. The county court, out of the funds produced by the labor of the slave, shall allow to the trustee a reasonable compensation for his trouble, and shall pay the costs incurred in court from time to time.

§ 12. When the master, or owner, provides a fund for the removal of the slave, and fails to prescribe the time and manner of removal, the county court shall take charge of the fund and slaves, and proceed as directed in the sixth section of this article.

§ 13. All slaves emancipated, who shall refuse to give their assent to be removed out of the state, as required, shall be hired out thereafter under the provisions of this article, for the benefit of the county, in such mode as the
ARTICLE X.

Slaves emancipated subject to the payment of debts.

§ 1. Slaves emancipated shall be equitable assets in the hands of the personal representative of the testator, for the payment of debts. If emancipated by deed, a creditor or person who may be bound as surety for the owner, may, by proper procedure in chancery, prevent their removal out of the state, until his debt is paid or his liability removed.

§ 2. Before the county court shall order an emancipated slave into the possession of a trustee, under the provisions of the ninth article of this chapter, the personal representative shall be summoned, and if it appear that there is not a sufficiency of other estate to pay the debts and liabilities of the decedent, no such order shall be made without the consent of the personal representative, unless the creditors assent to be paid their demands out of the fund to be created by the hire of the slaves. If such assent be given, the court shall make the order, and apply the fund ratably, as it may accrue.

§ 3. If no such consent be given, the creditors, by proceeding in equity against the personal representative, heirs, devisees, and distributees, and the slave, shall have satisfaction of their debts in the following manner:

1. The slave shall be hired out pending the suit.
2. No sale of the slave shall be made until it shall appear that all other estate of the testator is insufficient for the payment of his debts and liabilities.
3. An absolute sale shall not be decreed by the chancellor, if a sale or hire for a term of years shall be sufficient to pay the debts.
4. After applying the whole of the estate of the decedent to the payment of his debts, then the fund created by the hire of the slave, if any remain, shall be paid over to the county court, for the benefit of the slave, to be used as provided for in the ninth article of this chapter; and the slave shall then be placed under the control of the county court, to be disposed of as therein provided.

§ 4. A slave emancipated by will, may, by bill in equity, compel the personal representative, heirs, devisees, distributees, and creditors, to settle the estate, and establish his right to emancipation.

§ 5. Pending a suit contesting the validity of any deed or will of emancipation, the slave may be required to give surety not to leave the commonwealth, or otherwise restrained from so doing, until such contest be finally decided. And if hired out, the hire, pending the suit, shall, if
the slave be entitled to his freedom, be disposed of as is directed in the ninth article of this chapter.

ARTICLE XI.

Free negroes immigrating to this state.

§ 1. Any free negro or mulatto who has, since the eleventh day of June, 1850, migrated, or who shall hereafter migrate to this state, with the intention of remaining therein, shall be guilty of felony, and, upon conviction, shall be confined in the penitentiary for any period of time not exceeding five years.

§ 2. If any slave, hereafter emancipated by the laws of this state, shall fail or refuse to leave the state, as required by law, after having elected to do, so as provided in the sixth section of the ninth article, or having left the state, shall return and settle within the same, he shall be deemed guilty of felony, and, upon conviction, confined in the penitentiary for any period of time not exceeding five years.

§ 3. Persons guilty of offenses denounced in either of the preceding sections, shall be apprehended and tried as is provided for in other cases of felony.

§ 4. Persons convicted of either of the offenses in the preceding sections, after they have served the time of confinement in the penitentiary, or after they may have been pardoned, who fail to leave, but remain in this state for a period of thirty days, shall be guilty of felony, and punished by confinement in the penitentiary for a period not less than five nor more than ten years, for each offense.

§ 5. If any free negro or mulatto, not a resident of Kentucky, shall come into this state, he shall repair to the county court clerk of the county in which he shall first come, and there make his business known to the clerk; and the clerk may, if he is satisfied said free negro's business is laudable and lawful, issue a certificate to said free negro, setting out the object of the visit, and authorize such free negro or mulatto to remain and transact said business, not exceeding thirty days, for which he may charge fifty cents, to be paid by the applicant. If any such free negro or mulatto shall fail or refuse to procure said certificate within twenty-four hours after he comes into this state, or shall continue longer in the state than allowed by said certificate, he or she shall be apprehended and taken before some justice of the peace, there to be tried; and if found guilty may be confined in the county jail, where apprehended till he or she shall give good security to leave the state forthwith; and also pay all costs of the proceeding.
PAROOLS.

ARTICLE I.

Appointment and duties.

§ 1. County courts shall, once in each year, divide their respective counties into as many districts as the public peace and good order of society may require, and appoint, in each district, a company of patrols, to consist of one captain, and not exceeding three men, to continue in service twelve months, unless removed by the county court for neglect of duty or improper conduct. None but discreet and sober men shall be appointed patrols; they shall take an oath, before a justice of the peace, faithfully, impartially, and diligently to perform the duties of patrols. But patrols shall have jurisdiction co-extensive with the whole county.

§ 2. The county court shall prescribe the number of hours, in each month, the said company shall be on duty, in their bounds.

§ 3. Patrols shall visit negro quarters, and all suspected places, and places of unlawful assemblies of slaves, within their respective precincts.

§ 4. A slave found at unlawful assemblies, or strolling from one plantation to another, or found in a town or city without a written pass, for the time, from his master or overseer, or person having the control of him; or who shall sell, or offer to sell, any commodity, or have the same in his possession for sale, without the written authority of his master, or person controlling him, specifying the article to be sold, shall be punished by, and at the discretion of, the captain of the patrol, by any number of stripes not exceeding ten; or he may be taken, by the patrol, before a justice of the peace, and may, by the order of the justice, be punished by stripes, not exceeding thirty-nine.

§ 5. Patrols shall each be paid by order of the county court, out of the county levy, a sum not exceeding one dollar for each ten hours they may have been purposely engaged in the performance of their duties. At the court of claims for the county, patrols shall present their claims for services, specifying the number of hours each has been engaged, and verified by the oath of the patrol, upon which the court shall fix the amount to be paid.

ARTICLE II.

Special patrol companies.

§ 1. The county courts, for counties bounded by the Ohio river, if they think proper, may, at any time, appoint for their respective counties a strong and active patrol, to consist of sober, discreet citizens, not to exceed thirty in any county, whose duty it shall be to guard and watch the places for crossing the river, and such other points and places as may be designated by the court; to notice the condition and situation of all water craft upon the Kentucky shore of the Ohio river; to report to the proper authority all delinquencies and violations of laws, by those having charge of, or right to keep such water craft. Said patrol may also exercise the powers prescribed to patrols in the first article of this chapter. They shall have power to arrest, without warrant, any person found lurking about, not in violation of any law, or in the act of committing a nefarious act or crime.

§ 2. Any free person arrested under the authority of the first section of this article, shall be taken before a justice of the peace, and if such person be not of good fame and behavior, or if believed by the justice of the peace to be guilty of the offense described in said section, he shall give bail, in a reasonable sum, to appear at the next circuit court for said county, and answer to the charge of evil fame or evil behavior, or the charge of violating the provisions of said first section. The circuit court shall have power to demand further bail of such person, and may, if believed to be guilty of any offense punishable by law, cause him to be prosecuted for the same. If the person fail or refuse to give the bail required by the justice or the court, he shall be committed and dealt with as other offenders failing to give bail.

§ 3. The patrol, appointed under this article, shall continue in service twelve months, unless sooner discharged by the county court. Any member of the patrol may be dismissed by the county court, and another appointed in his place. The county court shall appoint the captain and four lieutenants for each company of patrols. The officers and men, before entering upon their duties, shall take an oath, faithfully, diligently, and impartially to discharge their duty, as special patrols.

§ 4. All orders touching the duties of said patrol, issued by the captain, or given by him or a lieutenant in person, shall be obeyed by the officers and men; and a willful refusal to obey or execute them, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding five dollars, to be recovered by warrant before a justice of the peace.

§ 5. The county court may require of the patrols, appointed under this article, jointly or severally, to give bond and security for the faithful discharge of their duties, which may be put in suit by any person aggrieved or damaged by their acts as such.

§ 6. For every fugitive slave apprehended by said patrol, or any member thereof, in the county of the residence of his master or owner, and delivered, or lodged in jail, so that the master or owner gets the slave, there shall be paid twenty-five dollars; if apprehended in any other county, fifty dollars, to be paid by the owner of said slave.

§ 7. The county court may limit, by an order, the number of hours in each month, in which the patrol shall be on duty, or leave the same to the sound discretion of the captain. The officers and men shall each be paid out of the fund created for that purpose, a sum not exceeding one dollar and fifty cents for every twelve hours purposely engaged in the discharge of their duties.

§ 8. The county court shall, from time to time, create a fund to pay the expenses of said patrol, by a poll tax on each slave in the county, not exceeding one dollar on each black male slave; which fund shall not be expended or used by the county court for any other purpose.
ARTICLE I.

§ 1. Upon the demand of the executive of any state or territory of the United States, made upon the governor of this commonwealth, to surrender a fugitive from justice from said state or territory, pursuant to the constitution and laws of the United States, he shall issue his warrant to the sheriff or constable of any county within this state, commanding him to apprehend said fugitive and bring him before some circuit judge.

§ 2. The circuit judge shall proceed, by the examination of witnesses, to ascertain if the person apprehended be the fugitive demanded and mentioned in the warrant of the governor of this state, and, if satisfied of the identity of the person, the judge shall order him to be delivered up to the agent of the state or territory demanding him, to be transported to such state or territory agreeably to the laws of the United States; otherwise he shall discharge the person from custody.

§ 3. If no such agent be present, the fugitive shall be committed to the jail of the county in which the hearing before the judge is had. Of the fact of commitment the judge shall forthwith inform the governor of this state, and, on demand by the agent of the state upon the jailer, by the authority of the governor of this state, the fugitive from justice shall be delivered up to such agent. If said fugitive be not demanded within three months after his commitment, the jailer shall discharge him.

§ 4. All costs incurred in apprehending and securing said fugitive, shall be paid by the agent of the state, before he shall be permitted to remove him or receive him into custody.

§ 5. If a person shall be charged, by indictment or otherwise, in any state or territory, of the offense of kidnapping, or of removing, by force or otherwise, a person of color from said state, and shall be demanded by the executive of such state or territory of the governor of this state, as a fugitive from justice, and the person shall be apprehended and brought before a circuit judge, as is provided for in the first section of this article, it shall be the duty of the judge not only to inquire into the identity of the person of such supposed fugitive, but he shall also inquire into the fact whether he is the owner of the negro charged to have been abducted, or whether he acted as the agent, friend, or by the permission of the owner, or had his sanction for what he did in the premises; and, if he is satisfied the person arrested was the owner, or acted as his agent, friend, or with his sanction and approbation, the judge shall discharge him; if not so satisfied, the judge shall deal with him as required by the provisions of this chapter.

LAW TO PREVENT BLACKS FROM MIGRATING TO, REMAINING IN KY 1863

AN ACT to prevent certain negroes and mulattoes from migrating to or remaining in this State.

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

§ 1. That it shall not be lawful for any negro or mulatto claiming or pretending to be free, under or by virtue of the Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated the 1st of January, 1863, declaring free slaves in certain States and parts of States, or any similar proclamation, by order of the Governor of the United States, or any officer or agent thereof, to migrate to or remain in this State.

§ 2. Any negro or mulatto who shall violate the provisions of this act shall be arrested, dealt with, and disposed of as runaways, and the proceedings shall conform to the laws in existence, at the time they are had in relation to runaway slaves.

§ 3. The purchaser of any such negro or mulatto sold under and by virtue of such proceedings shall, by virtue of such purchase, acquire and have the same right to, the same property in, and control over such negro or mulatto as masters have over their slaves under existing laws, subject to the provisions in relation to slaves sold as runaways, and shall in all respects be governed by the law in relation to master and slave.
§ 4. The purchase money for such negro or mulatto shall not be paid into the public treasury until the right of redemption shall have expired or been finally determined by adjudication, in case the same shall be put in litigation, as provided in relation to slaves sold as runaways, and the court shall have power to loan the same, in the meantime taking bond and good security for the same.

§ 5. It shall be the duty of all peace officers to see that the provisions of this act are enforced.

§ 6. This act shall take effect from its passage.

Approved March 2, 1863.

1866 LAW ON MARRIAGE OF BLACKS (Feb-14, 1866)

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AN ACT in relation to the marriage of negroes and mulattoes.

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

§ 1. That all negroes and mulattoes may intermarry with each other in the same manner and under the same regulations that are provided by law for white persons: Provided, That the clerk of the county court shall keep separate records of the same. In addition to the persons now authorized by law to solemnize marriage, marriages between negroes and mulattoes may be solemnized by any minister in good standing of any recognized church of colored persons.

§ 2. All negroes and mulattoes who have heretofore lived and cohabited, and do now live together as husband and wife, shall be taken and held in law as legally married, and the issue held as legitimate for all purposes: Provided, Such persons shall appear before the clerk of the county court of their then residence, and declare that they have been, and desire to continue, living together as husband and wife, when, upon the receipt of a fee of fifty cents, the clerk shall make a record of such declaration, and, for an additional fee of twenty-five cents, shall furnish the parties with a certificate of said declaration. Said record or certificate shall be evidence of the existence of the marriage and the legitimacy of the issue born or to be born to said parties: Provided, The issue of customary marriages of negroes shall be held legitimate.
§ 3. It shall not be lawful for any negro or mulatto to intermarry with any white person, nor for any white person to intermarry with any negro or mulatto; and any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony, and, on conviction thereof, shall be confined in the State penitentiary for any period, in the discretion of a jury, not less than five years. Those shall be deemed negroes and mulattoes who are of pure negro blood, and those descended from a negro to the third generation inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person.

§ 4. This act to take effect.

Approved February 14, 1866.
AN ACT prescribing punishment for felonies and misdemeanors by free negroes and mulattoes.

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

§ 1. That all persons, without distinction of color, within this Commonwealth, shall, after the passage of this act, be, and they are hereby, made subject to the same pains and penalties for felonies and misdemeanors that have heretofore been prescribed by law for the punishment of white persons for like offenses—except that the laws now in force for the punishment of negroes and mulattoes for rape on white women are hereby continued in force; and that all laws in conflict with this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

§ 2. This act to take effect from its passage.

Approved February 15, 1866.

NEW APPRENTICESHIP LAW 1866

An ACT to amend article 1, chapter 64, Revised Statutes, title "Master and Apprentice."

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

§ 1. That section 5, article 1, chapter 64, of the Revised Statutes, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

§ 2. The writing by which any minor shall be bound an apprentice, shall be signed by the master, and for the minor by the clerk of the county court, and shall specify the age of the minor, and what art, trade, business, or occupation he shall be taught; that the apprentice shall have proper medical attention, and shall be well fed and clothed, and treated with humanity; and the master shall be bound to give the apprentice a new good suit of clothes at the end of the apprenticeship; and if the apprentice be not a negro, the master shall have him taught to read and write, and common arithmetic, including the rule of three; and if the apprentice be a negro, the master shall be bound to pay, at the end of the appren-
NEW APPRENTICESHIP LAW 1866

§ 1. That all the taxes hereafter collected from negroes and mulattoes in this Commonwealth, shall be set apart and constitute a separate fund for their use and benefit, one half, if necessary, to go to the support of their paupers, and the remainder to the education of their children.

§ 2. In addition to the tax already levied by the laws of this Commonwealth, a tax of two dollars shall be levied on every male negro and mulatto over the age of eighteen years, to be assessed and collected as other taxes, and, when paid into the Treasury, shall go into the fund aforesaid.

§ 3. The commissioner of taxes in each county shall keep a separate book, or a separate column in his book, for the enlistment of the taxable property of negroes and mulattoes, and in which the names of all the male negroes and mulattoes over the age of eighteen shall be recorded.

§ 4. The trustees of each school district in this Commonwealth may cause a separate school to be taught in their district, for the education of the negro and mulatto children in said district, to be conducted and reported as other schools are, upon which they shall receive their proportion of the fund set apart in this act for that purpose.

Approved February 16, 1866.

NEW LAW ON TAXES, SCHOOLS, PAUPERS, INVOLVING BLACKS 1866

§ 1. That all the taxes hereafter collected from negroes and mulattoes in this Commonwealth, shall be set apart and constitute a separate fund for their use and benefit, one half, if necessary, to go to the support of their paupers, and the remainder to the education of their children.

§ 5. This act shall take effect from its passage.
§ 5. The county court of each county may certify to the Auditor of Public Accounts the number of negro and mulatto paupers kept in each county, and upon such certificate draw their proportion of the fund set apart in this act for that purpose. Said reports shall be made by said courts at their annual court of claims.

§ 6. Chapter 88 of the Revised Statutes, and amendments thereto, shall regulate the mode and manner of distributing the school fund realized under this act; but no part of said fund shall ever be drawn or appropriated otherwise than pursuant to this act in aid of common schools for negroes and mulattoes.

§ 7. The Auditor shall apportion each year the revenue from the fund realized under this act for the benefit of said paupers among the several counties of the State according to the number of said paupers in each county, as shown by the reports of the several county courts.

§ 8. Nothing in this act shall be construed as interfering with the rights of the county courts in levying county taxes.

§ 9. This act shall take effect from its passage.

Approved February 16, 1866.

AN ACT to amend the vagrant laws.

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

§ 1. That if any able-bodied person be found loitering or rambling about, not having the means to maintain himself by some visible property, or who does not betake himself to labor or some honest calling to obtain a livelihood, or who, not possessing such means, has quit his habitation, leaving a wife or child without suitable means of subsistence, or who is idle or dissolute in habits without visible means of support, he shall be taken and adjudged to be a vagrant and guilty of a high misdemeanor.

§ 2. That all such persons may be apprehended by the warrant of a quarterly court judge, city judge, police judge, or justice of the peace, issued upon his own knowledge, or upon information upon oath, and directed to any sheriff, marshal, constable, or other officer authorized by law to execute process, who shall return the same forthwith, together with the prisoner, to a judge of the quarterly court, city or police court, and summon such witnesses as either party may require. The judge to whom the return shall be made shall cause a jury to be empaneled to try the question of guilt or innocence of the prisoner; and if found guilty, to fix by their verdict the time he shall be held or bound to labor, not exceeding twelve months, if the convict be over twenty-one years of age. If a minor, under twenty-one years of age, the jury shall return in their verdict his age.
§ 3. That the convicts over twenty-one years of age shall, by order of the court, be sent to houses of correction in counties and cities having such houses, there to be held to labor; and in counties and cities having no such house, the county court shall appoint a superintendent, requiring him to give bond and security for the faithful discharge of his duties, who shall, upon the order of the court in which the conviction is had, take charge of all convicts over twenty-one years of age, and hire them out for the time convicted, by private contract, to humane and suitable persons, giving preference to those having heretofore owned the service of such convicted person, the superintendent to take bond and good security from the hirer for the price of hire, made payable to the county court or order, upon which suit may be brought in the name of the county court. That after the payment of the costs and fees of the prosecution, and a reasonable allowance to the superintendent for his services, to be made by the court, the net proceeds of the labor of the convict shall go to his family, if he has a family; if no family, then to the payment of his just debts pro rata; or if not required to pay his debts, it shall be paid into the county treasury as a fund to erect houses of correction, or to be applied by order of the county court in such other manner as it may consider best to protect the county against vagrancy.

§ 4. That in case any convict shall escape from service, he shall be bound to serve double the time he had to serve at the time of his escape; and an attested copy of the judgment of conviction shall be authority to any sheriff, marshal, constable, or other like officer in this State, to arrest and return said convict to the keeper of the house of correction, or to the hirer (as the case may be), who shall be entitled to the same fees now allowed by law for arresting and conveying criminals, to be paid out of the proceeds of service or hire.

§ 5. That all persons under twenty-one years of age, convicted of vagrancy, shall be bound out as an apprentice to a master, until the age of twenty-one years, to learn some trade or business, upon the terms which may be agreed upon. The county court clerk shall prepare and keep the indenture, which, when signed, shall have the same effect as indentures of apprenticeship in other cases, and for which the clerk shall have the same fees.

§ 6. That all persons having the custody and control of vagrants convicted under the provisions of this act shall have the same rights and powers, and be under the same responsibilities, as masters of servants and of apprentices during the time for which they have been hired or bound to them.

§ 7. That all laws upon the subject of vagrancy inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

§ 8. That this act shall be in force from its passage.

Approved February 17, 1866.
AN ACT for the benefit of the widow and children of Edmund Smith, deceased.

WHEREAS, Edmund Smith, a free man of color, died in the county of Daviess, some years ago, in the possession of property, and after having made his will, by which he bequeathed his personal estate to his wife and children, who were all at that time slaves; therefore,

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

§ 1. That the personal representative of said Smith is hereby authorized to carry out the provisions of said will, and to recognize the persons named in said will as legatees, in the same manner he would have done had such persons been free at the time of the making of said will: Provided. This act shall not interfere with any rights to said estate claimed by legal heirs of said Edmund Smith.

§ 2. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Approved February 13, 1866.

AN ACT for the benefit of Emily Evans, a free woman of color.

WHEREAS, George Johnson, a free man of color, of McLean county, having departed this life intestate, leaving real and personal estate, and leaving no person at the time of his death capable of inheriting said estate, but leaving an only child, Emily Evans, who was at the time of his death a slave; and the said decedent having made all necessary arrangements to purchase her or procure her freedom, but having been murdered before said arrangement was perfected; and the said Emily being now a free woman, therefore,

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

§ 1. That the said Emily Evans be capable of inheriting as heir at law of the said George Johnson, deceased, all his estate, real, personal, and mixed; and that any right of escheat which the State of Kentucky may have to said estate is hereby waived and released in her favor; and that it shall be lawful for her to take charge of the real estate, and for the administrators to pay over the personal estate to her; but said estate shall be first subject to the payment of the debts against the decedent, and the costs, charges, and expenses of administration; and the said Emily Evans may sue for a settlement of said estate, and recover the surplus assets found upon such settlement in the hands of the administrators.

§ 2. This act to take effect from its passage.

Approved February 13, 1866.

AN ACT for the benefit of the Negroes and Mulattoes of this Commonwealth.

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

§ 1. That the capitation and other taxes collected from Negroes and mulattoes shall be set apart and constitute a separate fund for the support of their paupers and the education of their children, as hereinafter provided.

§ 2. In addition to the capitation tax already levied by the laws of this Commonwealth, a tax of two dollars shall be levied on every male negro and mulatto over the age of eighteen years, which shall be assessed and collected as other taxes and added to the fund aforesaid.

§ 3. The commissioner of taxes in each county shall keep a separate column in his book for the enlistment of taxable property of negroes and mulattoes, and in which the names of all the male negroes and mulattoes over the age of eighteen years shall be recorded.

§ 4. The taxes collected under this act shall be applied exclusively to the support of negroes and mulattoes, and the education of negro and mulatto children in the county in which it was collected.

§ 5. The sheriff shall pay over said fund to the county treasurer; and if there be no county treasurer, it shall be the duty of the annual court of claims to elect, every two years, a receiver, to whom the sheriff shall pay the fund aforesaid. The receiver shall execute bond, with good security, approved by the presiding judge, for the faithful application.
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performance of his duties. The county treasurer, or receiver, shall hold said fund subject to the order of the annual court of claims.

§ 6. The trustees of each common school district in the county may cause a school to be taught in their district for the education of negro and mulatto children in said district; and shall report to the county school commissioner the number of children in attendance at said school during the year, for not less than three months; and the county school commissioner shall report to the annual court of claims all the negro schools thus taught in the county; and said court shall allow, out of the fund aforesaid, two dollars and fifty cents ($2.50) for each scholar who has attended school three months, or a longer period.

The county judge, when said appropriation is made, shall draw his warrant on the county treasurer, or receiver, in favor of the county school commissioner, for the aggregate amount thereof; and the county school commissioner shall pay the same proportionately to the trustees of each school district, to be applied by them in defraying the expenses of the said school for the year. The county school commissioner shall report annually to the Superintendent of Public Instruction the number of negro schools taught, number of children in attendance, and amount paid by him under this act. The county commissioner shall be responsible, on his official bond, for the school fund that passes into his hands. The court may allow him a reasonable sum for his services, as aforesaid, to be paid out of the fund. No person shall be a teacher under this act, unless he has first obtained a certificate from the county commissioner certifying that he is qualified, and is a proper person to teach the schools herein provided for.

§ 7. The residue of said fund shall constitute the negro and mulatto pauper fund of the county. It shall be the duty of the county court to provide for the taking care of the negro and mulatto paupers in the county. It shall be the duty of the court of claims to audit the claims of such persons in the county who have taken care of and provided for negro or mulatto paupers, under the order of the county judge; and, when a claim is allowed, the court shall authorize the presiding judge to draw his warrant on the county treasurer, or receiver, in favor of the claimant, for the amount thereof.

§ 8. It shall be the duty of the sheriff of each county to notify any one who is indebted to a negro or mulatto the amount of his taxes under this act, that he will subject the amount thereof to the payment of said tax; whereupon, it shall be the duty of the debtor to pay, when due, the amount of said negro's taxes to the sheriff, and the payment by the debtor shall be a discharge of so much of the indebtedness.

§ 9. An act, entitled "An act for the benefit of the negroes and mulattoes of this Commonwealth," approved February 16, 1866, is hereby repealed.

§ 10. The funds collected from each county and paid into the Treasury under said act, shall be drawn from the Treasury by the county court of the county in which they were collected, to be disposed of by said court under the provisions of this act.

§ 11. This act to take effect from its passage.

Approved March 9, 1867.
AN ACT to amend an “Act for the benefit of the Negroses and Mulattoes of this Commonwealth,” approved March 9, 1867.

WHEREAS, A difference of opinion exists in regard to the application of the fund authorized to be raised by an act, entitled “An act for the benefit of the negroses and mulattoes of this Commonwealth,” approved March 9th, 1867:

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

§ 1. That no part of the fund authorized to be raised by the aforesaid act shall be applied to school purposes as therein provided, except whatever excess there may be after providing for the negro and mulatto paupers in each county.

§ 2. No part of said fund collected in the present year shall be applied, except as provided in the first section of this act.

§ 3. This act shall be in force from its passage.

Approved January 9, 1868.

AN ACT to repeal an act, entitled “An act for the benefit of the Negroses and Mulattoes of this Commonwealth,” approved March 9, 1867.

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

§ 1. That an act, entitled “An act for the benefit of the negroses and mulattoes of this Commonwealth,” approved March the 9th, 1867, be, and the same is, repealed.

§ 2. That hereafter the same tax per capita, and the same rate of taxation on real and personal estate (except taxes for common school purposes), shall be collected of all the negroses and mulattoes in this Commonwealth as of the white population, and no other.

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

Approved February 9, 1871.
1871 REVISION TO DANVILLE CHARTER, ALLOWING VOTE MANIPULATION

AN ACT to amend the Charter of the Town of Danville.

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

§ 1. That the following words and parts of section one of the act amending the charter of the town of Danville, approved March 1, 1860, be stricken out, viz.: The words "twelve months," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "three years," and by striking out the words "subject to taxation under the general law," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "including the owners of cemetery lots in the said town of Danville."

§ 2. No person shall be entitled to vote at any election held under the charter of said town, or the amendments thereto, who, at the time he shall offer to vote, is in arrears for taxes due to said town, or for any fine imposed under the ordinances or charter of said town.

§ 3. That the police judge of the town of Danville, and the county judge of Boyle county, only shall have the right and power to issue a warrant for, or try any person for, an alleged violation of the ordinances of said town.

§ 4. The county judge of the county of Boyle alone shall have the power to appoint the judges and officers of any and all elections held, or to be held, under the charter and laws of said town. To him the poll-books of all such elections shall be returned. He shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to count and compare the result of all such elections, and to give certificates of election to such person or persons as may receive the highest number of legal votes. After comparing the result, as above required, the county judge shall deposit all such books in the office of the clerk of the Boyle county court, by whom, in his office, the same shall be preserved.

§ 5. That all acts or parts of acts in relation to the town of Danville, in conflict with this act, or inconsistent herewith, are hereby repealed.

§ 6. This act shall be in force from its passage.

Approved February 17, 1871.

1873 LAW ON BLACK SCH IN BOWLING GREEN

AN ACT for the benefit of colored public schools at Bowling Green.

WHEREAS, George Winrow, David Lillard, Christopher Core, and others, men of color, trustees of the African school at Bowling Green, Warren county, Kentucky, hold, by a deed in trust for the benefit of the colored people of said city, a lot of ground in Bowling Green, Kentucky; and whereas, said lot of ground was purchased and deeded in trust to said trustees for the purpose of erecting a school-house upon the same; and whereas, the said lot is ineligible situated and almost entirely inaccessible to a large proportion of those entitled and desiring to avail themselves of its benefits; therefore,

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

§ 1. That George Winrow, David Lillard, Christopher Core, and others, men of color, trustees of the African school at Bowling Green, Kentucky, be, and they are hereby, authorized to sell and convey the said lot of land they now hold in trust for the benefit of the colored people of Bowling Green, and to purchase instead thereof a more eligible and accessible lot for school purposes, subject to all the restrictions, &c., and in trust for the colored people of Bowling Green, as they now hold the lot of land hereby authorized to be sold and conveyed.

§ 2. That the above named commissioners shall enter into bond and security, to be approved by the presiding judge of the Warren county court, that they will faithfully apply the funds arising under this act.

§ 3. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Approved February 12, 1873.
STATE LAW TO ESTABLISH BLACK SCHOOLS IN HANCOCK CO (1873)

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AN ACT to establish free schools for the colored people in Hancock county.

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

§ 1. It shall be the duty of [the] school commissioner for Hancock county to lay off said county into school districts, for the purpose of establishing schools for colored children in said county. Each school district shall contain at least twenty-five colored children, between the ages of six and eighteen years. The school commissioner shall appoint three trustees in each school district, and at least one of said trustees shall be a colored man; and all shall be colored, if colored men qualified can be found to act.

§ 2. A tax of one dollar on the head shall be levied and collected from every colored man over eighteen years of age each year in Hancock county, and a tax of twenty-five cents upon each one hundred dollars' worth of taxable property in said county shall be levied and collected from colored persons in said county, which taxes shall be collected by the sheriff of the county, and he shall pay the same out upon the order of the school commissioner for said county, for the purpose of paying teachers of the colored schools in said county.

§ 3. The trustees shall cause a school to be taught in each school district, in each year, for at least three months, and report said school to the school commissioner on or before the first day of December of each year.

§ 4. The money shall be distributed among the various districts, according to the number of children, between six and eighteen years of age, in each district.

§ 5. If a school district fails to teach a school, then the money due said district shall be apportioned among the districts teaching schools.

§ 6. The sheriff shall be allowed the same commission in collecting the money as he is allowed in collecting the State revenue, and shall be liable in the same manner on his bond for the same. The sheriff shall collect the money on or before the first day of December in each year.

§ 7. The commissioner shall be allowed one per cent. upon all money collected in each year, which shall be in full of his pay for superintending said school.

§ 8. In case a school is not taught in a district, the children in said district may attend a colored school taught in any other district in said county, and draw their proportion of the school money.

§ 9. The county court of the county shall cause the sheriff to settle for the money collected in each year, and cause the sheriff to pay the money over to the persons entitled to the same.

§ 10. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Approved February 14, 1873.
AN ACT to establish a uniform system of common schools for the colored children of this Commonwealth.

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

§ 1. That there shall be a uniform system of common schools for the education of the colored children of this Commonwealth.

§ 2. That the school fund for this purpose shall be known as the colored school fund, and shall consist of the following provisions, viz:

1. The present annual revenue tax of twenty-five cents, and twenty cents in addition, on each one hundred dollars in value of the taxable property owned or held by colored persons, which tax shall be devoted to no other purpose whatever.

2. A capitation tax of one dollar on each male colored person above the age of twenty-one years.

3. All taxes levied and collected on dogs owned or kept by colored persons.

4. All State taxes on deeds, suits, or on any license, collected from colored persons.

5. All the fines, penalties, and forfeitures imposed upon and collected from colored persons due the State, except the amount thereof allowed by law to attorneys for the Commonwealth.

§ 3. The revenue arising annually from the resources provided by this act shall constitute the sum to be distributed each year, by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, as now provided by the common school law. It shall be the duty of all clerks or judges of courts wherein such fines, penalties, and forfeitures, or taxes on deeds, suits, and licenses, are imposed, to collect and pay the same into the Treasury, by the first day of January in each year, deducting five per cent. thereof for collection.

§ 4. The assessor of each county shall keep a separate column in his book showing the enlistment of capitulation and taxable property of all colored persons therein subject to taxation by the provisions of this act.

§ 5. The sheriff of each county shall be allowed five per cent. of the taxes collected and paid into the Treasury by him for the colored school fund.
§ 6. The sheriff shall appropriate the taxes, or any part thereof, collected from any colored person, to whatever fund said colored person may designate, in all cases where he is not able to pay the entire tax assessed against him for State, county, school, and municipal purposes.

§ 7. The Auditor shall keep a separate account for the colored school fund, which shall constitute a basis for the Superintendent's annual pro rata distribution to the colored children of this Commonwealth.

§ 8. That the number of colored children in each district, between the ages of six and sixteen years, shall be taken and reported at the same time and in the same manner as required by law for taking the census of white children; and the distribution of the colored school fund shall be made at the same time and in the same manner as provided by law for the distribution of the school fund for white children.

§ 9. The county school commissioner shall be responsible, on his official bond, for the proper distribution of whatever portion of the colored school fund may come into his possession, and for his compensation shall receive three dollars for each colored common school taught in his county, and visited while in session, and one per cent. on all the moneys disbursed by him in the support of the colored common schools of his county.

§ 10. The commissioner shall lay off the county into suitable districts, most convenient to the greatest number of colored children in each county, so that no district shall contain more than one hundred nor less than twenty colored children of pupil age.

§ 11. In counties where there are not a sufficient number of colored children to form various schools, a single school may be organized and taught in the locality where the greatest number of colored children reside, and all the colored children of pupil age in the county shall have the privilege of attending said school.

§ 12. That the commissioner, at the beginning of each school year, shall appoint three colored school trustees to each colored school district. These trustees shall have the management of the colored school of their district, employ a teacher therein, and shall notify the parents of the colored children in the district that it is their privilege to send their children to said school free of charge. They shall also report to the commissioner the length of time said school was taught by a qualified teacher, not less than three months in each year, except where there are not more than sixty colored children in a district, then the school may be taught for two months, with the consent of the commissioner. Appeals from the decision of the trustees, upon the petition of any dissatisfied colored person in the district, may be taken to the county commissioner, whose decision in the case shall be final.
§ 13. That the trustees of each district may obtain a site for a school-house, and erect a house thereon, by purchase, gift, devise, or donation, and hold and preserve the same for the use and benefit of said school district.

§ 14. That applicants to teach the schools provided for in this act shall obtain certificates in the same manner as now provided by law for applicants to teach white schools, except that the examination may not be extended beyond spelling, reading, writing, and common arithmetic; and a school taught by a teacher competent to teach these branches shall be a lawful school.

§ 15. That the Superintendent, commissioners, and trustees may receive gifts, donations, and devises for the benefit of colored schools in the State, a particular county or district respectively, and shall hold and use the same as requested by donor or devisor.

§ 16. That it shall not be lawful for any colored child to attend a common school provided for white children, nor for a white child to attend a common school provided for colored children.

§ 17. The teacher of each colored common school shall teach at least six hours each day, keep a register of the school, and within ten days after the close of the session report to the commissioner the highest, lowest, and average number of pupils in attendance during the session.

§ 18. No school-house erected for a colored school shall be located nearer than one mile of a school-house erected for white children, except in cities and towns, where it shall not be nearer than six hundred feet.

§ 19. The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall provide and furnish the commissioner of each county with the necessary blanks, and perform all other duties similar to those he performs for the white children under the common school law. He shall be allowed a clerk, who shall be paid a salary of seven hundred dollars a year to assist him in his duties pertaining to colored common schools; and said salary and all other expenses incident to a proper conduct of the colored common school system shall be paid out of the colored school fund.

§ 20. The colored school officers and teachers may organize for themselves a State association and auxiliary county institutes, under similar provisions to those made for the officers and teachers of white schools in chapter eighteen (18) of the General Statutes.

§ 21. The State Board of Education shall prescribe a course of study and adopt rules for the government of the colored common schools.
§ 22. That all the provisions of chapter eighteen (18) of the General Statutes, which may be deemed necessary for the government of colored common schools, not in conflict with this act, shall apply to the same, which shall be determined by the State Board of Education; and when said board shall have determined upon the provisions of said chapter essential to the government of colored common schools, and adopted such text-books and regulations as it may deem proper for the interest of said schools, the Superintendent of Public Instruction shall compile and publish them, and shall furnish to the commissioner of each county a sufficient number for the use of the colored school trustees of the same.

§ 23. That all unexpended surplus remaining over at the expiration of the school year shall be returned to the Treasury, and shall be distributed by the Superintendent the ensuing year: Provided, Any portion of it that may not be necessary to make the per capita equal to that of a white pupil child may be invested, by the State Board of Education, for the benefit of colored schools in this Commonwealth, the interest upon which shall be annually distributed.

§ 24. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

§ 25. That this act shall take effect from its passage.

Approved February 23, 1874.
AN ACT to establish free schools for the education of colored children of
the city of Owensboro.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth

of Kentucky:

§ 1. That the mayor and council of the city of Owensboro,
in addition to the taxes authorized by the charter of said
city, be, and they are, authorized to levy a tax of two dollars
on every male citizen of African descent, over the age of

twenty-one years, resident in the said city of Owensboro; and
also to levy upon the property owned by all persons of Afri-
dean descent, resident in said city, a tax of thirty cents upon
each one hundred dollars' worth of property situated within
said city liable for taxation for State and revenue purposes,
the proceeds of which shall constitute a fund for the educa-
tion of the colored children residents in said city.

§ 2. The taxes to be raised under this act shall be collected
in the same manner that the taxes are collected for the sup-
port of the public schools for the education of the white chil-
dren in the said city of Owensboro, and by the same officers;
and when collected, shall be paid to the treasurer of said city,
who shall be responsible therefor on his official bond, and pay
them out upon the order of the trustees hereinafter provided
for. The said order, before paid by the treasurer, shall be
signed by the president of the board of trustees and the sec-
dary, and countersigned across the face of the order by the
superintendent of the public schools within and for the said
city of Owensboro.

§ 3. The mayor and council shall appoint seven persons,
three from each ward and one at large, residents of said city
of Owensboro, at their first stated meeting in May, who shall
be the trustees of the schools herein provided for; and it shall
be their duty to apply the funds raised under this act as they
dem, best to the erection or renting of school-rooms, and the
establishment and support of schools for the education and
benefit of colored children between the ages of six and twen-
ty years, resident in the said city. They shall take an oath
faithfully to perform their duties as such trustees, and shall
hold their offices for one year, and until their successors shall
have been appointed and qualified. The mayor and council
shall make said appointment at their first stated meeting in
May of each year until further provided by law. That said
trustees shall keep a record of all their proceedings in a well
bound book or books provided for the purpose, and transmit
a semi-annual report to the city council of the condition, re-
sources, number of scholars attending said schools, and their
receipts and disbursements.

§ 4. The said board of trustees shall have power to make
all by-laws and rules for the government of themselves and
appointees, and for the general management, control, and gov-
ernment of the schools.
§ 3. The board of trustees shall appoint all teachers and other persons necessary to successfully carry on said school, and prescribe all rules for their government, and fix their compensation or salary, and may dismiss or suspend any teacher or other persons appointed by them, and prescribe the necessary qualification for teachers and the branches of education to be taught in the said schools, grade the schools and classes, and the mode of examination of pupils or persons applying for admission to the schools; they shall provide class-books for the children whose parents are unable to buy them.

§ 6. That the funds provided for by this act shall be paid in money, and shall be kept separate and apart from the other moneys raised in said city by taxation for the said city; and when any person or persons owing the taxes herein provided for shall fail to pay said taxes, and have no property subject to levy for the same, the officer collecting the taxes may, and it shall be his duty, to serve a notice upon any debtor of said person, which shall operate as an attachment, and the officer is hereby authorized to receive from such debtor the amount of such tax, and the payment to him shall be a discharge to that extent of the debts.

§ 7. Provided, that no tax shall be assessed under this act until the question of taxation shall have been submitted to the colored voters of the city of Owensboro, and a majority of said voters polled at said election shall have voted in favor of said taxes. Said question shall be submitted to the colored voters by the city council of the city of Owensboro, upon the application of ten colored voters of said city of Owensboro, at least fifteen days previous notice of said election to be posted at the court-house door in Owensboro, and at four other public places in said city, and that said notice be also published in the Owensboro newspapers for two weeks next preceding the election.

§ 8. This act to take effect from its passage.

Approved February 27, 1880.
AN ACT to amend chapter 62 of the General Statutes, by striking out the word "white" in articles 1 and 3, prescribing qualifications of grand and petit jurors.

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

§ 1. That section (1) one of article (1) one, chapter (62) Gen. Stat., chap. 62, arts. 1 and 3, amended.

§ 2. Section (2) two of article (3) three of said chapter is amended by striking out the word "white," in the third line of said section.

§ 3. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Approved January 26, 1882.

LAW PROPOSING INCREASED TAXES TO EQUALIZE SCHOOLS 1882

AN ACT in relation to the common schools of this Commonwealth, providing for the levy of an additional tax, and a submission of same to the people.

WHEREAS, By existing law there is a difference in the per capita to which the white and colored pupil children of this Commonwealth are entitled; and whereas, no such difference in the per capita due such white and colored pupil children should exist; and whereas, the tax of twenty cents on the $100 now levied in support of common schools was levied only after the ratification and approval of the white voters of the Commonwealth, and was only intended for the benefit of white children; and whereas, an additional tax of two cents on the $100 levied on all the property in the Commonwealth subject to taxation for revenue purposes will...
LAW PROPOSING INCREASED TAXES TO EQUALIZE SCHOOLS 1882

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§ 1. Hereafter be united and become one fund, to which the white and colored pupil children of this State shall be entitled in the same proportion. The school ages of colored children shall be from six to twenty years, and the capitation tax imposed upon colored people for school purposes is hereby repealed.

§ 2. But nothing in this act shall be construed in anywise, or to any extent, or for any purpose, to authorize any white child to attend any common school for colored children, or any colored child to attend any school for white children; but white and colored schools shall be forever kept and maintain, and separately.

§ 3. This act shall not take effect until ratified and approved by a majority of the legally qualified voters of the State voting on the question; and to ascertain the sense of the qualified voters, it shall be the duty of the sheriff and other officers conducting the next annual election to be held on first Monday in August, 1882, to open a poll in the various precincts in their respective counties, and take the sense of the qualified voters of the Commonwealth upon the propriety and expediency of imposing an additional tax of three cents on each $100 worth of property in the State subject to taxation, for the purpose of increasing the common school fund of Kentucky, and of equalizing the white and colored per capita.

§ 4. That it shall be the duty of the sheriff and other returning officers to make out a correct list of the vote required to be taken under this act, and it shall be the duty of county judge and county clerks of the several counties to compare and certify said lists of their respective counties; and said county clerk shall cause the same to be delivered to the Secretary of State within sixty days after the day of said election; and, upon failure of any one of them to do so, he shall be fined in the sum of $100, to be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction.

§ 5. If it shall appear from said vote that a majority of the votes cast under the provisions of this act or in favor of said tax, then this act shall stand in full force and effect, as fully and completely as though the time at which it should take effect was fixed in this act; and it shall thereupon be the duty of the Secretary of State to forthwith notify, in writing, the sheriff of each county, or the collector of State revenue in each county, if there be no sheriff therein, that this act is in full force and effect, and for such sheriff or collecting officer to collect, in addition to the tax now fixed by law, an additional tax of three cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of property in this State subject to taxation for State revenue purposes.
§ 6. That it shall be the duty of the Public Printer to print and deliver immediately to the Secretary of State twenty-five hundred copies of this act, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to forward twenty-five copies of same for each Representative district of the House of Representatives to the various clerks of the county courts, in proportion to the representative, by the 15th day of June preceding said August election, and said clerks so required to deliver said copies to the sheriffs of their respective counties, and take receipt therefor; and it shall be the duty of said sheriff to put one copy of this act at the place of voting in each election precinct in their respective counties, at least twenty days before the said August election.

§ 7. That any person, other than a qualified voter of this State, who shall vote for or against the proposition in this act mentioned, shall be subject to all the fines and penalties now in force under existing laws regulating elections.

§ 8. This act shall take effect from and after its passage, so far as it provides for a submission of the vote to the people.

Approved April 24, 1882.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE AND ESTABLISH A PUBLIC SCHOOL FOR COLORED PEOPLE IN THE TOWN OF ELKTON, AND WITHIN A RADIUS OF THREE MILES OF THE COURT-HOUSE IN SAID TOWN.

§ 1. That all of the territory embraced within a Boundary radius of three miles of the court-house, in the town of Elkton, shall be, and is hereby, incorporated as a school district, which shall be under the control and management of a board of trustees elected by the colored voters within the limits of said territory as hereinafter directed.

§ 2. The persons so elected shall constitute and be styled the board of trustees of the Elkton colored public school, and by that name shall be a body-politic and corporate, and may sue and be sued, contract and be contracted with; may buy and sell and convey real estate and personal estate necessary for school purposes; and the title to same shall vest in said board of trustees and their successors.

§ 3. The number of trustees for said district shall be five, to be elected on the first Saturday in November biennially, and hold their offices until their suc-
cessors are elected and qualified. A majority of said board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; and in case of the death or resignation of any of said trustees, or if, from any cause, there shall be a vacancy, the other members of the board shall fill said vacancy by the appointment of some suitable and qualified person; said trustees to qualify within one week after their election.

§ 4. Said trustees, before entering upon the discharge of their duties, shall take an oath to faithfully perform the duties required of them under this act, before a justice of the peace or county judge.

§ 5. The said board of trustees shall have the power to fix the time and place of meeting; to make all by-laws and rules for the government of themselves and appointees, and for the management, control and government of said public school; and shall cause to be kept a correct journal of their proceedings, which shall be open at all times to the inspection of any citizen of Elkton and the territory mentioned.
§ 9. The said board of trustees shall, at the end of each scholastic year, make out a report in writing (and have the same published, if they deem it necessary), showing the number of pupils in said school, and the condition and amount of property and funds belonging thereto, and such other facts and information as the cause of public education requires.

§ 10. The following persons are hereby constituted and appointed trustees under this act, viz: E. A. Loving, Polk Henderson, Anderson Hardwick, Armstead McReynolds and Robert Cope, with power to fill vacancies as herein provided, and serve until their successors are elected and qualified.

§ 11. The said board of trustees shall provide the funds for purchasing suitable grounds, and for building the school-house, and paying all the expenses of said school; and to this end it shall be the duty of said board of trustees, and they are hereby authorized and empowered and directed, to cause to be levied and collected an annual tax at the rate of not exceeding ninety-five cents upon each one hundred dollars' worth of the property owned by colored persons subject to taxation for revenue purposes to the State within the limits of said school district aforesaid; the assessment and collection to be made at the same time and in the same manner as is now provided by law for the assessment and collection of taxes for the maintenance and support of the Elkon public school, approved —, 1886. This tax shall be called the school tax for the Elkon colored public school, and payable in money only, and is to be used for the purpose of defraying the annual expenses of said school, and the construction of a building in which to teach said school, including repairs upon the building and the payment of the secretary, treasurer and assessor and collector that may be appointed and authorized to discharge the duties thereof; and also to levy and collect annually a capitation tax not exceeding two dollars on each colored male citizen within the limits of said district over twenty-one years of age. The assessor appointed by the trustees of the Elkon public schools to assess the taxable property in that district for school purposes, shall make the assessment
necessary for fixing and collecting the taxes to be raised under this act and under the same regulations and rules, and at the same time as may be prescribed by the trustees of said Elkton public school in their own assessments, and shall receive for his services compensation at the same rate as therein provided. The taxes to be raised under this act shall likewise be collected by the same collector collecting the taxes for the Elkton public school district, who shall have the same power and authority in the collection of same as he has conferred upon him by that act, and shall collect the taxes under this act at the same time that he collects the taxes for said Elkton public school district. The treasurer of said Elkton public school district shall act as the treasurer for the colored public school created under this act, under the same responsibilities and penalties as treasurer for said former school, and his sureties thereunder shall be responsible for all the money that passes into his hands which may be collected under this act as they are under or his bond for the collection of the taxes as tax collector for the Elkton public school district: Provided, That said tax shall not be levied and collected until the question shall have been submitted, by said board of trustees, to the resident colored tax payers within the limits of said school district required to pay taxes under this act for said public school; and if a majority of said voters voting shall vote in favor of the levy and collection of said tax, then it shall be the duty of said board of trustees to cause said tax to be levied and collected as aforesaid, and appropriated for the construction of a school-house and for the maintenance and support of said public school, and the purchase of suitable grounds.

§ 12. The board of trustees shall appoint two judges and a clerk to hold the election for taking the sense of the voters in said district upon the question of levying and collecting said tax, and also for the election of trustees of said district, who shall be sworn as officers for holding State and county elections; and said judges shall make out and return the pollbooks to said board of trustees, who shall examine the same, note the result upon their journal, and issue certificates of election to those having the highest number of votes for trustees.
§ 13. The superintendent for common schools shall annually make an estimate of the share or proportion of the State common school fund which would be coming or due to that part of the territory embraced within the limits of said public school district aforesaid, as if the boundaries of the same were taken as the boundary of such district; and shall annually pay over to the treasurer aforesaid, herein created, the full amount of such proportion or share which shall be held and used by them as the other funds herein provided for.

§ 14. The board of trustees may admit into said school colored children who do not reside within the limits of said school district upon such terms and conditions, and upon payment of such charges, as the said board may deem right.

§ 15. The limits and lines of the Elkton public school district shall be the limits and lines of the school district created by this act.

§ 16. The treasurer and tax collector, in the performance of their duties under this act, shall receive the same compensation for their services therefor as may be allowed them by this board of trustees of the Elkton public school district in the performance of their duties under that board and the act creating the same.

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

Approved March 16, 1886.
AN ACT to regulate the travel or transportation of the white and colored passengers on the railroads of this State. (Chap. 42)

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

§ 1. Any railroad company or corporation, person or persons, running or otherwise operating railroad cars or coaches by steam or otherwise, on any railroad line or track within this State, and all railroad companies, person or persons, doing business in this State, whether upon lines of railroad owned in part or whole, or leased by them; and all railroad companies, person or persons, operating railroad lines that may hereafter be built under existing charters, or charters that may hereafter be granted in this State; and all foreign corporations, companies, person or persons, organized under charters granted, or that may be hereafter granted, by any other State, who may be now, or may hereafter be, engaged in running or operating any of the railroads of this State, either in part or whole, either in their own name or that of others, are hereby required to furnish separate coaches or cars for the travel or transportation of the white and colored passengers on their respective lines of railroad. Each compartment of a coach divided by a good and substantial wooden partition, with a door therein, shall be deemed a separate coach, within the meaning of this act, and each separate coach or compartment shall bear in some conspicuous place appropriate words in plain letters indicating the race for which it is set apart.

§ 2. That the railroad companies, person or persons, shall make no difference or discrimination in the quality, convenience or accommodations in the cars or coaches or partitions set apart for white and colored passengers.

§ 3. That any railroad company or companies that shall fail, refuse or neglect to comply with the provisions of sections one and two of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon indictment and conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand five hundred dollars for each offense.

§ 4. That all circuit courts in which railroads are operated in this State shall have complete jurisdiction over such offenses.
§ 5. The conductors or managers on all railroads shall have power, and are hereby required, to assign to each white or colored passenger his or her respective car or coach or compartment, and should any passenger refuse to occupy the car, coach or compartment to which he or she may be assigned by the conductor or manager, said conductor or manager shall have the right to refuse to carry such passenger on his train, and may put such passenger off of the train. And for such refusal and putting off the train neither the manager, conductor nor railroad company shall be liable for damages in any court.

§ 6. That any conductor or manager on any railroad who shall fail or refuse to carry out the provisions of section five of this act shall, upon conviction, be fined not less than fifty nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense.

§ 7. The provisions of this act shall not apply to employes of railroads or persons employed as nurses or officers in charge of prisoners.

Approved May 24, 1892.

VIOLENCE AGAINST MAIL AGENT IN SHELBY CO DENOUNCED IN KY SENATE JAN 1871

A message in writing was also received from the Governor by Mr. Samuels, which was taken up and read, with the accompanying documents, as follows, viz:

STATE OF KENTUCKY, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
FRANKFORT, JANUARY 31, 1871.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

A rumor reached me three days ago that an attempt at personal violence upon the Mail Agent on the downward train of the Lexington and Louisville Railroad had been made on the 26th inst., by some unknown person or persons, at North Benson Depot, in Shelby county.

I waited a day, hoping that some official statement would be made to me of this reported act of violence.

Receiving none, I directed the Adjutant General of the State to dispatch some reliable agent to North Benson, ascertain the facts attending the alleged assault, and report immediately. My request was promptly complied with, and I now transmit the written report of the Adjutant General touching this attempted assault upon the Mail Agent at that place.

No recommendation from me is necessary, I trust, to call forth promptly from you an indignant rebuke of this open violation, both of the laws of the United States and those of Kentucky.
VIOLENCE AGAINST MAIL AGENT IN SHELBY CO DENOUNCED IN KY SENATE
JAN 1871

You owe it to both Governments promptly to enact such laws as will tend to the capture of the offenders, and certainly prevent the recurrence of any such attempt in the future by bad men upon any officer or agent of the Federal or State Government.

As the Chief Magistrate of this Commonwealth, I have no power to take any step under the present law for the arrest or apprehension of these lawless offenders upon one of the most important agencies of the United States Government.

I do not possess the power to offer a reward for their apprehension, unless requested to do so by the civil authorities of the county within whose territorial limits the alleged offense was committed. I have no authority to order out either a civil posse or a militia force for the arrest of these men, except at the request of the civil authority, and none such has been made upon me.

The highest and most solemn duty of the General Assembly is to apply some prompt corrective to the increasing spirit of insubordination to law, and the open and daring attempts by bad men at its overthrow. I have too recently expressed at length my opinion on this subject to require repetition.

If our present laws are defective, amend them. If new ones are demanded by public exigencies, promptly enact them. If the means and agencies for the execution of the laws are defective and inefficient, then supply them, and confer upon the State officials charged with their execution discretion and authority to enforce obedience.

The Constitution of the United States, which created the Government of the Union, has made it wholly independent of the States for the execution of the powers assigned to it. Its means are adequate to its ends. It looks, therefore, to no State Government or State agency for the accomplishment of its constitutional objects.

But while this is true, it is the paramount duty of every State in the American Union to lend their prompt and ready assistance for the protection and safe accomplishment of all constitutional ends of the Federal Government within their territorial limits. If bad men seek to embarrass or obstruct such agencies, let the State authorities be as ready as those of the United States to bring such offenders to punishment. Such has always been the action of Kentucky in the past, and such, I doubt not, will it be in the future.

J. W. STEVENSON.
To His Excellency, John W. Stevenson, Governor and Commander-in-Chief:

Sirs: In accordance with your instructions, directing me to ascertain the facts connected with the late assault upon the United States Mail Agent at North Benson Depot, in Shelby county, on the 26th inst., I have the honor to report, that I sent a reliable agent to the scene on the 29th inst., who returned with the inclosed statement of facts, as given by Mr. H. C. Hodges, the local Mail Agent and Depot-Master at that Depot.

Very respectfully,

J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,
Adjutant General of Kentucky.

[Copy.]

LOUISVILLE, CINCINNATI, AND LEXINGTON RAILROAD.

NORTH BENSON STATION, JANUARY 29, 1871.

I hailed the train for a passenger to go to Louisville. Four strangers rode up just before the 3:45 train was due. When the train was within seventy-five yards of the station, the stoutest man of the party stepped out on the platform and drew a Colt's navy revolver, saying he intended to kill the negro Mail Agent. I begged him to desist, and called on some gentlemen to disarm him. His own friends came around him and took his pistol from him. When the train was even with the platform, and running very slow, the man, still bent on assaulting the negro, jumped into the mail-car alone, and attempted to drag the Mail Agent out; but the train moving off very quick, he was frustrated, and jumped from the train after it was in motion. There was only one man entered the car; the other three ran up alongside of the mail-car, but took no part. After the train started off, one of the men fired a pistol into the air. The men were all strangers in this section, and rode off as soon as the train went out of sight.

(Signed) H. C. HODGES.

NORTH BENSON, January 30, 1871.

I sent a correct statement of the whole affair to the Louisville Commercial on the 27th inst.

(Signed) H. C. HODGES.

On motion of Mr. Vallandingham, Ordered, That said message and documents be printed, and referred to the select committee on the subject of law and order.
The first school I ever attended was a two months subscription school taught by an illiterate black man named Howard Chenault, and Webster's Blue back spelling book was the only book used. He could scarcely read himself and couldn't write his name! I next attended a three months subscription school taught by a young woman who had some qualification. Our only books were Webster's Speller and such other simple material as she could find including slates and pencils.

The next year 1830 we had five month's state supported school with a course of study planned by the county board of education. Our school house was at first an old slave cabin with wide stone fire place and stick chimney reaching about half way to the comb of the house. I have sat in its corner and seen the blue sky thru the stick chimney. Our seats were benches made of split logs with no backs and legs of uneven length. On chilly days we gathered sticks to burn in the wide fire place. But in spite of discomforts I was happy and learned very fast. By the time I had reached the age of eighteen, I had completed the eight grades. I loved books and soon became a good reader. My father subscribed for the Cincinnati weekly Gazette and required me to read it to him, and in that way I became a very good reader. He had an old dictionary which I often consulted, which increased my knowledge of the English language and my general knowledge of things. In 1890 I was hired out to Mr. David Chinault during the spring and to Mr. Elbidge...
In 1891 I walked through the hills to Clay City and obtained a job in the big saw mill. I saved enough money to attend the winter and spring terms at Berea College with the aid of a janitorship. In June 1892 I took the Colored teachers' examination at Winchester and "passed." I was employed to teach a small school at a church called Midway in Clark County, where I taught for three years during which time I continued to attend Berea College during the Winter and spring terms. In the June teachers, 1895, examination I took the examination at Richmond, Ky. and received a first class certificate to teach in Madison County, which I did for twenty-one years. In 1895 I was elected chairman of the Colored Teacher's Association, and continued in that capacity for 20 years, never late, and never failed to attend.
H.A. LAINE DESCRIBES FATHER, MOTHER, EARLY LIFE (b.1-10-1870)

My father was a remarkable man. He possessed the virtues mentioned above. In his veins ran the blood of three races: Indian, Negro, and Caucasian. He inherited from his Negro ancestors physical strength, light heart and jolly disposition, from his Indian ancestors, physical endurance, watchful eyes and a restless spirit; from his Caucasian ancestors, self respect, personal pride and industry. He was owned in slavery time by Major William Lane, wealthy land lord of Estill County, who treated my father as a member of the family. My mother was raised by one of the wealthy Bush families of Clark County. She was given as a present to her young mistress Miss Glorene Bush as a wedding present when she was married to young Mr. Heuben Elkins of Madison County. My mother was taught to call

H.A. LAINE DESCRIBES FATHER, MOTHER, EARLY LIFE (b.1-10-1870)

Her master Mr. Elkins. The Bushes and Elkins were so conscientious that they believed that only one should be called master, only God Himself. My mother was trained in household arts, cooking, sewing, knitting, spinning, weaving, darning, patching and making woolen home spun clothing for the men and boys. She was always busy and cheerful and humming a song. She learned to read in slavery time by the kindness of her young mistress. Her favorite books were the Bible, Pilgrim's
Progress, and the hymns of Dr. Isaac Watts. She was intensely religious and after church services she would express her happiness by going round and shaking hands.

And so today, as I look back over the past, I'm thankful for my mother and father, poor in this world's goods, but rich in mental and spiritual endowment. They, of course, have long since passed on, but their fadeless images hang on the walls of my mind, as my inspiration and guide, as I, too trudge toward the setting sun.

Berea College was a Christian College and each spring a religious revival was conducted. Many students professed Christ joined the college church with the understanding that when ever they graduated or quit school, they were free to move their college church membership to the church of their choice. In the early spring of 1892 the college conducted its customary revival. They secured the services of a great New England minister. The great sermons and fine singing filled the church each night to over flowing.

Brother John G. Lee who was the leader in founding Berea College was very anxious to have me become a Christian and frequently came to my room in Howard Hall and talked to me about it. He would say to me "Brother Laine". I would like to see you converted.
H. A. Laine describes conversion at Berea 1892

"MY Life," typescript autobiography, in museum, EKU (dated Oct 12, 1947)

and come into the church, you would become a very useful man.

God has given you a great mind, why not use it to His name's honor and glory?" Sometimes he would kneel and pray.

I was always interested in Sunday school, so on the Sunday following the beginning of the revival, our Sunday school lesson was taken from the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah. The great prophet was appealing to mankind to come to God and live. I was greatly

affected and that Sunday evening made up my mind to become a Christian. That Sunday night I took a front seat, and after a very effective sermon, Brother Fee, extended the invitation and with out waiting for the choir to sing he started the great

hymn, "Just as I am, with out one Plea". He extended his pleading hand and said to me "Brother Laine, Come!" With out a moments hesitation I arose and extend my hand which he grasped and said "Amen!" The following Sunday I was baptized in the chapel pool by Prof. B. Hunting, principal of the preparatory department and professor of mathematics and latin. It was to me a happy experience. My mind goes back and I recall the great hymn we use to sing at evening worship in Ladies' Hall dining room after supper was over, with the music teacher, Miss Jennie Blinn,
H.A. LAINE DESCRIBES CONVERSION AT BEREA 1892

ha laine "My Life," typescript autobiog, inmuseum, EKU (dated Oct 12, 1947.)

at the piano:

"There is a safe and sacred place
Beneath His wings divine
O child of God, O glory's heir
How rich a lot is thine
A hand Almighty to defend
An ear for every call
An honored life, a peaceful end,
and Heaven to crown it all."

THE NEGRO TEACHER 1865-1900

The status of the teacher in any age and in any culture
is a good indication of the regard for education in that age
or group. It is fitting, therefore, that some discussion
should be given to the Negro teacher, his status, needs, and
problems during the period 1865-1900. It has been previously
pointed out that education was one of the few professional
fields which the Negro found open to him during the period;
it is, therefore, no surprise that the Negro teacher found
himself in a position of social leadership among his own
people. Indeed, one of the great peculiarities of the Ameri-
can culture is that to this day the white teacher does not
enjoy a position of social prominence, but the Negro teacher
stands near the pinnacle of his social group. To teaching move some of the best Negro minds and characters, for here is one of their greatest opportunities to succeed.

The preparation of the Negro teacher during the period 1865 to 1900 was probably often of the most meager sort. No restriction on the preparation of Negro teachers was placed on them previous to 1874. The act of 1874 specified that the Negro teacher was to be examined in the fields of spelling, reading, writing, and common arithmetic. Not until the act of 1894 were Negro and white teachers forced to meet the same certification requirements. This lack of certification requirements, coupled with the scarcity of teacher training institutions and misuse of the local district's certification power, probably allowed many unqualified teachers to enter the field. It is to be remembered, however, that the certification of white teachers was subject to many of the same evils. To state that Negro teachers of the period were any less well qualified than white teachers would be drawing an unwarranted conclusion.

There was a shortage of Negro teachers during the period. Many schools were not started because no Negro teacher could be found. During the period of most rapid enrollment growth in the Negro school, however, the student-to-teacher ratio stayed constant though not high. Table 9 bears out this fact.
Table 9

Negro School Enrollment and Teachers: 1886 - 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Negro Enrollment</th>
<th>Negro Teachers</th>
<th>Student-Teacher Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>54,716</td>
<td>1,104</td>
<td>50-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>57,500</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>50-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>61,300</td>
<td>1,395</td>
<td>46-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>73,381</td>
<td>1,314</td>
<td>46-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>62,508</td>
<td>1,482</td>
<td>43-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This table is based on reports of the United States Commissioner of Education for the years included. No information is available for the years not included.

As could be anticipated, the salaries paid Negro teachers during the period were less than those paid to white teachers. The difference, however, is far less than one would expect. As in other features of Negro education, lack of sufficient records makes it most difficult to draw conclusions.

During the Reconstruction period the aid coming from the Freedmen's Bureau actually made Negro teachers' salaries higher than those of white teachers. In 1867 the average salary paid white teachers was $28.41 per month; for Negro teachers, $31.15. The brevity of the Negro school term,
however, makes the figures less meaningful than if the length of the school terms for whites and Negroes had been equal.

For the decade of the 1880's some figures are available on the salaries paid Negro teachers in the state. In 1881 the average monthly salary of Negro teachers in the elementary schools was $47.70 per month; in 1884, $47.70; in 1887, $46.89; and in 1890, $47.31. Average salaries for Negro secondary teachers during the decade were as follows: in 1884, $90.00; in 1887, $95.00; and in 1890, $83.30.145

Comparative figures for Negro and white teachers are available for the year 1890. Table 10 shows this comparison. As will be noted, the differences in these salaries are somewhat less than would be anticipated.

### Table 10

**Average Monthly Salaries of Negro and White Teachers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>males</td>
<td>females</td>
<td>males</td>
<td>females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Elementary Schools</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$32.76</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$37.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Elementary Schools</td>
<td>$126.11</td>
<td>$48.22</td>
<td>$67.35</td>
<td>$42.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Schools</td>
<td>$140.50</td>
<td>$86.39</td>
<td>$83.30</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FORMATION OF NEGRO ED ASSN 1877-

One other item concerning the Negro teacher should be mentioned, the organization of the Kentucky Negro Education Association. In 1877 Superintendent Henderson called a meeting of Negro teachers throughout the state to discuss the establishment of a normal school for colored persons. The professional spirit displayed at that meeting caused those present to organize into the Kentucky Negro Education Association which has since been an active fighter for better Negro schools. Among the causes for which the K.N.E.A. fought during the nineteenth century were a state normal school for colored persons, the school act of 1882, and a heightening of certification requirements for Negro teachers.

TOWARD EQUALIZATION OF SCHS; SOME UNEQUAL DISTs 1882-90s

This act did away with the two separate systems and made one unified system; however, it did not repeal all of the Act of 1874. Provisions as to school location, course of study, and teacher certification remained as they had been. It is important to note, however, that in only one major respect were Negro schools legally unequal to white schools. This was in certification of teaching personnel. The situation was equated still further the same year when the Negro certification tax for school purposes was repealed.

Although the legal equality of the Negro and white school was nearly complete, the actual equality of the schools was far from reality. Many school districts continued to
TOWARD EQUALIZATION OF SCHOOLS; SOME UNEQUAL DISTRICTS 1882-90s

TOWARD EQUALIZATION OF SCHOOLS; SOME UNEQUAL DISTRICTS 1882-90s

Toward Equalization of Schs; Some Unequal Dis'ts 1882-90s support Negro education only to the extent that Negroes in the district paid taxes. Such a practice led to the existence of a three-month's school term for Negroes in Owensboro while the white children enjoyed a nine-months' term. This situation was resolved in the court case of Claybrooks v. the city of Owensboro in which the Federal District Court for Kentucky declared such practice to be at issuance with the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. Justice Barr, in giving the decision of the court, stated:

This discrimination in the benefit of taxes raised ... is, I think, denying colored children of Owensboro the equal protection of the law, and within the inhibition of the fourteenth amendment of the federal constitution. 70

Prejudicial practices of this sort were also hampered by the declaration by the Kentucky Court of Appeals that the distribution of funds on the basis of taxes paid, and hence the Act of 1874, was unconstitutional. The case was Dawson v. Lee; Lee v. Hill. The Bullitt Circuit Court had declared:

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. 71

The Court of Appeals upheld the decision. Judge Lewis, in giving the decision, stated:

It was obviously the intention of the Legislature, and such is the proper construction of the act, to exclude 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 under general laws on the property of white persons for school purposes, and to give them the benefit of only the fund provided for in the special act. In this respect, as well as regards the partial and discriminating taxation provided for, the act is, in our opinion, in violation of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the Supreme Court. 72

Under the Act of 1882 Negro education enjoyed a great growth. In 1881 there had been only 764 districts in which Negro schools were taught. 73 By 1884 this number had increased to 849; 74 in 1887, 986; 75 and in 1890, 1,052. 76 In 1893 the number was reduced to 948, but this reduction was due to union of districts rather than a loss in school strength or services. 77
The uncertainty created by the vague nature of the Negro education laws of 1866 and 1867 caused the Negro elementary education of Kentucky to get off to a slow start. The first Negro school census of the state, which included ages six to sixteen, showed only 41,804 Negroes of school age. Of these, only a small number actually received the benefits of public elementary education previous to 1874. Possibly as few as two thousand Negro children were educated in public elementary schools during the years 1866 to 1874. No care and very little thought were given to the keeping of adequate records for Negro schools during the period; we can, therefore, reach conclusions only of a very general nature regarding the extent of public education for Kentucky's minor race.

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Venable says: "In 1880 there were no white schools with a term of less than three months; however, 339 of the 773 Negro schools had terms of three months or less."
The quality of the buildings was likewise a hampering influence on Negro education. In 1881 the State Superintendent of Public Instruction reported there were 3,238 log one-room schools for whites and 277 for Negroes. There were 2,354 frame one-room schools for whites and 191 for Negroes. There were 162 multi-room schools for whites and only 11 such buildings for Negroes. 99

Special education for exceptional Negro children did not come until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Kentucky Institution for the Deaf located at Danville opened its doors to Negroes in 1885, 101 and the Kentucky Schools for the Blind followed in 1889. 102 In 1890 the school for the deaf reported fourteen colored students; the school for the blind, twenty-six. 103
t a venable, 'hist of negro ed in ky,' phd disser, peabody, 1953

By 1900 there were seven public high schools for Negroes in the state. The following is a list of these schools, their location, teaching staff, and enrollment:

William Grant High School, Covington; 2 teachers, 18 students
Clinton Street High School, Frankfort; 2 teachers, 43 students
Russell School, Lexington; 11 teachers, 207 students
Central High School, Louisville; 10 teachers, 295 students
Lincoln High School, Paducah; 1 teacher, 25 students
Paris Colored High School; 9 teachers, 68 students
Eigh School, Winchester; 2 teachers, 23 students

FACTS ABOUT THE LIFE OF JAMES BOND (b 1863)

James went from Berea to Oberlin College in Ohio to prepare for a ministry in the Congregational Church. That denomination was weak among Southern Negroes and James Bond never had a congregation that could pay him a fee adequate to care for his family. His options were few, despite the fact that he was one of only about 2,000 Negroes in the nation with a college degree.

The Courier-Journal, Feb 13, 1972, X33

James went from Berea to Oberlin College in Ohio to prepare for a ministry in the Congregational Church. That denomination was weak among Southern Negroes and James Bond never had a congregation that could pay him a fee adequate to care for his family. His options were few, despite the fact that he was one of only about 2,000 Negroes in the nation with a college degree.

America during this period—especially southern America—was codifying its belief in white supremacy. Everywhere the socioeconomic structure was segregating Negroes, relegating them to seats in the back of life. White society's zeal to segregate eventually spread to Berea College, which black and white students attended. The Day Law, forbidding the mingling of races in Kentucky schools, was passed in 1904. Where to ac-
ABY B. JONES

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

My brother was set free in this way: his master was a millwright, and told him if he would serve him so many years he would set him free. He did so,—meanwhile building a large merchant mill, and employing my brother in it. My brother was subsequently employed in this mill as a miller and received high wages, his employer thinking there never was such a man, from his trustworthiness and the general confidence he could repose in him. His good opportunities enabled him to advance nearly money enough to free myself and a younger brother,—the deficiency we borrowed, and afterward paid up. The sum paid for the two was seven hundred dollars: our master favoring us in the rice.

I was never sent to any school. Since I have been free I have learned to read and write.

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

I heard that in Canada colored men were free: therefore I came

ACCT OF ABY B. JONES (Madison Co)

here, and am only sorry to say that I did not come years before I did.

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

I am satisfied, that any colored man coming to Canada, can, in a few years, accumulate property to give himself and family a living.

Slavery is, I believe, the most abominable system that ever men were subjected to. Although my treatment was not severe, I never could form a good opinion of slavery. I believe it ruinous to the mind of man, in that it keeps the key of knowledge from him: it is stupefying to man. I believe that all men should be made free at once.

The future prospects of the colored people of Canada are very favorable. All that is required of them is, to use industry in common with white people. The colored children and white children are educated together in this place, and I see as fair an advancement in one as in the other.

The colored people usually attend divine service: some in the same societies as the whites; others maintain separate churches. But I do not think it advisable to have separate churches. In this place the door is open into all the churches of the denominations that the
colored people profess, therefore I think those lines of distinction
drawn by the colored people themselves will soon be put down. I
speak of London.

I think there is as much morality and temperance among the
colored people as among any others.

The amount required for supplying the wants of fugitives is so
small, that it is hardly worth talking about. It can be silently raised in
the towns by contribution, without any stirring appeals to the
public. Where there is work to be done and money to pay for it,
pecuniary assistance does more hurt than good.

[Mr. Jones, whose testimony is given above, resides on Gray St. in a brick
dwelling-house, as good or better than the average of houses in London. In front
is a garden of choice flowers, and it has a well-ordered kitchen garden in the rear.
The estate, deducting the incumbrance of ground-rent, is worth about four
thousand dollars. Mr. J. owns other property in various parts of the city,—a brick
building, in the business quarter, comprising two stores which rents for between
seven hundred and eight hundred dollars per annum,—and several building lots in
the immediate vicinity of the freight depot of the Great Western Railway. Mr. J.
is of unmixed African blood.]

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

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

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

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

I expect to go to England shortly on a suit at law involving my title
to a large property on Dundas street, valued at $45,000. The case has
been through chancery in the provincial court, and I have now
appealed to the House of Lords. I am winding up my business
preparatory to leaving.
I came from Louisville, Ky., where I was born and bred a slave. The colored people have not sent their children to school in London, so generally as desirable, for this reason. The fugitives who come to this country for freedom from bondage, have been kept down in such a manner, that these privileges granted to them seem somewhat strange, and they have to take some time to consider whether they shall send their children to school with the white children or not. This free school is something so unusual to them, that they can't realize it, until they become naturalized to the country. Although they know they are free, they have a kind of timidity about them, so that they cannot mingle with the whites of this country, as they would if they had been born free. Yet the day, I believe is fast approaching, when the people of color will see that they stand in their own light by not sending their children to school. The time is now, when the colored men begin to see that it is the want of education which has kept them in bondage so long.

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

I left slavery a little more than a year ago. I brought my wife and three children with me, and had not enough to bring us through. My owners did not know that we were coming. I left because they were about selling my wife and children to the South. I would rather have followed them to the grave, than to the Ohio River to see them go down. I knew it was death or victory—so I took them and started for Canada. I was pursued,—my owners watched for me in a free State, but, to their sad disappointment, I took another road. A hundred miles further on, I saw my advertisements again offering $500 for me and my family. I concluded that as money would do almost any thing, I ought to take better care,—and I took the underground railroad. I was longer on the road than I should have been without my burden: one child was nine months old, one two years old, and one four. The weather was cold, and my feet were frostbitten, as I gave my wife my socks to pull on over her shoes: With all the sufferings of the frost and the fatigue of travel, it was not so bad as the effects of slavery.

I am making out very well here—I have not been in the country long enough to accumulate any wealth, but I am getting along as well as the general run of people. It stands to reason, that a man must be doing something to pay a rent of five dollars a month, and support a family of four besides himself, as provisions are, and have been. To do this does not look much like starving.
J. C. BROWN, INTERVIEWED IN CHATHAM, CAN.

benj drew, north side view of slavery, in r winks ed 4 fugitive slave narratives, 1969 (1856)

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

A free colored man named Freeribbon, who lived four miles from Louisville, was suspected as the author of this conspiracy. F., his wife and daughter kept an inn, and he had a blacksmith's shop to accommodate with farriery those who stopped with him. They searched the shop,—under it they found old guns, butcher-knives, and other implements for killing. He was put in jail and condemned to be hung,—but having many friends, he was reprieved on condition that he should be sent to some Spanish mine, and there remain the rest of his days. He was sent to the mines. After twenty years, a white man in the neighborhood committed murder. Under the gallows he confessed that he had been employed by three near neighbors of Freeribbon, and that they paid him for putting the implements under F.'s floor. One of the three was a congressman, one a colonel, one a gentleman. In consequence of their crime, F. had been sent off, and his fine farm confiscated. When this was made known, the court sent for Freeribbon. He came back, and I saw him—a heart-broken man. The colonel afterward poisoned himself.

After I became a free man, I carried on the mason business in Bardstown, Shelbyville, and Louisville. My misfortunes now began. I had been used well as a slave, for my mistress was my aunt. I was an object of jealousy to the white mechanics, because I was more successful in getting jobs. They threatened me, unless I left the neighborhood, to break every bone in my body. I was then finishing a large building for Capt. Nelson. He said he would see M—, leader of my enemies, and stop their proceedings: but M— still continued
his threats. About the same time, I saw a free colored man whipped. This grieved and alarmed me. I burst into tears; I went to my mother and told her I would leave a slave country and go to a free country. I had been married about two years. In 1819, under the advice of Stratford Gowen and Benjamin Lundy, I was sent to Texas to find shelter and suitable situations for free people of color. Meeting there with Mr. Black or Blake, then a member of the council of that colony, he told me that Texas was to be a great cotton and sugar-growing country, and would one day be annexed to the United States. He said a majority of the council were opposed to having a free colored settlement in Texas, and it would be useless for me to look further. I then returned to Louisville, and in a short time removed with my family to Cincinnati.

At this time, a white man of a Quaker family, named Hethers, was teaching colored children in Louisville. The slaveholders being very suspicious of him, hired a colored barber named Tillman, a slave, to get Hethers into his shop and ask him to write a free paper. Capt. T — G — and S — B— concealed themselves under the counter in Tillman's shop. Hethers came in, and the colored man asked him his charge for writing a free paper to come to Canada. Hethers told him, if he was to write one, he would not charge him any thing. Tillman said, "No—you must have twenty dollars," —as he had been instructed. He asked Hethers if he thought the papers would pass him good to Canada. Hethers told him "Yes, but he had better call on J.

C. Brown, in Cincinnati, who was, he understood, a very clever man, and could give him instructions." So I got into a scrape without knowing it.

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

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

out of the city. We left next morning at 9 o'clock, Capt. Y— not knowing that I was on board.

After we got twelve miles from Louisville, they rung the bell for passengers to pay their fare. Not wishing any charge against the man who had concealed me, I had come out on deck. The clerk asked my name,—I told him "J. C. Brown." He wouldn't take my money, but went for the captain. He came and said, "I can get more money by running back to Louisville, than I can by going to Pittsburg." I told him he had better do it. He said, "No insolence!" and then told a young man, a deck hand, to "camp me." That fellow's back soon felt the deck, and I made for the captain; he rang the bell, and called help, who seized me, and chained me to the capstan-bar, where I was kept nearly all the distance to Cincinnati. I got a warrant for false imprisonment against Capt. Y. It was to be served by one Doty, but he always pretended he never could catch him. I got no recompense nor justice for that treatment.

Three years after this affair, the law of 1804, known as the Ohio black law, was revived in that State, and enforced. By this law, every colored man was to give bonds in $500 not to become a town charge, and to find bonds also for his heirs. No one could employ a colored man or colored woman to do any kind of labor, under penalty of $100. There were then about 3,000 colored people there—by this law
they were thrown out of employment. I was then clearing $600 a year, and refused to give bonds. The colored people had a meeting, and talked about a court of appeals to test the law. Some talked of going to Texas—we knew not what to do: we were sore perplexed. I spoke to them of Canada, and we formed a Colonization Society, of which I was President. I wrote for the Board to Sir John Colborne, at Little York, now Toronto, to know if we could find in Canada an asylum for ourselves, our wives, and children. Two members of the Board went with the letter to Toronto, and were well received by Sir John. He wrote us to remove into Canada with our wives and children, if we chose to do so; and that so long as we remained true and loyal subjects, we should have every privilege extended to us that was enjoyed by any of her majesty’s subjects, no distinction being made on account of color. I have his letter now in my possession—his memorable words. Mr. Hammonds, our friend, editor of a daily paper in Cincinnati, published the letter at my request. The publication made an excitement in the corporation of Cincinnati. Two or three of us, including myself, were sent for by the city government, next day. The reason was, as Mr. Hotchkiss said, that I, as one of the leading spirits, was doing a great deal of mischief; for everyone that I took off to Canada was a sword drawn against the United States. At this time Cincinnati was full of women, without husbands, and their children. These were sent there by planters from Louisiana and

Mississippi, and some from Tennessee, who had now got fortunes, and had found that white women could live in those States. In consequence, they had sent their slave-wives and children to Cincinnati, and set them free. They had begun to come about the close of the last war. Cincinnati was the great point for them. I was agent of a man who had eighteen of these headless families in one house. I asked the Mayor, “Now that they have deprived us of work, who is to go begging for these people, to keep them alive?” He said they were taking steps to have the law repealed, and wished me to stay any action about sending people to Canada.

I paid no attention to what he told me, and sent three wagon loads out to Sandusky next day. In three or four weeks I and my family left—came to Sandusky—thence I took a boat, the “Gov. Cass,” and went to Little York, where I entered into a contract with the Canada Company, for a township of land, agreeing to pay $6,000 a year, for ten years. It was the township of Biddulph. The black law had now become inoperative in Cincinnati, and the colored people wrote me, that they could now walk without being pushed off the side-walks, were well used, and were living in clover. Of 2,700 who were to have come, only 460 came out. They settled promiscuously in the province, buying land here and there, and getting work. Only five or six families of them settled in Biddulph. Three weeks after they settled, fifteen families from Boston, Mass., met them there, and settled there, where they remain. We only paid for 1,220 acres, which was divided, from 25 to 50 acres a family. Numbers, who
came afterward, had to leave for other places. These families in Biddulph are now independent. Their lands now will sell at forty to fifty dollars an acre: it cost one dollar and fifty cents. I settled in Toronto, where I could have some means of making myself useful for them among the white people, and where my trade was good.

My wife became dissatisfied, and I removed with her and my daughter,—my son having died,—to Cincinnati, where I remained for thirteen months. I went on to Louisville, to see my old mother. This was some six or seven years from the M— scrape. I saw my old mother, and just as I was taking a seat at the table, an officer popped into the room, shook hands with me, and said he wanted to speak with me. I went into another room with him—he put his hand on my shoulder, and said, “You are my prisoner.” I was put in jail, charged with running off large quantities of slaves: my accuser, Mr. G—

D—, said I had crossed the river at Utica, Charleston, and Madison, with large droves of slaves. The third day I wrote an advertisement for Mr. Penn’s paper, offering $100 reward for any credible evidence of my having done as was alleged. The court released me on $2,500 bail: two persons recognized in $1,000 each, and I was taken for the $500. On the evening of the day I gave the bonds, three men came out at me, and drew pistols, which they fired at the ground about my feet: this, my friends supposed, was to frighten me, and induce me to run off, so that my securities might forfeit their bonds. The Grand-Jury failed to find a bill, and I was discharged.

I returned to Cincinnati. My wife had seen so much of my persecution, that she was more anxious to return to Canada than she had been to leave it. We returned to Toronto, and I was a gunner there in the Patriot War. I removed to Dawn, and was elected one of the trustees of the school in that place. From Dawn I came to Chatham about 1849. Chatham was then a little village of frame buildings and log cabins. There were then no masons, bricklayers, or plasterers among the colored men. I went for some, and got them here, and we are now able to build a house from the stump. We can cut the timber and make the brick. The greater part of the bricklaying and plastering is in the hands of the colored mechanics. There are four churches of colored people which are well filled. We have separate schools which are tolerably well attended,—the Sunday School is very numerous attended. There are three charitable societies of men, and two of women, which do much good, relieving the wants of the sick and destitute. There is a great deal of property owned here by the colored people: their number has doubled in two years, mainly by immigration, which continues still—especially of fugitive slaves,—sometimes twenty in one day. Many agents have come here, nominally to assist the fugitives, but some of them have not been so honest as one could wish. They collected money, but the fugitives did not get it. However, what money the fugitives have received has been an injury, rather than a benefit. I have seen cases where the money would have done good, if rightly distributed.
J. C. BROWN, INTERVIEWED IN CHATHAM, CAN

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

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

HENRY CRAWHION, LOUISVILLE (INTERVIEWED IN CHATHAM, CAN)

Was born in Louisville, Ky. As soon as able to work, I was hired out on a steamboat, and have mainly followed steamboating. Master died, and I remained with my mistress: young master being a sporting character, I had to be sold to pay his debts. Was sold to a trader in L., who took me to South Carolina, where I was employed three months to take care of race-horses. While there, I undertook to escape. I packed up in a carpet-bag, went to depot, and bought a ticket for Montgomery. A black man suspected me, because I had changed my trunk for the carpet-bag,—they came to the cars and took me out. They put me in chains, and kept me confined in the stable about two months; then I found a man who would buy me and take me to Louisville. I was put in the trader's yard, but nobody wants to buy out of the yard, because they think they are put in for some fault. I was then taken down to Port Gibson, Miss., and traded off for fifteen mules. I stayed there three weeks, and was then taken to Baton Rouge, where I was set up for sale. Here I found a man who bought me to take to Louisville, where I had a wife, on the condition that I would find a man to buy me there. But I could not find a man who would buy me. I went to see my wife, and left for the North. I got here last night. I don't feel reconciled, on account of my wife and family. I am anxious now to get work. [He got employment in the course of the day.] I would prefer Louisville, if I could be free there. It is hard on me that I am obliged to live away from my family.
I cannot express what I think of slavery, I have so horrible ideas of it. I was taken to Savannah on my way to Charleston, and staid in Savannah four weeks. On the farms around Savannah, I saw them using bucking-paddles on the women. There were overseers and drivers behind the workmen on the farms. If a man lagged, he got a cut with a whip—if any reply was made, he was bucked down. The bull whip is used freely all around there.—I have heard them crack like a pistol almost. In the city, a black man must get off the side-walk if he meets a white man, or stop on the curb-stone and raise his hat; if he meets a lady and gentleman he must step clean off the walk and raise his hat.

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

I learned the trade of a blacksmith in Kentucky. I should have been perfectly miserable to have had to work all my life for another man for nothing. As soon as I had arrived to years of discretion, I felt determined that I would not be a slave all my days. My master was a kind and honorable man; purchased no slaves himself: what he had, came by marriage. He used to say it was wrong to hold slaves, and a good many who had them say the same. It's a habit—they mean, they say, to set them free at such a time, or such a time,—by and by they die, and the children hold on to the slaves.

I purchased my freedom, and remained in Kentucky awhile; then removed to Cincinnati; thence to Chatham. Every thing goes well with me in Canada: I have no reason to complain.

I think that if a slaveholder offers his servant freedom, on condition that he will earn and pay a certain sum, and the slave accepts freedom on that condition, he is bound in honor to pay the sum promised.

Some poor, ignorant fellows may be satisfied with their condition as slaves, but, as a general thing, they are not satisfied with being slaves.
I am from Trimble county, Ky. I was a slave in Kentucky forty-six years. Then I had $500 for self, wife, and child. I left eight children in bondage, who undertook to escape. The oldest got here; the others were retaken and sold in Texas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I am doing as well, for a poor man, as I can expect—I get a good living.
I was a slave in Kentucky, and made my escape five years ago, at the age of thirty. The usage in Kentucky on the front part of the State is pretty good; back, it is rather tight.

I came here without any thing. I had no money or aid of any kind.

I went right into the bush chopping wood. I brought my lady with me, and we were married on the way at Bloomingsburg in Fayette Co. I have one child. With what I earned by hard licks, I bought land and have built a frame-house. I now follow plastering and anything I can find to do. I am worth three or four thousand dollars, and pay about thirty dollars a year tax.

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

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

The colored people are doing very well. They are poor, some of them, but are all able to have enough to eat and wear, and they have comfortable homes, with few exceptions,—and some of these are in a way to have them. Some few don't seem to care whether they have good houses or not, as is the case among all people.

In the Refugees' Home they are not doing very well. Land was to be sold to the refugees at cost, giving them five acres, and they to buy twenty. Some dissatisfaction exists because there has been an advance made of four shillings an acre for surveying, although the land had been surveyed once. The refugees all refused to pay it. They were to clear up the five acres in three years. They have altered the constitution bringing it down to two years. Some had not been on three years, but went with that understanding. Alterations were made, too, enlarging the size of the houses. One of them has left the lands in consequence, and more talk of doing so. They doubt about getting deeds, and they begin to think 'tis a humbug. The restrictions in regard to liquor, and not selling under so many years, nor the power to will his property to his friends, only to his children, if he have any, make them dissatisfied. They want to do as they please. If

...
they want to exchange and get a bigger place, they want to do it without being cramped.

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

The colored men must rely on their own two hands, or they'll never be anything.

The colored people are temperate and moral.

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

When I was about twenty-five, we had a dispute about a holiday, and then I first claimed my rights to his teeth, telling him that I was free. He said I must stay two years more. A man offered to lend me two hundred dollars, to buy my time; he refused. I then hired to another man, paying my claimant twenty dollars a month, for a year and five months.
I kept on inquiring, until I found the man who first carried me into Kentucky. He told me a very straight story,—that he had found the woman whom he had lost in New Orleans—she having been absent from him fifteen years and six months, having been in New Orleans all that time. I searched the records at the Recorder's office, but there was nothing on the books,—the whole being a rascally scheme, therefore they took no account of it on the books. The clerk said there surely was no trial or transaction in the court; if there had been, it would have been on record. But the man who brought me said there was a trial; he acknowledged that neither me nor my mother ever belonged to him; that it was a mistake.

Another man went with me to search, but found no scratch of a pen from ten years back to forty. I then got a white man to go to the persons who pretended to own me, and he told me, in their presence, that if a man were half white and born free, he ought to be free; and you are all of that. My boss said that I would be free after a time—that he never meant to keep me over time. He probably meant my time as long as I lived,—as a master told his slave once, "When you die, I'll give you your papers." He said I couldn't pass without papers: he went with me, saying to get papers, and then he would not, but said I must stay a while longer before I could get them; that he could not give them to me just yet. Things went on in this way.

two or three months, until I was nearly twenty-seven years old. At length my mistress's son, by her consent, gave me free papers. I went to Ohio; then came into Canada, and settled down in Chatham.

I have five children. One goes to school; we are not able to send all on account of the price partly, as we have to pay fifty cents a quarter for each child, at the public school. I went into Chatham with nothing, and I want the children some in the family.
I was from Maysville, Ky., but belonged in Fairfax county at first. Left Virginia at fourteen years old,—am now fifty-three; have lived in Sandwich about fourteen years. When we removed from Virginia, my mother left her husband and two sisters behind. She was much grieved at leaving her husband: the children were taken from her before. This separation of families is an awful thing. At ten or twelve years old, the thought grew in me, that slavery was wrong. I felt mad every day when I thought of being kept a slave. I calculated on buying myself, and offered my master two hundred and fifty dollars. He wanted me to work a year first, going with me to another town. I did not want to go, and came off peaceably.

I remained about six years in the free States. In some respects, I suffered in them on account of my color. Many looked on me with contempt because I was a colored man. My oath was not taken as a white man's. I had a farm in Ohio, and was doing well, but a law was then passed requiring security for good behavior. A white man represented it worse than it was, so as to take advantage, as myself and two others had a heavy crop standing. I lost by coming off before harvest: all I got was a few bushels of wheat. It was a great damage breaking us up at that time.

I work at whitewashing, etc. I rent a house, and own a small piece of land. The colored men here get a living. The greater part of them have no learning,—almost all of them have been slaves. Some of them have homes of their own; but most of them hire. Most of them send their children to school. But we have to rent a house, and although the rent is low, yet we get behind on the rent, till some of us make a sacrifice and pay up. The school is not kept up through the year. We have not had regular schooling,—we do not send to the same school as the whites. There were too few of us to raise money for a separate school. We received £18 from government, but could not carry it on, and gave it up. There is one school now supported by abolitionists in the United States.

I do not go so strong as some against receiving assistance. I have seen many cases of destitute suffering people, who needed aid, and our people could scarcely help them. But the best way would be to manage by means of societies corresponding with those of the States. In some places, the colored people can manage without aid,—but here not.
At 10 years old I was moved to Kentucky from Madison Co., Va. I remained in Kentucky till about 50.

My father always advised me to be tractable, and get along with the white people in the best manner I could, and not be saucy. My mother always taught me to serve the Lord—which has ever been my aim; in which I am not the least tired, and am more anxious to go forward than ever. I could almost lay down my life for an abolitionist, for had it not been for them I should have been in slavery still. I believe the Lord will bless them. They have done every thing for me, and it makes my soul melt towards them.

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

In Kentucky, after a few years, the old man died—I fell to one of his daughters—she hired me out to a brother-in-law. She was very good to me. I was hired out eight years to different persons. My mistress then died. She wanted me to be set free. Some of her kinsfolks said no—that her brother had had bad luck, and she had better will me to him. She, being bad off, being sick, and not knowing how to carry her mind,—she did so: she willed me to her brother. She, being bad off, being sick, and not knowing how to carry her mind,—she did so: she willed me to her brother.
JOSEPH SANFORD, CAMPBELL CO (INTERVIEWED IN AMHERSTBURG, CAN)  


much privilege. If the fourth of July or a holiday was a Friday we had it, and Saturday afternoon as before. This troubled my master more than ever. He began to get very uneasy. I had not had a whipping for twenty years, and I said if they would put a hand on me, that I wouldn't stop any longer. The overseer observed, that he had made a rule that three boys were to make a turn about, one one Sunday, and another the next, to see things correct on the place. I had a wife at home, and was there more or less every Sunday. I always wanted to go to meeting: sometimes I would stop after meeting, but was always at home early to do the business.

The next Sunday after, the overseer was not satisfied, because none of us had stayed at home. He called me down to the barn,—he had a cow-hide under his coat. He said, why didn't you stay at home yesterday? I told him I wanted to go to church, and came home in the afternoon, after the church was out. “I told you to stay at home,” said he, “and whatever I tell you to do, you’ve got to do it.” The whipping he gave me did not hurt me so much as the scandal of it,—to whip so old a man as I was, and who had been so faithful a servant as I had been: I thought it unsufferable. This was about the time the year rolled round. The overseer’s time was out, and the master took his place. I don’t suppose I could tell in two hours what I went through. . . . In the spring about the 1st of May, he had the corn ground broken up completely. Planted the corn, three of us, fifty acres. After it came up we ploughed in it before holiday. I worked hard to try to please my master. He came home and asked me, “Where have you been ploughing?” “Such and such a piece.” “Is that all you’ve ploughed?” I told him it was. “Well,” says he, “I could plough more land in one day, than you and Dave both have ploughed.” It was as big a lie as ever was told, but I did not dare contradict him. The same day, he started away to buy up cattle. “Now,” says he, “I’ll tell you what you’ve got to do: you’ve got all this field to weed out, replant, chop all the big briers out, then go to the high-tower place, weed out that, chop out all the big briers and replant it: then go down to old Archy Rendle, and do the same there.” “I can’t do that,” says I, “to-day and to-morrow.” “I don’t tell you to do it to-day and to-morrow,” said he, “you’ve to do it against I come back, if you don’t I’ll thump you.” He told Ben and Dave to plough the same fields over with two furrows in a row. Monday was holiday; but he said, “you must go into Monday too!” taking away our holidays, which was never done to me before.

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

[Mr. Sandford's narrative was here interrupted. The concluding portion of his fortunes is luckily supplied, however, in the narrative which follows.]
JOHN CHAPMAN (INTERVIEWED IN CANADA AT GOSFIELD)

I was originally from Kentucky, but removed into Indiana at fourteen. I did not feel safe in Indiana, and removed with my family into Canada at Gosfield. Then it was pretty much all bush. The farmers raised but little more than they wanted themselves. One raises as much now as twenty did then. It was hard to get a start when I came to this country.

There are now seventy-eight men, women, and children: when I came there were but three colored. We live like rich folks, but when we came I was almost discouraged.

They are generally getting along as well as could be expected. All make a good living. Most of them own houses and land. They generally attend divine service, and send their children to school when it is open. It is not kept up in the summer.

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

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

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

"I'll tell you the truth, Thomas," said he, "we are going to send you down the river."

I was sitting at the grusnel, and as I sat, I carefully slipped off my
benjamin drew, north side view of slavery, in r winks ed, 4 fugitive slave narr, 1969 (1856)

boots, then jumped up and ran for the woods. They ran after me a short distance. I had thirty-five dollars in my coat pocket, which came in the way, running, I held it up in my hand, and as I did so, turned to look behind me. My mistress' son was at a fence, and he called out, "Thomas! o-o-h, Tho-o-mas!" pitifully. No one was now following me. I hid in the woods. I could not realize it—I sat down on a stump, and said to myself, "isn't this a dream?" I could not realize that I had done such a thing as to run away—it seemed so low. I—that had always been trusted, and had served faithfully—to be a runaway at last.

That night, I crossed the river to Cincinnati. From this place I sent a letter to a man in Kentucky, that if he would buy me, I would return and live with him. He showed the letter to my folks, and they wrote me to come back, promising a great many things. My letter was dated Cleveland, but I was in Cincinnati. I thought as I was now away from them, I might as well go on to Canada. I aimed for Toronto, but on my way fell in with a man on board the boat, who knew where my wife and children lived in Malden. I went there and joined them: and since that time, three others of my children have made their escape and are here.

I hired a piece of land in Malden for three years. It was not cleared, I cleared it: then my lease was up, and I rented a farm fifty dollars a year for five years. When I took it, the fence was down. I fixed it up, and cleared more. Then I told my folks that I would have a piece of land of my own. They thought I could not pay for it. I told them if they put a piece of ice on a log in the sun, they would see the ice melt away,—so, said I, our strength is melting away. I took a piece of fifty acres, six acres cleared, at five dollars an acre, and I have got the clear deed of it. Others have done the same, and are doing it now. I don't want anybody to beg for me in the United States.
Rev. Andrew Heath, after a long illness, has gone where there is neither sorrow, pain nor death. He was born in Henderson county, Kentucky, February 20, 1832, and died February 19, 1887, at the age of fifty-five years. At an early period in life he became a Christian, and spent forty of the best years of his life working for the Master. In 1851 he was married to Miss Lucy Hamilton, who has worked bravely by his side. In 1867 a council, composed of Revs. Henry Adams, William Troy, R. DeBaptiste, R. T. W. James and Professor Green, ordained him to the Gospel ministry. In 1868 he became assistant pastor of Fifth Street Baptist church, Louisville, Kentucky, and in 1872, on the death of Rev. Henry Adams, became its pastor. The first Baptist convention ever held in the State, in 1863, enrolled him as a member, and in all the years since he has never withheld his hand from any work that would advance the interest of the race and the denomination. He has served the General Association in being a member of the Executive board and chairman of the same about sixteen years. During his pastorate about fifteen hundred persons have been baptized by him. We may safely say that no minister in the State held a higher place in the estimation of the people who knew him. Every charitable cause found a ready helper in him, the orphans a father and the Christian church a true leader. His character was pure; his reputation never received a blur in all the years of his ministry.

His death, though he had been ill a long time, was unexpected and created general and profound regret. The church appointed the assistant pastor, Rev. J. H. Frank, Deacons Thomas Parker, Shelton Guest, Q. B., and Jones, Moses Lawson, Horace Crutcher, R. M. Hightower, R. Hamilton, and Messrs. William H. Steward, W. L. Gibson and George W. Talbott a committee to arrange for the funeral, and Mt. Moriah Lodge, F. and A. Masons, appointed Messrs. E. W. Marshall, Felix Sweeney, Edward Caldwell, Matthew Goodall and Enoch Maney. During Saturday, Sunday and Monday, thousands of people who had admired this noble man in life called at his late residence to view his remains and tender sympathy to the bereaved family. Sunday at the church was a sad day. The heavily draped building was a silent reminder of the mournful event. Monday morning the several meetings of the city pastors and the students of the State University passed suitable resolutions and agreed to attend the funeral services in a body.

Tuesday morning, long before the hour for the opening of the church, the street was literally packed with a mass of humanity, and when the doors were opened the church was instantly filled. So eager were the people to witness the ceremony that hundreds stood patiently for hours. While this interest was being shown at the church, sad and heartrending scenes were occurring in the home of sorrow, from which his body was soon to be borne. A few minutes before eleven o'clock the funeral cortege started for the church. So dense was the crowd that it was almost impossible to force an entrance. The funeral requiem on the great organ, in deep and solemn tones, announced the procession. No evidence more convincing of the love and esteem of this people for their lamented pastor
could have been given than the spontaneous and unfeigned expressions of grief when the body entered the church in charge of the following pall-bearers: Revs. E. P. Marrs, A. Stratton and W. P. Churchill, Messrs. Q. B. Jones, Wm. Morton, Shelton Guest, Isaac Morton and Willis Adams. About two hundred ministers, representing the several ministers' meetings and associations, were present. The white Baptist clergy being represented by Rev. J. A. Broadus, J. P. Boyce and W. H. Whitsett of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and Revs. T. T. Eaton, H. Allen Tupper, C. M. Thompson and A. C. Caperton; also the presence of a large number of ministers from abroad, including Revs. G. W. Bowling of Elizabethtown; E. J. Anderson of Georgetown; S. P. Young of Lexington; E. Evans of Bowling Green; M. Allen of Shelbyville; R. Reynolds of Pee Wee Valley; M. Bassett of New Albany, Indiana; Willis Johnson of Bloomfield; J. Jacobs of Harrods creek; J. W. Carr of San Antonio, Texas; Wm. Miller of Jacksonville, Indiana; J. M. Washington of Indianapolis, Indiana; and B. T. Thomas of Clarksville, Tennessee. The large audience, despite the uncomfortable surroundings, listened attentively and eagerly. Rev. J. H. Frank opened the services with a short introductory address, paying a deserved tribute to the deceased. Rev. H. Allen Tupper, pastor of Broadway Baptist church, read the favored hymn: "Is my name written there?" which was sung with much feeling by the choir of the church; Professor J. M. Maxwell read an appropriate scripture lesson and Rev. Lee Y. Evans, pastor of Quinn chapel, offered a fervent prayer.

The old familiar hymn—"Why Should We Start and Fear to Die?"—was lined by Rev. G. E. Scott, pastor of Zion Baptist church.

Resolutions of different organizations and telegrams of regret from friends and fellow ministers were read by Revs. C. H. Parrish, S. P. Young, R. Harper and Mr. William H. Nelson.

Mr. M. Lawson made a statement expressing the views of the deceased as related to him a few weeks prior to his death, bearing expressly upon the relative importance of masonry and the church.

Rev. William J. Simmons, D.D., then preached the funeral sermon from Acts, 20: 24–27. "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. And now behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more. Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God."

The sermon was a warm tribute to the memory of a good minister of Jesus Christ and found a response in the heart of every person present.

At the close of the sermon, remarks were made by Revs. G. W. Ward and A. Barry by request of the family, and by Revs. A. C. Caperton representing the Baptist Ministers' meeting (white), by Rev. C. C. Bates, representing the Executive Board, and Rev. D. A. Gaddie representing the General Association.

Rev. T. T. Eaton, pastor of the Walnut Street Baptist church, gave out the hymn "Asleep in Jesus."

When the hymn was concluded the benediction was announced by Rev. Spencer Snell, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational church.
The floral offerings, which were profuse and beautiful, were removed from the casket and the march for the cemetery begun.

The streets were lined with people who, being unable to get into the church, waited patiently to pay the last tribute of respect to a faithful minister.

The procession, which was as large as ever followed a man to his last resting place in this city, reached the cemetery about four o'clock. The funeral service of the Masonic fraternity was rendered by William H. Steward, the Grand Master of the State, in the presence of an immense number of people, when the body was placed in the vault.

The following resolutions were passed by the church of which he had been pastor and by the Ministers' and Deacons' conference of this city.

**CHURCH RESOLUTIONS**

WHEREAS, It has pleased the Ruler of the universe, the great Head of the church, the Disposer of all things, to call, February 19, in the year of our Lord, 1887, at 7:53 A.M., our dearly beloved and worthy pastor, the most faithful and wonderfully wrought workman of the gospel ministry of our community, and

WHEREAS, But a few have, with such exemplary fidelity, exerted an influence for good in the Master's vineyard. A man of fair literary attainments, acquired under many disadvantages, strong, spiritual inclinations, sound and conservative doctrine, ardent and unostentatious in piety, spotless in character, unblemished in reputation, dignified in appearance and "faithful in his house;" therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Fifth Street Baptist church, believe he was truly a bishop of the description of 1st Timothy 3, "blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruled well his own house, not lifted up with pride and having a good report of them which are without." The church has indeed lost a good pastor, the Sunday school a strong support, his wife a kind husband, the children a devoted father, the widows and orphans a friend, the poor and needy a comforter, and missions an advocate. We mourn his death yet it is a consolation to know that our great loss is his eternal gain. We extend our sympathy to the bereaved family and a helping hand in time of need.

Resolved, That in token of our respect and esteem, the church be draped in mourning for thirty days, and a copy of these resolutions be presented to the stricken family, spread upon the records of the church and published in the city papers.

**Committee.**

John H. Frank,
George W. Talbott,
Q. B. Jones,
Moses Lawson,
William H. Steward.
MINISTERS' AND DEACONS' CONFERENCE

The Fifth Street church and the Baptist denomination of this vicinity and State have met with a great loss in the death of Rev. Andrew Heath, which occurred in this city the nineteenth inst. We feel desirous of expressing ourselves as follows:

He was a devout Christian for nearly forty years, connected with the General Association since its origin, for fourteen years pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist church of this city and also a former member and exchairman of the Executive Board of the General Association. He has long resided in our midst, and here in this city achieved his honorable and noble success as a Christian pastor. With comparatively limited means and opportunity, he has woven his name into the inmost soul of this community. With a liberal heart he has promoted all the true interest of society and religion. A noble, honest and true man, an humble and consistent Christian has fallen. His counsel, kind and fair; integrity, clear; and fidelity, beyond reproach. In his home he was the model Christian, husband and father. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we sincerely deplore his death, for in it we have lost a true minister and exemplary Christian.

That in honor of his great worth, a memorial meeting be held at Fifth Street church next Sunday afternoon at three o'clock; that said meeting include all the ministers of the city, and such visiting ministers as may be present, of all denominations.

That our fullest and tenderest sympathies are hereby extended to his afflicted family and church.

Resolved, That we attend his funeral in a body.

That we wear a memorial badge for thirty days.

That these resolutions be sent to the family, spread upon our minutes and published in the city papers.

D. A. Gaddie
T. M. Falkner
W. Johnson
G. W. Ward
G. E. Scott
J. W. Lewis
C. H. Parrish, Secretary

Committee

Resolutions were also passed by the choir of the Fifth Street Baptist church, and by the State University, of which he was a former pupil, by the Lexington ministers and deacons in assembled meeting, by the Junior class of the State University, of which a daughter is a member, and by the Louisville Ministerial Association, composed of brethren of other denominations.

Telegrams were received from the following persons expressing grief and sympathy: E. W. Green, Maysville, Kentucky; G. W. Dupee, Paducah, Kentucky; R. Bassett, Indianapolis, Indiana; J. K. Polk, Versailles, Kentucky; O. Durrett, Clinton, Kentucky; Mrs. A. V. Nelson, Lexington, Kentucky; R. H. L. Mitchem, Springfield, Kentucky; James Allensworth, Hopkinsville, Kentucky; Peter Lewis, Louisville, Kentucky; M. Harding, Owensboro, Kentucky. All of these testified to his high standing as a
Christian gentleman, a man of many virtues, of varied graces, and who seemed to have no enemies. Sunday, February 27, the memorial services, in honor of Rev. A. Heath, at Fifth street, were held and largely attended. Rev. D. A. Gaddie presided and made the introductory address. The choir sang several appropriate anthems and hymns. Rev. W. J. Simmons, D.D., read the Scripture lessons. Revs. B. Taylor and J. Mitchell offered prayer; Rev. G. W. Ward portrayed him "as a preacher," and Rev. E. P. Marrs, "as a pastor."

Remarks were made by Revs. B. Taylor, M. F. Robinson, R. Hatchett, J. W. Lewis, and Messrs. Thomas Parker, Q. B. Jones, Albert Mack and Albert White. At the conclusion of the addresses, a committee, which had been previously appointed, submitted a tribute of respect which was approved as the sentiment of the meeting.

A touching tribute to this truly good man is given by J. C. Corbin, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who was an associate with Elder Heath in his early life. He writes: "Elder Heath was modest, teachable and unassuming; that he succeeded was not due to extraordinary gifts of eloquence, scholarship or other talents. It must have been the result of his earnest piety, pure character and entire consecration to the work of his ministry. These secured for him the favor of Almighty God."

He was the "architect of his own fortune," and now he rests from his labors and his works do follow him.

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

I might have said more in way of eulogy from my own standpoint, but I felt that his death brought forth the testimony sufficient to show how he lived, and this chorus of praise is far more telling than my own feeble utterances.

One of the most wonderful men who ever lived on the soil of Kentucky was the second pastor of what is now known as the First Baptist church in Lexington. He was the slave of Mrs. Anna Winston, in Hanover county, Virginia. His youth was spent about as boys usually spent their time; but at eleven years of age a singular thing happened to him, which made him think of a future life. He was bathing with a companion and they were saved from drowning only by the help of a woman, who caught them by the hair of the head and drew them ashore. After recovering, he received severe punishment and strict orders were given him to keep away from the river. In a sketch written at the time of his death, it is said that both of the boys were of the opinion that had they died they would have gone to the lake of fire and brimstone; they covenanted together that henceforth they would serve God only.

He served an apprenticeship as a house-jointer. Ferrill was faithful to his promise, while his partner was recreant throughout. After baptism he felt that he was called to preach the gospel, but he was disobedient to the promptings of his heart. At that time no slave was permitted to be ordained. Ferrill was permitted, however, by his brethren, to preach, so far as their power extended, in these words: "To go forth and preach the gospel wherever the Lord might cast his lot, and the door should be open to him." Fifty persons were soon converts under his ministry. When his old master died he became free, and he and his wife (for at this time he was married) came to Kentucky in search of a new field of labor.

When he arrived at Lexington he found a preacher known as "Old Captain" laboring among the people; however, his days were numbered and the people desired Ferrill to preach to them, which he refused to do because of the organization not being in fellowship with the Baptist denomination, although they held the faith and general practice of
Baptists; but he entered into the constitution of the First Baptist Church (white) in 1817. The colored people then applied to the white church for its services. The church being in doubt as to what to do, proposed to the Edinburgh association, in 1821, the following queries: First, "Can persons gained on a confession of faith by an administrator not ordained be received into our churches under any circumstances whatever without being again baptized?" Second, "Is it advisable for the association to ordain free men of color ministers of the gospel?" The queries were taken up by a committee, consisting of Jeremiah Vardeman, James Fishback, John Edwards, Edmund Waller and Jacob Creath, who were appointed to consider the matter. They reported, 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 ministers of the gospel, the gospel qualification being possessed by them. This first resolution referred to those colored people who had been baptized by "Old Captain," and the change to Ferrill's ordination. However, they were all received without rebaptism, and Ferrill was ordained. Ferrill took regular charge of the church and served it thirty-two years, during which time it increased from 280 to 1,820 members, and became the largest church in Kentucky. Ferrill was a remarkable man; he was descended from a royal line of Scotch. Dr. William Bright, a white pastor in the State, said of him:

"He had the manner of authority and command, and was respected by the whole population of Lexington, and his influence was more potent to keep order among the blacks than the police force of the city."

In 1833, when the cholera was raging in Lexington, he was the only

minister that remained faithful; nursing his wife, who died at this time, and at whose funeral the largest number attended, which was thirteen, of any of the funerals of that dreadful day.

There has been many a dispute as to the length of time it takes to baptize any number of candidates. It is recorded in Spencer's History of the Baptists, from whence we get many valuable facts, that he baptized at one time 220 persons in 85 minutes, and at another time 60 in 45 minutes.

So popular was Loudon Ferrill that the trustees of the town of Lexington employed him to preach to the colored people. It is a singular fact that all good men have enemies, and his endeavors to destroy his church. Solomon Walker, his oldest deacon, advised him to discontinue his meetings, but Ferrill said: No, by the help of the Lord he was going on and believed that he would see so many people there that the house would not hold them. And this vision was fully realized, for under his preaching the attendance at his church was always a very large one, frequently his church was filled to overflowing.

Harry Quills, "whose heart was said to have been as black as his face," spread a report that Ferrill's character was not good in Virginia, but upon some of the white elders writing to persons living in the neighborhood in which he was born and raised, they were informed that his character was unspotted. He made another attempt to injure Ferrill; knowing that the law was such that no free colored person could remain in this State over thirty days, unless a native of the State, thought he...
would drive Ferrill away in this manner. He had warrants gotten out: a number of free people was sold and a number went away. The white people got Dr. Fishback to draw up a petition to the Legislature to give Ferrill permission to stay in the State, which was granted, and his church at length was incorporated by the Legislature under the name of the "Old Apostolic Church."

In his will he left his property to his two adopted children, and left the following prayer, also, as a legacy for Kentucky:

O! 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, be 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 works, make them peaceable, happy and truly righteous; and when they come to lie down on the bed of death, may thy good spirit hover around ready to waft their ransomed 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 the church 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 humble petitioner has ever done, and grant that it may continue to prosper and do good among the colored race. O, 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 the Christians in every land. Bless, O Lord, my two adopted children and keep them in Thy way. Bring

all sinners in all countries to feel their need of a Saviour, and pardon all their sins, and when they come to die, take them unto Thyself, and the glory shall be to the Father and Son and the Holy Ghost forever and ever. Amen.

The author of this book feels grateful that he shares especially in this prayer, as he pastored this same church so nobly established by this servant of the Most High. At the death of Mr. Ferrill, October 12, 1854, the Lexington Observer said "that 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.

The colored people of Lexington are under a lasting debt and obligation to Budder Ferrill, for he did more for their elevation and instruction than all other agencies combined, and we know that the masters of his people regarded him as a most useful and valuable assistant in governing and controlling them, and often availed them of his good deeds. It is said, that in marrying slaves he used a very sensible ceremony. He pronounced them "united until death or distance do them part." Long may he be remembered, and his example of holiness and faithfulness be an inspiration to the rising generation.
He is the oldest son of Henry and Harriet Walters. His birthplace was Bardstown, Nelson county, Kentucky, August 1, 1838. Early in life he showed signs of piety, and was afterwards heard to say, "I was born to preach the gospel." This was the constant theme of his youthful days, and is the business of his present life. He entered a private school taught by Mrs. Amanda Hines, at Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1866, where he remained about eighteen months. The following year Mr. William Lawrence, a more efficient teacher, opened a pay school, which Alexander entered at once and continued in it until 1869. This teacher was succeeded by Miss Addie Miller of Louisville, Kentucky, who, teaching for a short time, was succeeded by Mr. Rowan Wickliff of Lexington, Kentucky. Soon after he took charge of the school he made a proposition to the Methodist and Baptist churches (they being the only two colored churches in the town) to teach a young man of each congregation free of charge. This proposition was accepted by the officers of each congregation, and the officials of the A. M. E. church chose Alexander Walters, the subject of this sketch. He remained in this school for two years, and, in the fall of 1870, having professed a hope in Christ, he went with the A. M. E. Zion church, Bardstown, Kentucky.

In 1871 he left his home for Louisville, Kentucky, and for two or three years was employed as a waiter in private families, hotels and on steamboats. In 1876 he went to Indianapolis, Indiana, and here he began the study of theology under the Rev. D. P. Seaton of the A. M. E. church, and was licensed to preach by Rev. Anthony Bunch of the A. M. E. Zion church, May, 1877.

He married Miss Katie Knox of Louisville, Kentucky, August 23, 1877. Joined the Kentucky annual conference of the A. M. E. Zion church at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 8, 1878, and was sent to the Corydon circuit, Corydon, Kentucky, by the same conference, and remained there two years. He taught the public school the last year of his pastorate, and was ordained deacon at St. Louis, July 10, 1879. He was then sent to Cloverport circuit, Cloverport, Kentucky, April 10, 1880, and remained there sixteen months; he also taught school at this point during his stay. He was stationed at the 5th Street church, Louisville, Kentucky, in 1881, and was ordained elder at Louisville, Kentucky, September 8, 1882. Then he was transferred to the California conference, and was stationed at San Francisco, California, in 1883. The church here was built at a cost of eighty thousand dollars, and is considered the finest and largest church in the Zion connection.

Rev. Walters has a fine open face, and by his pen and upright moral life made his mark—for he has ever been considered one of the brightest stars of the Zion connection. He was sent by this church as a delegate to the general conference of the Zion connection, which met in New York City, May 3, 1884. He was elected first assistant secretary of the general conference. While east he visited Washington, D. C., and had an interview with President Arthur, also Governor Patterson of Pennsylvania. It was
by his aid and influence that Professor J. C. Price, President of Zion Wesley College was enabled to raise, while on the Pacific slope, in 1885, eighty-six hundred dollars.

While West he was made a member of several white associations (notable among them were a Biblical class, taught by Professor J. P. Ferguson of the Presbyterian church, which was taught daily at the Adelphia theatre, on California street, near Kearny), the Young Men's Christian Association, and a class which met every Saturday for the study of Sabbath school lessons; this class was taught by Rev. M. M. Gibson, D.D. He was also elected a member of the Executive Board of the Ministerial Union, San Francisco, California, being the only colored member of the board.

He was transferred to the Tennessee conference in 1886, and is now stationed in Knoxville, Tennessee, in charge of one of the finest churches in the South. Elder Walters bears a spotless reputation, and is honored and loved by all who know him. He is a close student, an indefatigable worker for the upbuilding of his race. As an orator, he is superior to most of the young men, and even the old ones in his church. He is affable, kind and gentlemanly, winning by his elegant manner all those who come in contact with him. His habits of life are plain, his methods of work practical, and his success is always of the highest order. His plan has always been in entering a new work, to secure at once a first-class instructor to help him in his studies, and thereby he has become familiar with the classics and the realm of ancient literature. As a historian, he deals largely in those phrases which lead toward the cultivation of race-pride, and the demonstration of those facts and principles which go to en-

courage enterprise and self-pride among his own people. He has wonderful faith in the future of the race, being by no means discouraged on account of present difficulties, and promotes with most earnest zeal every effort made in his church and community that looks toward the amelioration of the condition of colored people. As a pastor, revivalist and a church financier, he has had great success.

To such young men the future looks for great things.
The narrative here given of the career of William H. Gibson, Sr., is worthy of perusal. Beginning life humble, he has become one of the most respected citizens of Louisville, Kentucky. Philip and Amelia Gibson, free Negroes in the city of Baltimore, were the parents of this honored son.

They gave him all the advantages of an education, that the city of his birth offered to the Negro child, and in 1834, when he was but five years of age, he could read. Continuing his studies, he had for several years as instructor John Fortie, a prominent teacher.

His color prevented him from learning the printer’s trade as his parents desired, but it did not close every avenue for advancement. He served for ten years as porter in the book store of the Lutheran Book Company, and the kindness of the clerks at that place enabled him to continue his studies. Bishop D. A. Payne, D.D., was one of his instructors in English and Latin grammar. Music was a study that possessed his soul, and he began his study in boyhood, under the best teachers of Baltimore in vocal music, and Professor James Anderson, violinist. The Sharpe Street choir and musical associations of that city were honored with his membership. In 1847 he moved to Louisville with Rev. James Harper, and with Robert Lane he taught in this city, opening a day and a night school, and a singing school in the basement of the Methodist church, corner of Fourth and Green Streets. His school numbered from fifty to one hundred pupils, many of whom were slaves whose masters gave them written permits to attend school. His singing classes were led by the violin.

LIFE OF WILLIAM H. GIBSON SR.

He introduced the first instrumental music in the colored churches of this city, which was regarded by many as a sacrilege and intolerable. The study of the piano and guitar were added to his accomplishments, and he imparted to others of this knowledge, until the breaking out of the Rebellion, in September, 1862, which closed schools and churches in this city.

He then went to Indianapolis, Indiana, and taught a school partially supported by the “Friends” for the freed children of the soldiers in the war.

During his whole life he served on many important committees, and held many positions of trust. In May, 1863, he received a commission from Colonel Condee, recruiting officer of the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Colored Regiment, to raise colored soldiers. He accepted the commission for Louisville, Charleston, Albany, and Jeffersonville, Indiana. In Indiana he succeeded in recruiting, but the military authorities of Louisville decided that Massachusetts had no right to Kentucky recruits, and he was arrested and ordered to leave the State. He returned to Indiana and thence to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he taught partly under the supervision of the American Missionary Society until the close of the war, when he returned to Louisville, July, 1866, and his schools were reorganized under the Freedmen’s Bureau. He taught day and night until 1874, when he resigned to accept the position of assistant cashier in the
Freedman's bank. This position he held until it closed. In 1870 he received a commission from General Grant, as mail agent on the Knoxville branch of the E. & N. R. R. He was transferred at the expiration of eight months to the Lexington branch. On his second trip he was attacked by the Ku Klux Klan, and his life was so endangered that a military guard attended him for some months.

In 1874 he received an appointment in the Revenue Department as United States gauger, which position he retained until the defeat of the Republican administration. In 1847 he was initiated in the Masonic fraternity in Baltimore, Maryland. He organized Enterprise Lodge, No. 3, and Mt. Moriah Lodge, No. 1, of Louisville. In 1859 he was elected Grand Junior Warden of Grand Lodge of Ohio, and was Grand Master of Kentucky in 1872, and has taken all degrees to Knights Templars. In 1859 he was a delegate to the colored National Convention held in Washington, District of Columbia.

In the city of Louisville, W. H. Gibson, Esq., will always hold an exalted place in the hearts of its citizens, as no project has been on foot for the improvement of the minds and morals of its citizens that has not met his sanction. In the Sunday school he is an active worker, and for several years has been president of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist churches. In society and church, home and country, W. H. Gibson ranks as one of the most respected Christian supporters of right, liberty and union.

In Shelby county, Kentucky, January 1840, was born Elijah P. Marris, the subject of this sketch. His mother and father were Virginians by birth, the latter of whom received his freedom from an indulgent master. When quite a boy, Mr. Marris displayed such elements in his character for successful work in the things that developed the spiritual being, that the neighboring folks called him a "little preacher."

Although the laws of Kentucky forbade the Negro to acquire such knowledge as books give, yet Mr. Robertson, his owner, being a Christian, desired that he should know enough to read the Scripture, and accordingly secretly taught him when still very young. At the age of eleven he professed hope in Christ and was baptized at Simpsonville by Rev. Charles Wells. He says with all sincerity that he never uttered an oath or spent a cent for liquor in his life. The year Abraham Lincoln was made President, manhood in him asserted itself. He devoured the contents of newspapers and books, and being the only colored man, except his brother, H. C. (now deceased), in the neighborhood who could read, he kept the colored people in the community well informed on the state of affairs. At this time Shelby county was threatened with Confederate soldiers, and his former master warned him to be on the alert and not be captured; but though heeding the caution given, he mustered a company of twenty-seven men, Sunday night, September 25, 1864, armed them with clubs, and as their captain, armed himself with an old pistol which had long discharged its last shot, marched a distance of twenty-two miles to Louisville and enlisted in the United States army. Two days later he
was made a sergeant of Company L, Twelfth United States Heavy Artillery. His army life was full of excitement, and his company took part in several important engagements. While at home on a furlough before being mustered out, in 1866, he was attacked by a mob of Confederates, but having his presence of mind he held his ground and dispersed his assailants.

August 3, 1871, he married Miss Julia Gray, of Shelbyville, who died April 3, 1876. He has been a very successful teacher in Shelbyville, Lawrence, Louisville, Beargrass, and other places in Kentucky. June 16, 1873, he was licensed to preach at the New Castle Baptist church, thereby realizing his boyhood dreams, and was ordained to the gospel ministry August 22, 1875. He has held no small place in the estimation of his fellow men. He was a delegate to the first educational convention held in Kentucky in 1869, and in the first political convention in 1869, looking forward to the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. He enrolled himself as a member, and was appointed a committeeman of resolutions. He was a member of the convention which nominated Governor Harlan, and was also in the State convention of colored men that met in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1882, and the National convention of colored men which met in Louisville in 1883, and the great educational convention which met in Frankfort in 1884. He has been a member of the Executive Board of the General Association of Colored Baptists for six years; a member and secretary of the Executive Board of the Central District Association, and for twelve years secretary of the Central District Association, and is at present treasurer of the General Association. From 1879 to 1880 he was business manager for the State University, then known as the Normal and Theological Institute. March 16, 1880, he was called to the pastorate of the Beargrass church, which position he has held until this time, excepting an interval of three months. This is one of the most successful churches in the State, though by no means the largest.

He has published a book containing a sketch of his life, which has brought him considerable revenue. It treats of his army life, his life as a teacher, of his ministerial labors. He has assisted in setting apart to the work of the gospel ministry fifteen young men. He has amased some worldly goods, in value to the extent of $3,500. Mr. Marrs is a man admired by all who know him. His quiet, gentlemanly deportment makes him beloved by all the brethren. Usually in earnest, he is no enthusiast, but when he undertakes a thing he goes through with it. He is a strong friend to the cause of education, and can be depended on to be on the side of temperance and against the cause of Satan at all times. Above all he is a true preacher of the Word and a friend in truth and sincerity to those who prove themselves worthy.
One of the men in the State of Kentucky who has the clearest head and brightest mind is the subject of this sketch. He was born at Brandenburg, Meade county, Kentucky, July 26, 1847, and when quite a child was brought to the city of Louisville, where he has since had his residence. Born a slave, he had more privileges than was usual in those days, and was always ready to take advantage of every opportunity which gave him increased power in matters pertaining to the development of the mind. In Louisville he attended a private school taught by Revs. Henry Adams, William H. Gibson and R. T. W. James, and was considered a very bright scholar, always leading his classes. When he became a man he taught school at Frankfort and Louisville, and occupied several responsible positions with the railroads in Louisville, and was for several years messenger for the cashier and purchasing agent of the L. & N. Railroad company, and even to this day the agents of the company are his devoted friends, often doing him great favors. In 1876, in the month of February, he severed his connection with the L. & N. Railroad company, and was appointed a letter-carrier in the Louisville post office, being the first colored man to occupy such a position in the State. He has always ranked "first class," and besides receiving many recognitions at the hands of his associates, who are mostly white men, he was elected as their representative to the National Letter-Carrier's Association, held in Philadelphia in 1882.

No person in the post office knows more of the general character of the work, and can better interpret the laws than he. He has given strict atten-

He professed religion in 1867, and was baptized at Frankfort, Kentucky, by Rev. R. Martin. He joined the Fifth Street Baptist church in Louisville shortly after, and has ever been an active worker in this church. He has been associated with every enterprise therein, and is truly one of the leading men, and contributes without stint his time and talents to make the church prosperous and secure for it all the blessings that can come from assiduous labors in its interests. He was secretary of the choir for many years, and has for many years past been its leader. This choir has a musical reputation that it has sustained for several years without question.

In the Sabbath school there is a large class known as the "Infant Class," the largest in the city and State, and usually has from one hundred to one hundred and fifty children in it. This class he has taught for seventeen years, mainly by blackboard lessons, in which he is well skilled and to which matter he gives daily attention, so that the lessons on the Sabbath can be well prepared. The children graduate from this class and enter the higher departments of this school. Many of the brightest members of this church have been instructed in this class, and have become useful members of society and well acquainted with the Scriptures. He has also been assistant superintendent of the Sabbath school since 1884. He has always been interested in public affairs, attending nearly all the conventions in
LIFE OF WILLIAM H. STEWARD

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...the State, political and otherwise, and filled many important positions in them. In the last convention of the State, held for the purpose of petitioning the legislature in regard to civil rights and the Normal school, he was temporary chairman and secretary of the permanent body. He is also at present secretary of the State Executive Committee and has been ever since November, 1885.

In denominational enterprises he is earnest and faithful. He was one of the secretaries of the National Baptist convention held in St. Louis, August 25, 1886, secretary of the Kentucky Baptist State convention for several years, and was also its secretary in 1873, and statistical secretary in 1876. He was also secretary of the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky, holding said position from 1877 until the present time.

He has been identified with the State University at Louisville since its establishment, and has filled the position as chairman of the Board of Trustees. In this department of labor he has shown zeal, earnestness and self-sacrifice, and has labored most perseveringly for its success. In the early history of the public schools of the city of Louisville, he was secretary and subsequently chairman of the Board of Visitors, and to him much of the excellent condition of these schools is due. Many times it has been said that this one or the other white gentleman has done so much for the public schools, but it does appear that too much neglect has been shown in giving to the Board of Visitors the due meed of praise for their constant petitioning, and the consideration for the upbuilding of the schools; and perhaps it could be said with justice that no colored man in the city of Louisville has secured more appointments for colored teachers than W. H. Steward.

The American Baptist, the organ of several Baptist organizations, was issued in January, 1879, since which time he has been associated with it as city editor, associate editor, editor and business manager. He joined the Masonic fraternity in 1881, and has made rapid progress in that order, having been Worshipful Master of United Lodge No. 12, High Priest of Enterprise Chapter No. 4, Eminent Commander of Cyrene Commandery No. 1, and twice elected Worshipful Master of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, which position he now fills acceptably to all the craft. He is a most liberal man, contributing freely to every cause that is presented to him. No one appeals to him without having the appeal granted, if it lies in his power. With these generous emotions in his heart, it is no wonder that he gives much attention to the Orphans' Home of this city.

He is a member of its Board of Directors, and has endeavored faithfully to discharge his duty to this much neglected class. In all his undertakings, he is zealous, earnest and faithful. He encourages the younger men of the race, endeavoring to have them seek the higher walks of life and accomplish much that would at first seem to be difficult, but which ought to be accomplished with little effort. This is a constant care to him, to see that these men make use of the time which God has given to them. As a writer, he has great power of expression, and readily reaches the point he desires to make without any circuitous methods. As a speaker, he is eloquent, forcible and convincing. His language is smooth, elegant and persuasive, and succeeds in holding the attention of his audiences. His power with men is derived from the effort he makes to serve a friend and to be true to the vows of a true Mason and a worthy master.
The subject of this sketch was born in Henderson county, Kentucky, Feb. 14, 1815. He was a slave. His mother belonged to Jonathan Taylor, who was her master and his father. He treated them very kindly and showed him many favors which the other colored children were denied. His master became financially embarrassed and his slaves were taken for debt. Among a large number taken away by the sheriff was young Taylor’s mother and her infant in her arms, and her four grown sons who were half brothers to him also. Bartlett was at that time about seven years old and has never seen or heard of his mother since.

At the age of nine his owners moved from Henderson county to Oldham county, taking his sisters and himself with them, and settled on a farm six miles north of La Grange. When twelve years old his sisters and himself were taken to Westport and sold for his master’s debts. He was bought by his master’s brother, who willed him to his former owners, the youngest four children to be sold when the youngest of these became of age, and the money to be divided among them. Fortunately he was returned to the same people, where he remained until he was nineteen years of age. Then one of his oldest daughters married a Mr. Berry, who became quite attached to him. He moved to Louisville and hired his time and learned the butchers’ trade. Disagreeing with his master he was then hired to a Mr. Clisindoff, who was one of the largest beef merchants in the city. For his services he received three hundred dollars per year. Being in pretty good circumstances he resolved to purchase his freedom, being assured by the three young girls to whom he fell in the division of the property that he should have the privilege of buying himself. He then began saving money, which he made at odd times from the profit of pigs’ feet and beef-tripe, and other articles which had the privilege of selling. He accumulated money rapidly. In a short period he had saved eighteen hundred dollars. A particular colored friend of his got into his confidence and learned that he had this sum and borrowed fourteen hundred dollars, and another borrowed four hundred dollars, each telling him that when he was ready to buy himself they would return the money with good interest, which each failed to do, and he had no proof that he had let them have the money, and thus lost it.

His associates were of the best at the time, and he endeavored to so deport himself as to gain the favor of all well disposed persons. He was determined not to take unto himself a wife until he was a free man; so having a desire to marry he wrote to his owners that he had a wish to purchase his freedom. The time, September 20, 1840, was set for the sale when he was to be sold to the highest bidder at La Grange courthouse. Mr. Brent, who was to manage the sale, was a debtor to one of the heirs, and he had never seen Bartlett. He wrote, however, for him to be sure to meet him at the appointed time. When Bartlett got there he was without a cent of money. Nevertheless, he went to La Grange to meet the sale, trusting in the Lord. He was sold upon the block for two thousand dollars, himself being the highest bidder. He informed Mr. Brent of being defrauded of all his money, which he had saved for the purpose, and he then became responsible for the money, and gave him his free papers.
LIFE OF REV BARTLETT TAYLOR

wm j simmons, men of mark, 1970 (1887)

believing that he would receive the money, which he did in 1840. He then married Mrs. Jane McCune of Abington, Virginia.

Being destitute of learning, he began to go to night school to Robert Lane and took writing of different teachers, his last one being the late Rev. Henry Adams of the Fifth Street Baptist church, who kept one of the free schools permitted in the South in the times of slavery. There were not many such schools, perhaps four or five in the whole South. In this way he learned to read, write and cipher, never going to day school in his life. Immediately after he was freed he began butchering, wholesaling and retailing beef, mutton and pork, also packing and shipping large quantities, trading and shipping live stock South. He accumulated money rapidly, and in two years was in possession of six houses and lots on East Market street, but going security for a man named J. X. Gray, he had to pay that man's debt in 1858, which took all the property he had besides a large amount of money.

He lost his first wife in 1846, leaving three daughters. Two of them lived to be grown and were engaged in school teaching. The oldest, Mrs. Mary F. Scott, is still living.

In 1848 he was married to his present wife, Mariam A. McGill of Vincennes, Indiana. He is blest with one son who is twenty-four years old. This young man stood the civil service examination in June, 1884, for the postal service of the United States, and received the second highest average and was offered a position but declined, having come to the conclusion that he would make school teaching a profession. He is now teaching, and principal of one of the branch schools in the public schools of Louisville. In 1858 Mr. Taylor bought and built in the southeastern portion of the city where he has his present home. His property and other valuables are worth not less than fifteen thousand dollars. Having been impressed for a considerable length of time to preach the gospel, he finally took up mission work and continued on that for about four years. In 1866 he was appointed by Bishop J. P. Campbell, D. D., LL. D., itinerant worker, which he has been for twenty years. He has been the founder of and built a great many churches. He was appointed and served as a delegate to the Fifth General Conference of the A. M. E. church, to which he belongs. He was made treasurer of Wilberforce University in 1864, and held the office for several years, and was a trustee of the institution for sixteen years.

In Bowling Green, Kentucky, he bought the ground and built a church in 1872 and paid over nine thousand dollars on it. In 1874 he was stationed at Cynthiana and found a church partly erected, neither the ground nor building paid for, and both in the hands of the sheriff. He raised money and paid the indebtedness and finished the church at a cost of $8,000. In 1881 he returned to Shelbyville, Kentucky, and while pastoring the church there he saw the great necessity for a building for a graded school. He laid the matter before the people, then met the trustees of the town, and with their approval, bargained and bought a brick build-
ing with eight rooms and nearly four acres of ground, for $2,150; was instrumental in establishing the school and the employment of four teachers. In 1884 he was sent to Ashbury Chapel, Louisville, and rebuilt the church which had previously been destroyed by fire, and was successful in raising $2,150, and paid it in the hands of the trustees.

At the close of the late war, he was appointed missionary at large for the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and received into the connection a large number of churches and members, the exact number of which it would be impossible for him to give, as they are received into the country churches, but the number was many thousand. He lives in the city of Louisville, and is respected very highly for his earnestness in Christian work, and his faithfulness in every department of life.

Rev. D. A. Gaddie, one of the strong men of Kentucky, has risen from the sledge hammer and the anvil to a commanding position among men. This he has done by persevering diligence and application to business. He was born May 21, 1836, and is still hale and hearty. A man of splendid physique, a very Ajax in bravery, a Hercules in strength. He may be called a handsome man in personal appearance, and he impresses one as a safe protector in trouble. To such men we seem to fly for refuge when danger is near. In his twenty-third year he gave his heart to Christ, and commenced in earnest to serve Him who ruleth the hearts of all men. He owes his conversion to one Robert Gardner, a white brother. He was ordained in the year 1865, and was at that time a member of Green Street church. At his ordination, Rev. Henry Adams, Rev. Richard Sneethen, Charles Edwards and Solomon Patterson took part. He was pastor of several churches in the State; among them may be mentioned Elizabethtown, Greensburg, Campbellsville, Rude's Creek, Glendale and Green Street Baptist church, of which he has charge at this writing. Elder Richard Sneethen died April 11, 1872, and the subject of this sketch was elected pastor in October of the same year. Under his wise administration of the affairs for the past fifteen years, much good has been done in the systematic organization of the work. He has added more than two thousand members to the church; fifteen hundred, perhaps, of this number were converts. He has married about five hundred couples and preached thousands of sermons and delivered many addresses. The Green Street church is one of the most faithful in the State, and under his leadership it has been trained to give, when called upon, for every object worthy of
LIFE OF REV DANIEL ABRAHAM GADDIE

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Christian benevolence. The General Association of Kentucky Baptists has for years honored him with various offices. He has been assistant moderator for many years, but in the last session held at Bowling Green, Kentucky, he was chosen as moderator of 50,000 colored Baptists. This was one of the largest gatherings in the State, and shows the popularity and strength of Rev. Mr. Gaddie. In the National American Baptist convention, which was held at St. Louis, August 25, 1886, he was chosen treasurer by a unanimous vote. All the old brethren, Rev. DeBaptiste, Rufus L. Perry and a host of others, are well acquainted with him and hold him in high esteem. He was vice-president of what was known some years ago as the American Consolidated Baptist convention. He has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the State University, located at Louisville, for seven years, and was a member of the Executive Board for sixteen years. He has also been very prominent in temperance work, being a strong opponent of alcoholic liquors in every shape. He is eminently a friend of young preachers, and none have applied to him who do not receive abundant sympathy and material help. Herein lies his strength. For many years he has been secretary of the Ministers' and Deacons' meeting, held in the city of Louisville. He has a large office and the meetings are always held with his church. This meeting has exerted a wonderful influence upon the Baptist ministry in more ways than one, creating much social feeling and promoting brotherly love among them. As moderator for the Central District Association for the last ten years, he has given satisfaction to the churches and in like manner increased the membership materially, more than doubling the number of churches connected with the work. This association contributes more money for the support of the State University than any other association in the State except the General Association and the Baptist Women's Educational convention. Intellectually he is a strong man, and in the subject of theology and history he is well posted, and much deference is paid to his opinion upon such subjects.

Few men in the State have more earnest supporters and well-wishers. Though he has had in lifetime many severe troubles yet he has always controlled his temper; though he has often had the power to crush enemies who are disposed to do him injustice, he has had long patience and exhibited those Christian virtues which go to make a man strong and powerful with the people, and to overthrow the machinations of them who desire to injure him. His hand is ever ready to assist any and every enterprise calculated to benefit the people of the State. He is often elected to conventions which consider the educational and industrial affairs of the colored people and is therefore more prominent on account of his own advocacies of every measure which will elevate the race. Such men hasten "the good time a coming," add to the moral, religious and educational worth of the people. His life full of usefulness, piety and acts of charity, draw to him the affection of a loving people whose personal kindnesses are well known to the writer.

The Rev. D. A. Gaddie, long a central figure in the Baptist world and a man of earnest and untiring efforts in the cause of education, was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the State University at its annual commencement, May 17, 1887.
He was born of slave parents in Louisville, Kentucky, April 3, 1843. His parents, Levi and Phyllis Allensworth, were industrious and pious; he says he owes most of the success of his after life to his mother, who took especial pains to send him to the Sunday school of the day, which was allowed by her owners. He evidenced a thirst for knowledge at an early age. His owners becoming alarmed at the progress he was making under difficulties, concluded to quench his thirst for learning by sending him down the river to work on a tobacco farm. Henderson county, Kentucky, was selected as the place, where he could not obtain any facilities for keeping up his studies. They thought they would put him where he would get courting in his head, which would crush all desire to know more of books; then he would be brought back for service. His mother, who belonged to another person, was sick at the time, and knew nothing of the contemplated change until he was sent with the carriage driver to bid her farewell. She rose with feeble efforts from her sick-bed and asked for God's blessing to rest upon him. The mother and her youngest son parted in the spring of 1853, and met no more until 1861. The farm failing to quench his thirst for knowledge, his owners sent him South and sold him. In 1861, when Sumter fell, he was in a Negro mart in New Orleans and was sold for one thousand dollars to ride race horses. In the summer of '61 he was brought to Kentucky by his new owner, where he met his mother. In the fall of '62 he left Louisville with the soldiers, and obtained his freedom in the winter of 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 then returned to Louisville and was converted and united with the Fifth Street Baptist church, of which Elder Henry Adams was pastor.

When the Ely Normal school was established in Louisville, he was its janitor and among its first pupils, it being the first regular school he ever entered to study. While making rapid progress in the school, he was selected by the principal to go out and teach under the Freedmen's Bureau. Finding that the more he taught the less he knew, he entered the Nashville Institute, now known as the Roger Williams University. After pursuing the Normal and preacher's course in that institution he "quituated," as he is in the habit of saying, and went to teaching in Georgetown, Kentucky, and taught there until selected by the General Association of Colored Baptists to become their financial agent, from which office he was called to the pastorate of the church at Elizabethown. Being a successful pastor, his leadership was courted by the churches and he subsequently served at Franklin, Louisville and Bowling Green, and developing into a successful Sunday school worker, the State Baptist Sunday school convention appointed him superintendent of the Sunday schools of the State, and the American Baptist Publication Society appointed him as the missionary in this field. He became eminent both at home and abroad, and was known everywhere as the "Great Children's Preacher." After four years' service in this field, he was called to take charge of the Union Baptist church in Cincinnati, where he met with unprecedented success as a pastor. It was while serving there that he was appointed by President Grover Cleveland to the chaplaincy of the
Twenty-fourth United States infantry. In this new field, as in others he has been pronounced a success.

In the denomination of which he was an active member he was honored with the position of State secretary of the Sunday school convention for several years, moderator of the State Ministers' meeting, and secretary for several years of the General Association, and, besides, filled many other places of honor and trust. As a presiding officer he was impartial and ready; as a preacher he possesses the happy faculty in knowing how to express himself in the most pleasant manner; his reasoning being logical and convincing; as a lecturer he has had some success, lecturing in different churches on the subject of "Masters of the Situation," "Hum­bugs," and several other subjects.

His ability as a public 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. Allen Allensworth is one of the shrewdest men in the whole country, for he outwitted the schemers of the district in which he lived, who had always manipulated their conventions so as to send a white man to the Presidential nominating convention which met last in Chicago, a thing no other colored man in Kentucky has succeeded in doing. He is all tact. How could a prominent Republican politician, who was a Republican elector, who had never done anything for conservatism even, be put in such a position by President Cleveland in the days of removal for offensive partisanship? Nobody could answer this but the chaplain himself. He is one of the best tempered men, and owes his success to his moderation, even in very disagreeable affairs. In debate he is always calm and wary, and is a skilful parliamentarian. As a preacher he can turn a sermon inside out and then turn it the other way for successive occasions, and make it pleasing, instructive and full of truth. His style is of the highest order; he never fails to command attention. Recognizing his success in life, and appreciating his course as a Christian gentleman and man of scholastic habits, the Roger Williams University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. His intellect is keen, judicial, didactic and strong. To his new field of labor he carries with him the best wishes of his friends and the prayers of all good people in the State in which he has labored so faithfully and long. Kentucky is proud of his elevation and success in the Twenty-fourth infantry, stationed now at Fort Supply, Indian Territory.
Rev. Mr. Dupee was born July 21, 1826, in Gallatin County, Kentucky. His parents were named Cuthbert and Rachael Dupee, and were owned by Elder Joseph Taylor, a Baptist preacher, who moved to Franklin county when George was an infant. He was very small when the master sold off his slaves and moved to the State of Illinois, carrying his brother Edmund with him, whom he afterward set free. His mother having died when he was two weeks old, told the people to raise him right, for God had spared her to bring her boy into the world, whom she had named George Washington Dupee, and that this boy was for God's own purpose and that he would be useful and live to an old age. In his early days he worked at a rope and bagging factory, and also in a brickyard, and with his father and brother was hired to different parties. In 1841 he worked on the court-house in Versailles, being hired to one Mr. French, and was brought under the preaching of old “Father” David Woods, a Baptist preacher. On the second Tuesday in August, 1842, he was converted. After conversion he was impressed with the desire to preach the gospel, and he appeared before the preacher above named and brother James Evans and Charles Good and was examined to see if he was converted. He failed to give satisfaction, and they were honest enough to send him back to learn something about Christian experience. He went back to God in prayer and begged if he had done anything for his poor soul, to please to make it plain. On the following Friday his eyes were opened and his soul was filled with the love of God. On Saturday night they had a meeting at old Deacon Wingate’s (white). There he told what the Lord had done for him, and was recommended to the Buck Run church. On the third Sunday he went before the church and was approved for Baptism. Pastor Kenny immersed Sister Rachael Mills, Brother Chester Fields, and G. W. Dupee, in South Elkhorn creek, a day and action, as he says, never to be forgotten. The desire to preach the gospel still pressed upon his mind and he says, when speaking about the subject, “I remember to my shame until this day, of saying that if the Lord knew me as I knew myself, he would know that he could not make a preacher out of me. I have been almost puzzled since to know that God could forgive such ignorance.” He did not at this time know the letters of the alphabet. Preaching left his mind. He subsequently learned the alphabet in the summer of 1844. On a rainy Wednesday in June, old Father Wood was reading in the New Testament and being weary, laid the book down, and then himself saying, “It still rains and I will lie down.” After he did so Mr. Dupee took up the book wishing that he could read as he had seen Father Wood doing. He opened the book without making any effort to find a special place, at the first chapter of John. He saw the letters J-o-h-n and said, “What did that fool put those letters that way for; they don’t mean anything.” He had quarreled with the compositor about the arrangement of the letters of John’s name, of course without knowing that there was such a character as a compositor. He paused over that name but could not pronounce it, could not spell words of four letters. Just how he got started to reading he never could
tell, but he first discovered himself reading what he since learned was
the third chapter of John. Surprised to find himself reading the Word
of God, he went back to the first chapter and read the first three again.
It
still seemed a mystery. He went back again and read it over and he was in
a maze. He went back again and read the first three chapters and then he
recognized the fact that he could read the Holy Word of God. He pressed
the open book to his breast and got down on his knees to thank the Lord
for teaching him to read His precious Word. He could not speak; he cried
and rolled over the floor, got up and walked about and said that his heart
rejoiced, his soul magnified the Lord. He stopped and read again, and
again, and then read again, and then laid down the book and went into
another room to sleep. Reading had been to him but a pastime, but finally
he found that he was blessed with reading the Word of God as he had
never hoped to do. He was so happy that he could not keep still, but soon
he was dumfounded again. For he reasoned to himself, you can read the
Word of God what hinders you from preaching the gospel. He hung his
head in sorrow, for he had not yet thought that God could make a
preacher of him; and he refused to believe that he could or ought to
preach the gospel.

He was an uncompromising Baptist, believing in "One Lord, one
Faith, one Baptism." In April, 1815, he was hired to a Mr. D. C.
Hauphries, in Woodford county. In June of that year he was introduced
to Sister Phoebe Fields, a member of the old Big Spring Baptist church,
converted him some years ago in an old field under some trees, where there were bushes, and commanded him to preach the gospel, and that he had disobeyed him, and the Lord was not pleased with him. Further, that there were many sinners in that neighborhood waiting to be called by the gospel into his service, and among them some that would preach the gospel. By that time he was nearly dead, for he began to realize the situation. He was converted in a wheat field just harvested, under an apple tree surrounded by locust bushes, but he had not told anybody about it, because he could not talk about it without feeling the pangs of his disobedience. He was completely broken down. He arrived at Livingstone's, and Sister Fields and two old people and several little children were come to hold a little meeting, and called upon Sister Alsey Fields to pray. She then went to him, took him by the arm saying: "Go about the Lord’s business," and he got up but didn't know what he said. They said he made a good talk, but he was not conscious of what he was doing, for as soon as he noticed he was on his feet he sat down confused. Sister Fields sang this old hymn:

\[\text{But when I am come to meditate,}
\text{How poor, how vile am;}
\text{How can I preach the gospel true,}
\text{And claim the Son of Man.}\]

She said to him: “You need not take this. It is for me only.” After prayer and singing again she went home, and when the party arrived at the house, brother Sam Fields, her husband, expected him to go in, but she got hold of his arm and pointing to the woods near by, said: "Go and repent of your long disobedience and get ready to serve the Lord and the gospel." He often says he never shall forget the first Sunday night in September, 1815, and how he regretted that he didn't go on preaching the gospel like Paul. He repented, however, and went to work. At that time there were only two places in that neighborhood for miles around where colored people were permitted to hold meetings; but soon doors were opened and he was invited and did hold meetings on twenty-seven farms, holding night and Sunday preachings in the dining rooms, kitchens, woods and other places, and God blessed the work and many were converted. Among them were Moses Burk, David Johnson, Keene Langford, who became preachers.

An incident not to be forgotten occurred at Mr. Humphries’. One Saturday, in 1846, the most of the men living there gambled. The unmarried men occupied one room. In that room, the night referred to, Moses Burk, Simon Brown, George Washington, Harry Langford, Alfred Gaines, Lewis Allen, David Johnson, Quilla Telicor and some others were playing for tobacco. He sat near the box until late. Finally he said: “Gentlemen I gave you silent attention, if not respectful, and now I claim your silent attention while I will play my game.” This greatly incensed them and they became reckless, cursing, shuffling feet and making noises on the box, at a fearful rate. However, Dupee sang a hymn, but they paid no attention to him. He sang several hymns, got down and prayed, but they didn't hear his prayer. But God did. When he got up, he sang and
prayed again, then got up feeling hurt at the treatment he had received from the boys, thinking that his prayer should be answered right away. He was not done thinking before the answer came. The box on which they were sitting was near a window and all at once there came a ball of lightning, about nine inches in diameter, through that window, right about the centre of the ring, and drew itself back and struck itself at each man's face, and then passed right over his own left shoulder out of the same window. Then he felt like a giant refreshed with new wine. Brother Moses Burk took dinner with him on the tenth of January, 1847, and told him that he had never played a card since that Saturday night. The cards fell from their hands and they lay there until morning. A number of old brethren invited him to take charge of their meeting and act as a sort of pastor, which invitation he accepted. The old colored deacons of the Buck Run church had authorized him to exercise his gifts. Father Jack Smith, the first colored preacher of Kentucky; Father David Wood, Brother James Evans and Brother Charles Good were the men. A great revival broke out and so many persons going from Woodford county to Buck Run and joining, using his name as the instrument of their going, the white pastor of the church became aroused to know who this Dupee was. The church, having appointed him deacon in old Father Jack Smith's place, didn't know him as a preacher. The church said he must be encouraged and appointed a meeting for him to come and preach for them that he might be licensed. He thought it needless to have a license, in obedience to the church, he went and preached the best he could. The church voted a license for him, but he never got it. Again he met Sister Fields, who impressed upon him the duty of learning to write, telling him that he would be pastor of churches sometime and that all pastors ought to read and write, and that he would be free, and have great responsibilities. She got an Irishman to set a copy for him. He soon learned that he could attend to business. He labored in Woodford, Franklin, Scott, Jessamine, Fayette, Owens and other counties for several years. He averaged four sermons a week, walking over a hundred miles to and from his preaching. He walked forty miles and preached four times in one day in 1847.

In 1818 he went to Frankfort to live with Mr. Joseph Gale, and learned the brickmaking trade. The sixteenth of November he married Mrs. Matilda Green at the Governor's Palace, Frankfort, and Father David Wood officiated. His married life did not terminate happily. He declined a proposition of the majority of the members of the Frankfort church and received the call at Georgetown, which he accepted January, 1851, and protracted a meeting, assisted by Elder James Monroe, whom he calls the best preacher he ever heard. The second Sunday in March of that year he was ordained by Rev. Reynolds D.D., president of the Georgetown College, and Rev. J. M. Frost, pastor of the white Baptist church. On the third Sunday he immersed twenty-eight persons. In 1853 he organized a church at what is called the Old Big Spring, Woodford county. In 1855 he organized a church at Paris, Kentucky, preached at Great Crossing, Stamping Grounds, Cane Run and other places with
Brother James Monroe, Bias Smith, Robert Martin, Thomas Smith, Thomas Gross, Spencer Taylor, Henry Evans, Armistead Steele, John Eppison, John Osborne, George Grayson, Frederick Braxton, E. W. Green, London Ferrill, J. R. Anderson, N. G. Merry, H. V. Vander, and many other dear soldiers of the cross of Christ. With Elders Monroe, Green, Steele, Braxton and others, he attended the funeral of that great and good man, London Ferrill, in March, 1855. He attended the council at Georgetown. In December he was called the second time and judged not to accept the call, not knowing what was to become of him. In a few days, old Father Richard Dryer, deacon of the Pleasent Green church, told him that Judge B. F. Graves of the county court of Fayette wanted to see him at the clerk's office on a certain night. Of course he thought the Negro lawyers had fixed the trick up and expected him to hand off or go to jail. However he went down, and there met the Rev. William Pratt D.D., Judge B. F. Graves, Lawyer Drake, his brother Dr. Drake, Messrs. Plummett, Bishop Clark, Baker, Kidd, Burbank and others. They cordially received him and finally asked him if he could read writing. He replied that he could, and they told him to read a paper which was spread out before him. There was an agreement be-

tween these gentlemen to buy him when sold, and let him pay them their money back when he could. He was not sold, and reconsidering his declaration of the Pleasant Green church he accepted it, and remained until 1864. He organized a church in 1867, in Cynthiana, and did very much work in connection with Rev. Elihu W. Green, at Mayville. August, 1858, he accepted a call to the Washington Street Baptist church in Paducah as visiting pastor. He held a meeting there and, as the result, baptized eighty-one persons in fourteen minutes. In 1861 he organized the first ministers and deacons' meeting ever held by the colored people in the South or Southwestern States, in Versailles, in Elder Armistead Steels' church. There were present Brethren James Monroe, John Oliver, R. Martin and G. Brainard, and they had a grand meeting. Brother A. Steele died in the fall of 1861 and Brother Dupee preached his funeral sermon, and was called to the pastorate of the church in Versailles in 1862, and divided time with the Pleasant Green church. In 1862 he baptized Rev. Reuben Lee, who came over from the Presbyterians, and, with the aid of Rev. Dr. Pratt, and Rev. J. L. Smith, ordained him. Brother Butler Harper was ordained at the same time; Reuben Lee was called to the church in Georgetown, Kentucky, and Brother Harper went to Cincinnati to see about his freedom. Mr. Dupee organized a church in Covington, building them a house of worship, and was invited to act as pastor.

In December, 1861, he declined the eleventh call to the Pleasant Green
church, and having been called to locate in Paducah he moved down to Covington and remained until February, 1865. He left Brother Jack Price in charge of the Covington church and took charge of the Paducah church, frequently visiting the church at Covington. But he says: "If I could have gotten the Pleasant Green church after I had gone to Paducah, I would not have stayed in Paducah very long. The Union army and the devil had the place, and I didn't see any place for God and myself. But as I burnt the bridge behind me, I had to fight it out or surrender. The civil, religious people were gone to other places, and strangers that didn't know 'Joseph' had come in from everywhere, it seemed, but from where God had been." When he began the work, men would smoke cigars in the church, drink whiskey and curse when they were spoken to. They would curse at him fearfully when he spoke to them, so he prepared himself a hickory stick, about two inches thick and three feet long, and took it in the pulpit with him and showed it to the men and told them what he would do with it. Well, they believed him and let him alone. He has been in this place now twenty-two years, and has a fine and well-behaved congregation, as large as any in the State. He has baptized over two thousand persons there; has ordained some ten ministers in this church, some of them very able and good men. In September, 1867, with the aid of Elder S. Underwood and others, he organized the first district Baptist Association in the Washington Baptist church, and was elected moderator and has been elected ever since. He organized it with five churches, but in 1868 it had one hundred and thirty. He assisted in the organization of the General Association of Colored Baptists of Kentucky, in August.

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1867. He was elected moderator of this association at its session in Danville church, August 16, 1871, and retained the position until August 17, 1881. He was a member of the American Baptist Consolidation convention which met first in Nashville, in 1867, and attended several of its sessions in different cities. He has received over 12,000 persons into the church and has baptized over 8,000 and pastored 12 churches; has married over 13,000 couples. He established and edited a religious newspaper called the Baptist Herald, from 1873 to 1878. He has been a Baptist for 15 years, and has been preaching for 41 years, and has been an elder for 37 years; he has preached over 12,000 funeral sermons, including the funeral sermons of the following noted ministers of the gospel: Jordan Bailey, Frederick Braxton, Armistead Steele, Reuben Lee, Emanuel Cartwright, N. G. Merry, W. W. Taylor, W. C. Dabney, Wilson Fortson and some others whose names are not here mentioned. He has given some attention to the subject of Free Masonry, and was grand senior warden of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, and was elected two terms grand master of the State. Also was at the head of the chapter of Paducah Lodge, No. 1545, G.U.O.O.F.

Certainly no man lives in Kentucky who has done more to develop her spiritual interest. He is a man of large proportions, powerful speaker, and of a genial, sociable temperament. He has differed largely with the brethren and had his own view of matters, and has not pleased every one, nor has every one pleased him; but certain it is that there is a work done by George Dupee that cannot be undone. He is a man of a great deal of power over men.
He was born in Lexington, Fayette county, Kentucky, April 18, 1859. His parents were Hiram and Harriet Parrish, slaves belonging to Jeff Barr and Beverly Hicks. Hiram was a teamster and Harriet was an efficient seamstress. The father was a deacon of the First Baptist church in Lexington, when it was pastored by London Ferrill. He was a man of industry and frugality, while his wife was a woman of strong character. The Sunday school was the first gathering to which young Charles was taken. Here he was placed in the care of the late John Gillis, Esq., and was taught to spell in the old blue back spelling book his a, b, c.

He was sent to the public school in Lexington, directly after emancipation. His parents being poor, he was compelled to leave school in 1874, and went to work as a porter in the dry goods store of John O. Hodges, now city superintendent of the public schools of Lexington, where he remained for six years. During all these times, while carrying packages here and there and giving attention diligently to the store, his spare moments were spent in reading and studying. Mr. Hodges quitting the dry goods business, he went to work for another firm by the name of Cassell, Price & Company, where he remained until September, 1880. This firm was very kind to him.

At the age of twelve he joined the Baptist church. In 1872, after many years of training in the Sabbath school, he was made secretary. This position he held for eight years, at the same time filling the position of teacher, etc. He was soon elected church clerk and clerk of the deacon board. He assisted W. A. Stewart in teaching night school. His efforts to instruct others soon made him aware of his own deficiencies, and he de-

termined by the help of God to secure a liberal education, at the cost of a life’s work and study. He made it a subject of prayer, and at last prevailed with his father to let him quit work and attend the Nashville Institute. He consented, and with joy preparation was soon begun, in order that he might matriculate in September, 1878. In the midst of his joy, in the midst of his greatest expectations, he was doomed to a sore disappointment. His father died March 11, 1877. A cloud seemed to hang over his head and his way seemed hedged; but God who always listens to the earnest prayer, did not forget. Thus suddenly placed at the head of the family, a mother, sister and brother to guide, he had no time to study while working, much less think of attending school. For a season the matter was laid aside.

But troubles do not come single-handed; they sometimes seem to come in battalions, armed and fully equipped to overcome the most resolute. The greatest misfortune which befell him was on July 22, 1879, in the death of his mother. Burdened with the cares of the family, weakened by the loss of both parents, he was much discouraged.

His affections were now centered upon a little sister, thirteen years old, who was quite intelligent and promising. To educate her was his highest ambition. He put behind him all hopes for himself, and devoted himself to her culture and promotion. But here came another trouble; in June, 1880, she, too, was taken away. She left to embrace a sainted mother and father. Sickness and death had taken all his scanty earnings; harder work
took the time he used to give to study; he saw no ray of hope by which he might carry out his personal plans at this critical stage of his life. Suddenly the Lord opened a way least suspected. Unconsciously, I was an agent in the hands of God in carrying out these plans, which were then unknown to me. I was the pastor of the First Baptist church at the time, and receiving a call to the State University, I resigned the church and accepted the position at Louisville, Kentucky. He accompanied me to the university and began his course of studies September 13, 1880. At this time the university was very poor indeed; it did not own a teacher's desk or any furniture of value. The character of the work which he expected to get was in the hands of another.

The young student did whatever his hands found to do, and he found friends to assist him. At one time he assisted the janitor of the Jackson Street public school. With this work, and teaching a few scholars at night, at the close of the scholastic year he was indebted to the boarding department of the institution twenty-four dollars, his expenses for the year being about ninety dollars. He went home and managed to pay the rest during vacation. September 1, 1881, he entered the second year with brighter prospects. The trustees being so well pleased with the young man's conduct, his willingness to work and his patience in doing whatever he was called upon to do, agreed to assist him with part of his expenses. This work required three-fourths of his time, yet he kept up with his class and lead it, receiving the first honor—a gold medal—in graduating from the academic course in 1882.

He entered the college course, and during the subsequent years was helped by friends North. With their assistance, coupled with the work of student-teacher, tutor, bookkeeper and several other things, he has worked his way through college, graduating May, 1886, with the title of A.B.

He has been a delegate to the Republican State convention, the Colored Educational convention, the National Convention of Colored Men, held in Louisville, and was one of those who addressed the Senatorial committee at Frankfort during the appeal of the committee at the Colored State convention for the Normal school. He was the messenger of the American National Baptist convention which held its session August 25, 1886, to the Southern Baptist convention which met in Louisville, Kentucky, from the sixth to the tenth of May, 1887. He has filled many positions wherein Christian piety was especially needed as a qualification.

During the time when the Zion Baptist church of Louisville, Kentucky, was without a pastor he served them for several months. He is a member of the Berean Baptist church, and has served as its city missionary for several years, and was superintendent of a large mission Sabbath school during the same time. He was called to six different churches while a student in school; and he finally accepted a call to the pastorate of the Calvary Baptist church, after having served it as "supply" for several months, and after ordination, January 2, 1886, was settled as its pastor.
September 27, 1886. During the eighteen months in which he has served this church it has nearly doubled its membership.

After graduation, the authorities felt that his wholesome example and his exemplary life, as well as his deep interest in the work was sufficient to have his services in the institution, so he was appointed secretary and treasurer of the State University and guardian of the younger men. At the end of the year, 1886-67, he was elected professor of Greek. These positions he has ably and satisfactorily filled. From janitor to secretary—from firemaker to treasurer and professor, from poverty to honor among the faculty and fellow-students, is an achievement worthy of record. The world will yet hear more from this rising young man.

Mary E. Britton.

Mary E. Britton, biog sketch of prominent negro men and women, 1897

We each, as we journey through life, form and make our own character and history. The nature of each depends largely upon ourselves and the company we keep. Therefore, if we desire manifestations of good and ennobling, commendable and imperishable deeds, let us in the beginning of our journey, nay, all through it, diligently and opportunely sow the seeds that will germinate and produce such fruit. Miss Mary E. Britton, a sketch of whose life I now write, recognized and acted in conformity to this rule; hence her life, thus far, has been beneficially spent.

Miss Britton’s parents, Henry and Laura Britton, honest, industrious and loyal people, were among the first and highly respected families and citizens of Lexington, Fayette county, Ky., in which city she was born.

At an early age she exhibited great fondness for books and study. She spent many of her school days in the private schools, taught in Lexington, and especially among those under the management of the American Missionary Association. Her parents seeing the rapid advancement of herself and their other children, and recognizing that the increasing demand by them for higher educational facilities here was greater than the supply, decided to move the family to Berea, Ky. at which place, in Berea College, ample provision for study was afforded them. Her mother being principal and her sister, Mrs. Julia B. lovely, music teacher in said college, she was now enabled for five consecutive school years to prosecute successfully her studies. One more year of close study would have brought her to the zenith of her ambition; graduation. But whilst nearing it she was suddenly interrupted, on March 17, 1874, by the death of her father; and on July 9, of the same year, by the death of her mother. Now thrown upon her own resources she, nothing daunted, began the struggle of life single-handed, and in it has succeeded in enrolling her name among the foremost of the gifted women of Kentucky and the race.

In three months after the death of her parents she had secured a position as teacher in the public school of Chillicothe, Ky. In 1876 she secured a position in the public schools of Lexington, which position, since she has continually and creditably filled.
In order to qualify herself the better as a teacher and for usefulness, she has constantly applied her mind to close study and thereby, since she left college, has acquired much knowledge. As a thinker and writer, Miss Britton is deep and logical, impressive and instructive; as a speaker, fluent and forcible. She is strictly a temperate woman, and of strong, conscientious convictions, with marked individuality and a fine will, yet kind and tender hearted. She is direct, frank, honest, lovable and charitable. She is unselfish and heartfelt, giving alms and doing good deeds for and among the poor and needy.

Miss Britton is possessed of good bodily and literary qualities. In the minutes of the meeting of the "American Association of Educators of Colored Youth", held in Baltimore, Md., 1894, appears an able paper, subject, "History and Science of Teaching," which was written by her and delivered before said Association.

The religious proclivities of Miss Britton are pronounced. Until the year 1889, she had been a strict Episcopalian; since then she has been a Seventh Day Adventist. This sect, by worshipping on the seventh day of the week—the Sabbath—the day God blessed and sanctified, derived its distinctive name.—Ex. 20:8-11, John 14:15-21.

Much more can be said of her, but in the language of the poet I will close with this quotation:

There are lonely hearts to cherish,
There are weary souls who perish,
While the days are going by;
If a smile we can renew,
As our journey we pursue,—
O, the good we all may do,
While the days are going by.

All the loving links that bind us,
One by one we leave behind us,
While the days are going by:
But the seeds of good we sow,
Both in shade and shine will grow,
And will keep our hearts aglow,
While the days are going by.

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Prof. G. P. Russell was born in Logan co, Dec 25, 1861. Went to Berea College where he spent 6 years, paying his own way by doing manual labor and teaching. His first teaching job was at Chilesburg, Ky., and in 1890 he was offered the principal's job at Lexington High Sch.
John Miller Maxwell.

Prof. John Miller Maxwell, Principal of the Louisville Central High School, was born in Fayette county, Ohio, in 1837. He was reared on a farm and attended the public school of the district during the winter term. He was an insatiable lover of literature, and read with profit the books of his father's library, consisting of the Bible, Clark's Commentaries, Watson's Bible Dictionary, and some biographies of eminent men, who, struggling against adverse circumstances, had by energy and perseverance enrolled their names high among those who have "plucked bright harpels from the pale-faced moon and dragged up drowned honor by the locks". The lesson taught him by these biographies was never lost, but was a source of constant inspiration and encouragement in his own endeavors to make his life worthy of the esteem of his fellowmen.

In 1862 he entered the Xenia, Ohio, High School, and completing the course in 1865, began to teach first in the district schools, and afterwards for two years principal of the city schools of Zanesville, Ohio. In 1871 he was appointed Principal of the Xenia High School where he served acceptably for two years. In 1873 he was appointed a Special Agent of the Pension Office and located in Washington, D. C. Here he matriculated in the Law Department of Howard University, but, resigning his position in the Pension Office to accept the principalship of the Central School of Louisville, he lacked a few months of completing the course at the University. In 1875 he became Principal of the Central School of Louisville, which position he now holds.

For over twenty years Professor Maxwell has been the honored head of the Central High School and the beloved instructor of hosts of young men and women whose future he has shaped. The excellence of the Negro public schools of Louisville is due, in no small degree, to his wise direction and fostering care.

When it is recalled that the High School graduates constitute the great proportion of the teachers employed in the Negro schools of the city, it can be readily discerned how effective his influence has been in the educational affairs of the city. Add to this his valuable service as an organizer of the State Teachers' Association, afterward its President; consider the active interest he has always shown in the educational affairs of the State, and it will be recognized that he may be justly called the Nestor of the teachers of Kentucky.

Professor Maxwell has been exceedingly fortunate in his domestic relations. In 1859 he was married to Miss O. M. Fletcher, of Beverly, Ohio, and their union has been blessed with an interesting and lovely family of boys and girls, some of whom have entered successfully the chosen profession of their father. Enjoying the confidence of all that know him, admired and respected by the great army of students he has trained, he is, as of old, still a tireless and successful laborer in the great field of education. In recognition of his standing in the literary world a few years ago the State University of Kentucky conferred upon him the degree of A. M., an honor as modestly worn as it was worthily bestowed.

Note: The foregoing sketch was prepared by a former pupil of Professor Maxwell and his strongest words of praise but faintly express the high esteem in which the teacher in this instance is held by the pupil.
JOHN JORDAN CRITTENDEN MCKINLEY, TEACHER, NEWSPAPER WRITER AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

W. D. Johnson, biog sketch of prom negro men and women, 1897

John Jordan Crittenden McKinley.

J. J. C. McKinley was born at Russellville, Logan county, Kentucky, March 1, 1852. His mother, Millia Bibb, moved to Louisville, Ky., when he was about six months old. At six years of age he entered the school then taught by Rev. Henry Adams, later he entered the school taught by Mr. Wm. Gilson, Sr. In 1870 he entered Berea College, at Berea, Ky. He was forced to leave Berea College on account of the stringency of his finances, as his mother lost in the Freedmen's Bank what money she had amassed by years of economy and care. In the fall of 1874 he accepted the principalship of a school at Danville, Ky., and in 1875 he accepted a position as teacher in the public schools of Louis ville, where he has taught ever since.

He has been interested in every movement for the betterment of the race in Kentucky. His first speech was for better common schools in the State. He made his debut in journalism in 1875 at Louisville correspondent to the American Citizen, published at Lexington, Ky., under the nom de plume of "Viced." In 1878 he was correspondent for the Western Review, which was published at Cincinnati, O., as "Mack." The Chicago Conservator secured his services in 1879, and as "Mack" his name became a household word in the West. In 1880 he became one of the associate editors of the Bulletin, published in Louisville, until it sold out. In 1885, through the persuasion of P. E. Cooper, he wrote for the World under the nom de plume of "Heft." When Mr. Cooper retired from the World as editor, Mr. McKinley retired from journalism.

He is the most prominent Odd Fellow in Kentucky. He was initiated into the order in 1875, and has been the Grand Secretary of the State for seventeen years. He assisted in having the State appropriate money to secure a building for incorrigible youths instead of sending them to the State prison. He is the author of the first historical sketch of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America.

J. ALEXANDER CHILES, A LAWYER, ARRIVED IN LOUISVILLE, FALL 1890

W. D. Johnson, biog sketch of prom negro men and women, 1897

Born in Richmond, Va., June 8, 1860. In 1882 entered Lincoln Univ. in Chester Co., Pa., graduated June 7, 1887; in Oct. 1887 entered Univ. of Michigan law school, graduated June 1889. Practiced law in Richmond, Va. from 1889 until a friend, Dr. John E. Hunter convinced him to move to Louisville, which he did in the fall of 1890. He has built a good practice.
James Franklin Gray.

James F. Gray, son of Frank Gray, a prosperous citizen of Louisville, Ky., was born April 2, 1860, at Versailles, Woodford County, Kentucky. He attended Berea College from the fall of '71 to the spring of '73, and began teaching in his seventh year at Russellville, Ky., remaining there for thirteen consecutive years, nine of which he was Principal of the female department of the city school.

He is a prominent member of several fraternal organizations, and was State Grand Master of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows for the years of '88 and '89. In 1889 he was appointed United States Gauger by President Harrison, being the first Negro appointed to that position in the Second (Kentucky) Collection District. In 1889 Mr. Gray toured and lectured in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Indiana and Illinois. In 1894 he was elected Principal of the Mayfield, Ky., public school. He was recalled in 1896 to his former position as Principal of the female department of the Russellville city school, which position he now holds. He is also at the head of the Summer Normal, a school specially designed for the training of teachers. Mr. Gray is prominent in State politics, and is an active Republican. He is strongly endorsed for the appointment of postmaster for the Russellville postoffice.

Charles C. Vaughn.

December 27, 1846, more than fifty years ago, the self-made man in the person of Rev. C. C. Vaughn, of Russellville, Ky., was born in old Virginia of slave parents. He was liberated by his master in 1852, and learned his alphabet in Hamilton, Ohio. He underwent many hardships to secure an education, but he took advantage of every opportunity to improve himself, and finally reached the goal, coming out with honors.

While in his teens he enlisted in the army to serve three years, or during the war. He served in Company F, then transferred to Company A, Thirteenth U. S. C. Heavy Artillery, and was promoted to orderly sergeant.

He passed the examination and taught his first school in Sidney, Ohio, in 1866. He established himself as a good teacher from the beginning, and has been actively engaged in teaching ever since, when not in college. Few men have made such a record as a teacher and a race leader. He has been Principal of Russellville Male School for nearly a quarter of a century, and is still holding the responsible position at this writing. (1897) He holds a state certificate and is master of the situation. He has a plain, simple way of expounding the word of God, and made a very successful pastor for thirteen years in Allen- ville, Ky. He is a fine parliamentarian, and was Assistant Moderator of the General Association of Kentucky for two or three sessions. He is now serving his third biennial term as Right worthy National Grand Chief of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria.

He is a prominent Grand Army man, and served on General Palmer's staff. He has much influence as a politician, and the candidate does well to consult him in a close fight. He is a race man and is competent to accomplish much good. He has the confidence of the best citizens of both races, and is felt in the community when he speaks for or against any question.
Frank L. Williams.

Kentucky has no son, who cherishes with greater pride her history, glories more in her achievements and progress, and fosters with greater solicitude her honor than Frank L. Williams. A. B. Born in the city of Louisville, within a few squares of where he now lives, he received his elementary education in her public schools.

Mrs. Harriet Williams, his mother, was well and honorably known, in the northwestern part of Louisville, for her great industry, fidelity to duty, and faithfulness in meeting obligations. She believed fully in the majesty of labor and Frank, her eldest son, does not remember when he did not assist in the work around the house. It was therefore natural for him to want to earn money. Since his twelfth year he has clothed himself and paid his board. Mrs. Williams died when Frank was in his sixteenth year. She was conscious of her condition for several hours before the end, and spoke freely of the disposition that should be made of her children. "As for Frank," she said, "let him alone. I have no fear of his future."

After working in a wholesale hardware house, with the view of leading a mercantile life, Frank packed his trunk and with a few hundred dollars he started West in the summer of 1882. Arriving at the little town of Corydon, Ind., he was persuaded to take the teachers' examination and become principal of the Corydon School. At the close of the school year, Mr. Williams, feeling the need of a better preparation for his work, resigned and in the following fall was matriculated as a student in Berea College.

During the five years of his college life he earned his expenses by teaching in the Kentucky mountains during the summer and doing work for the college during term time. In 1889 he graduated with the highest honors from the classical course of the college. Since his graduation Mr. Williams has been in the Government service, Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, editor and contributor to current literature, teacher and Institute instructor.

In his work as Institute instructor Mr. Williams has made an enviable record among the teachers of Kentucky. His enthusiasm is contagious and his Institutes have been characterized by large attendance of white citizens, as well as his own race, in the towns in which they have been held, and by great earnestness and zeal on the part of the teachers to fit themselves for better service. Superintendent Gallion, of Carroll county, Kentucky, voices the sentiment of the County Superintendents for whom Mr. Williams has instructed, when he writes in his own paper:

"Prof. F. L. Williams, of Louisville, who conducted the Colored Institute here this winter, is one of the most capable men we have ever known to have charge of an Institute. Having a thorough collegiate education, along with a knowledge of the principles of education and instruction, and being a fluent and even eloquent speaker, he makes a most efficient instructor."

Mr. Williams has occupied the Chair of Mathematics in the Louisville High School for four years. In this position he has given the greatest possible satisfaction, and is greatly beloved and respected by his pupils and the patrons of the school. He has been identified with every progressive movement among his people in Louisville, and in the State, for the past seven years. He is a member of the Committee of Management of the Young Men's Christian Association, was for years Secretary of the Board of Directors of the Orphans' Home; is a member of the Executive Board of the General Association of Kentucky Baptists, is Superintendent of Calvary Baptist Sunday School; was, in 1889, President of the Teachers' Institute of Louisville, and is one of the Trustees of Camp Nelson Academy, and Secretary of the State Teachers' Association. He has been honored with invitations to deliver addresses before the faculty and students of the best schools in Kentucky.

In 1891 Mr. Williams was married to Miss Fannie B. Miller, of Danville, Kentucky.
BIOG SKETCH OF FRANK L. WILLIAMS, EDUCATOR AFTER C. W.

Frank L. Williams, who enjoys the distinction of being the only lady classical graduate of Berea College, of the race. To them have come three children—Susie Pearl, Sophia Maurice, Frank Lundsford. Mr. Williams has been described by one of his friends as cold and calculating; yet to one seeing him in his home, with a babe on each knee and one on his back, no nature could be more sunny. He loves his friends dearly and does not hesitate to make any risk in their behalf. Having a profound faith in the future and recognizing that "diligence in business soon brings success," Mr. Williams is a close student. He has in the last two years studied faithfully the harder side of psychology and physiological psychology on the teacher's work. This, with a special study of educational values, a comprehensive study of the entire subject of education, and fifteen years' experience in teaching, has placed him in the forefront of teachers.

To a man of such natural gifts and powers, of such noble principles and high ideals of life, with such a position and such an influence among men, with such happy home surroundings, success can but come, and, in that this success must needs bring greater powers for ennobling and elevating his fellowmen, we can but rejoice in his glorious prospects.

JORDON CARLISLE JACKSON AFTER C. W.

Jordon Carlisle Jackson was born in Fayette county, Kentucky, February 21, 1848, and was a slave until emancipated by President Lincoln's Proclamation. Mr. Jackson has had no school training save that of experience and is in the fullest sense of the term a self-made man. He has been prominent in both local and State affairs for years, and has perhaps a larger acquaintance with prominent men, both white and black, than any other Negro in Kentucky. He has held many positions of honor and trust and has all along acquitted himself in such a way as to merit the approval of the race.

For several years he was the lay Trustee of Kentucky Conference, A.M. E. Church, of Wilberforce University, and took a prominent part in the discussions of the Board of Trustees relative to the management of the institution. He was for twelve years the only Negro member of the Board of Trustees of Berea College, and rendered valuable aid by his counsel, so much so that both President Hitchcock and Rev. John G. Fee disliked very much, to have him remain away from the annual meetings. The period for which he was released to serve ended during President Foss's second term, and, although strongly urged by Rev. Fee and others, he declined re-election.

It is perhaps in politics that he has gained his greatest reputation. Already prominent as a local leader he so thoroughly gained the confidence of the Republican party as to be honored with positions of profit and trust. He held the positions of Storekeeper and Ganger, and Storekeeper, in the Internal Revenue Service for the Seventh District of Kentucky, under Collectors A. M. Swope, C. H. Stoll and T. C. McEwold. As an officer Mr. Jackson was always popular and ranked as one of the best in the service. He has on very many occasions represented his race in various conventions; being a member and Secretary of the National Negro Convention, held in Nashville, Tenn., in 1876; and of the National Newspaper Convention in Cincinnati the same year, while he was the publisher of the American Citizen, of Lexington.

In the National Negro Convention held in Louisville, when a sharp fight for leadership between the late Frederick Douglass and John M. Langston was made, Mr. Jackson took an active part in bringing Kentucky in line for Mr.
Douglass, who ever afterward held him in high esteem. Mr. Jackson was temporary Chairman of the State Convention held in Lexington in 1892 to organize the fight against the Separate Coach Law, and made a ringing speech that largely shaped the course of the convention. He was alternate Delegate-at-large with Col. William Cassius Godlin to the National Republican Convention held in Cincinnati in 1876, and was elected Delegate-at-large to the National Republican Convention held in Minneapolis in 1892.

It was during the contest for Delegate to the Minneapolis Convention that Mr. Jackson showed his political shrewdness and splendid fighting qualities. He was the last of the four Negroes who entered into the race and was handicapped from the start. A prominent white Republican, also from Lexington, was a candidate, and, as it was unusual to select two of the Delegates-at-large from the same city, the white aspirant regarded the candidacy of Mr. Jackson as detrimental to his interest and was very much opposed to him. Each Negro candidate was backed by strong influences. One was a powerful church, another by the old soldier element, and the other was strongly aided by secret societies. Mr. Jackson's warmest friends felt under the circumstances that he was indulging in a forlorn hope, yet they felt a degree of confidence in his quiet but determined manner of campaigning. In a convention of 1,500 delegates he had only 80 instructed votes, and yet so skillfully did he manage his fight that on the third ballot he received over 500 votes defeating the other candidates in what the Lexington Leader says "was the most magnificent political fight we have ever witnessed."

He again showed his political shrewdness in the fight to endorse Governor Bradley for the Presidency in the State Convention of 1896. No man in the convention rendered the Governor more valuable service, and it is said that no Negro in the State enjoys his confidence more fully. The secret of Mr. Jackson's success is due to the fact that he is true to his friends, and slow to make promises, but when once made they are never broken. He would rather go down in defeat than desert a friend after espousing his cause; all know this and have confidence in his promises; hence his popularity, even among those whom he may oppose.

Mr. Jackson has fine literary as well as business qualities. He was the publisher of both the American Citizen and Kentucky Republican. In the latter paper he made quite a reputation as a writer under the nom de plume of "Uncle Jack." In the Lexington Standard he contributed a series of articles signed "Observer," that created widespread interest. He makes no pretense to oratory but in a plain common sense style goes straight to the meat of the matter under discussion. As a business man he is prompt, energetic and reliable, and has been very successful.

In 1871 he was married to Miss E. Belle Mitchell, of Danville, Ky., and often says it was the best investment he ever made, as he owes much of his success to her. She has always entered heartily into the spirit of all his plans with wise counsel and encouragement. It is said of her that she was opposed to his making the race for Delegate-at-large, because it would cost him too much money and keep him away from home while making the canvass. But after he

had entered the race, and she learned that a hot three-cornered fight was being made against him, her pride became aroused, and she not only encouraged him with words of advice but tendered him the use of her own small bank account, the accumulation of several years of work in the school room, to help him out rather than see him defeated. When he telegraphed his victory at 3 o'clock in the morning she was the happiest woman in Kentucky.

Mr. Jackson rendered valuable party service in the campaign for McKinley in 1896; in fact, it is said that he had more to do with landing Kentucky in the Republican column than the public generally is aware of. It was he who induced Rev. I. H. Welch to become a candidate for Congress in the
Seventh District against Judge Denni with the view to running him off the track so as to leave a clear field for Colonel Breckinridge, the sound money Democratic candidate. Mr. Welch's candidacy had the desired effect. Colonel Breckinridge received the Republican nomination, and the large Democratic vote he received saved the State to McKinley. Mr. Jackson has been urged by his friends, of both races, to become an applicant for office under the present Administration, with flattering offers of endorsement, but he declines to do so. He says he will always take a lively interest in politics but prefers, as a means of making a living, a quiet business life rather than the ups and downs of official positions.

In 1892 he entered the undertaking and livery business with William M. Porter, at 36 North Limestone street, Lexington, and under Mr. Jackson's careful management the firm has won the confidence of the community and are doing a thriving business. Mr. Jackson is public-spirited, and, although the business of the firm has grown to such proportions as to demand his constant attention, yet he finds time to devote to society work and take an active part in all public enterprises affecting the race, and carries into it the same energy and zeal that he puts into his own business affairs. He is very highly esteemed by all who know him and a bright future is predicted for him.

James Shelton Hathaway, Educator

The subject of this sketch, James S. Hathaway, was born at Mt. Sterling, Montgomery county, Kentucky, March 29, 1859. His early education was received in the schools of that place. At the age of seventeen he went to Berea College, where he remained until he graduated from the classical course in the year 1874 under the Presidency of Rev. E. T. Fairchild, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The day after his graduation he was elected Tutor of Latin and Mathematics in his Alma Mater by its Trustees. Three years later he married Miss Celia Anderson of Clyde, O., who was then a teacher in the schools of Kentucky.

While connected with the institution his salary was at different times advanced. He was made a member of the Faculty, and the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him. While at Berea he conceived the idea of organizing and establishing a printing and publishing company. Through great labor and sacrifice, he interested many, and the Intelligence Publishing Company was incorporated, with him as President and headquarters at Lexington. Through his persistent efforts as President an excellent site for the company's building was purchased on Broadway, at a cost of three thousand dollars, and paid for; besides, money pledged for a building. The affairs of the company now began to require more time than he could spare from his work at college, and he announced to friends his purpose to resign the Presidency of the company, and did decline a re-election at the approaching annual meeting. In the meantime he settled to the satisfaction of the company and to parties contending, the misfortune of workmen undermining an adjoining building while excavating for the company's foundation. Also on a leave of absence from college for the fall of '92, upon insistence of members, began the publication of The Standard. He returned to his college work at the expiration of his leave of absence.
In the summer of 1893 he resigned his position in Berea College to accept the position of Professor of Agriculture to which he had been elected in the State Normal School at Frankfort, Ky. The following official testimonial was received:

Berea, Ky., October 4, 1893.

Prof. J. S. Hathaway, Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Sir and Friend—I am authorized by the Faculty of Berea College to express to you their appreciation of you and of your work, as an instructor in the college. For nine years, or ever since your graduation, you have held a place, as one of us, a fact which of itself says much for your efficiency. One seldom holds for so long a time, immediately after graduating, a position in his Alma Mater. Since becoming a member of the Faculty you have rendered valuable service by your counsel on very many occasions. You have always been willing to do your full share of work; you have been uniformly courteous to your associates; you have had a prominent part in several enterprises for the public good, outside of your school work, thus adding to the reputation of the college.

As you now withdraw from this particular work, and connect yourself with another institution, we do not feel that you are far separated from us. The work which you are now doing is but another part of our own, and we have a deep interest in its prosecution. You carry with you to your new field of labor our wishes for your personal success and prosperity. We shall watch your future career with interest, as we do that of all our alumni; an interest increased by your long association with us as a fellow worker.

L. V. Dodge, Professor of Greek,

For the Faculty, with added assurances of personal esteem.

President W. G. Frost later added the following:

To Whom it May Concern:

This certifies that the bearer, J. S. Hathaway, is a graduate of the classical course of Berea College, and has received the degree of A. M. in course. For some years he was tutor in Latin and Mathematics in his Alma Mater, and, as instructor, rendered satisfactory service. In 1893 he voluntarily resigned his position in Berea College to accept a professorship in the State Normal School of Kentucky, and upon his departure the Faculty authorized a committee to express to him their appreciation of his work in the institution. Mr. Hathaway is a man of reliable Christian character, and a gentleman of good natural abilities, as well as of most pleasing manners and address. Faithfully yours,

Wm. Goodell Frost.

In his present field of labor, which has larger opportunities than that at Berea, he is applying himself to the industrial development of the race, and has instituted an annual conference of farmers for the development of agricultural industry. This conference is proving a beneficial and attractive meeting. Just now he is engaged in raising money for the development of the Agricultural Department, chief of whose needs is a farm whereon scientific agriculture may be encouraged and taught.
Among the most energetic, progressive and loyal men of the race will be found the subject of this sketch, who first saw the light of day in Barren County, Kentucky, in 1859. When a mere lad, through the death of his father, he was thrown on the world to eke out a living for himself and widowed mother. Through close application he early in life mastered the common school branches and turned his attention to higher studies. In 1881 he entered the State University at Louisville, where he afterward graduated with honors.

When quite young he became identified with every movement inaugurated for the elevation and advancement of his race in Old Kentucky. In 1886 he was a member of a committee which appeared before the Senate in Frankfort in behalf of just laws for the Negroes of the State, where he distinguished himself by delivering an able, scholarly and earnest address in their behalf. He has made for himself an enviable reputation as a pulpit orator and a successful pastor and teacher, and occupies a prominent position among the foremost Baptist clergymen of the country. He is a Trustee of the State University, and takes an active part in educational matters, as well as everything else that pertains to the elevation and advancement of his people in the State, and few men enjoy such social prominence as Dr. Smith. He is the present pastor of the Fourth Street Baptist Church of Owensboro, at which place he has erected a $30,000 brick house of worship. He has been most active in the fight against the Separate Church law, and as a member of the State Executive Committee has had charge of the arrangements and execution of the case.

Dr. Smith enjoys the distinction of having been a delegate to every National Republican Convention for the past sixteen years. But few Negroes of the South have been more active in political matters than he. In 1840 he was a member of the National Republican Convention at Chicago, which nominated Blaine and Logan. He was a delegate at-large from Kentucky to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis. He seconded the nomination of Henry Clay Evans for Vice President. He was appointed a member from the State-at-large of the Campaign Advisory Committee.

Governor Bradley commissioned Dr. Smith to represent Kentucky at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in 1897. As a worker he has been conscientious and faithful; as a minister, proficient and logical. He is highly esteemed, not only by the Negroes of the State, but numbers among his friends the best and most prominent white people of Kentucky. As a leader, a race worker, and a thinker, he stands without a superior.
of Kentucky Royal Arch Masons. At present he is Organizer and Director of the Alumni Choral Club; Most Eminent Grand Commander of the Knights Templar of Kentucky, and a Thirty-third Degree Scottish Rite Mason (Deputy for the Valley of Kentucky).

In order to better acquaint himself with the science of government he took up the study of law, graduating as valedictorian from the Central Law School, with the degree of LL.B. During the Presidency of Dr. J. H. Garnett, the State University conferred on Mr. Perry the degree of A.M. He has a sound and solid business education, completing a special course in the Commercial College of Terre Haute; and is a graduate of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, Class of 1866. Aiming at thorough and broad scholarship he has studied under some of the leading educators of the country, making a specialty of scientific teaching. In this connection he has visited and studied at Martha's Vineyard, Mass., and Chautauqua, N. Y. Prof. Perry read an original poem at the dedication of the State Normal School at Frankfort. He was chosen orator by the Templars' Grand Commandery at Terre Haute in August, 1886, and his address, "Knighthood Among the Colored Race," was eloquent and scholarly and widely and favorably commented upon by the press. He takes great interest in charitable work, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Odd Fellows' Home at Louisville.
Rev. Robert Mitchell, A. M., was born in Fulton county, Kentucky, March 1, 1861. His parents were slaves, brought from North Carolina just before the Civil War, during which they removed from Kentucky to Tennessee, locating on a farm. When a child his parents sent him to such schools as the neighborhood then afforded. He professed hope in Christ in 1874 and became a member of the Baptist Church. Three years after his conversion he began preaching. His name spread far and wide as the "boy preacher." He was licensed at 18.

Through the influence of friends he matriculated at Rust University, Holly Springs, Miss., entered the middle preparatory class, and remained in said school five years, finishing his junior year in college. By his upright Christian bearing he won the confidence of teachers and students.

The Seventh Street Baptist Church of Paducah, hearing of this brilliant young divine, tendered him a call which he accepted in the winter of 1883. He pastored this church with signal ability for nearly four years, having found it with twenty-five members and left it with one hundred and seventy-five, and a neat house of worship. While in that city he was united in wedlock to Miss Virgie Leach, the amiable daughter of Mr. John Leach. He has found Mrs. Mitchell a helpmeet indeed, and attributes his success, as many another good man has done, to her wise and timely counsel. While in Paducah he decided to read for the Master's Degree in the Wesleyan University at Bloomington, Ill., which he pursued with signal success, but upon learning that he could take the degree conferred by the State University, he did not take the examination.

He was called to the State Street Baptist Church at Bowling Green in May, 1887. He remained pastor of this church nine years. While in Bowling Green he was elected President of Simmons Memorial College, by the Trustees, which position he held for seven years. Some of the ablest young men and women in Southern Kentucky are graduates of his school. He was called to the Main Street Baptist Church, Lexington, in June, 1895, filling his pulpit and ministering to the congregation with credit to himself and his race. He has been identified with every progressive and aggressive movement in which the race has been interested for the past twelve years.

With about two hundred representative Negro men he appeared before the House and Senate Committees of the Legislature of Kentucky, protesting against the injustice of the Separate Coach Bill. He was appointed one of the speakers on that occasion, about which event the Louisville Courier-Reporter reported:

"Rev. Robert Mitchell, A. M., President of the Simmons Memorial College at Bowling Green, with next to no voice, in the next address, you, Mr. Mitchell came forward. He is tall and muscular, almost bald-headed, and a perfect Pennsylvanian. He was the other day for Uncle Sam to stir up a war with Chili that he might attest his love of country by deeds of valor on the field of battle. He appeared as a Kentuckian, proud of the name and fame of his State. The blacks read the same Bible as the whites, the same text books in school and walked the same streets. All were created of one blood and all acknowledged the Fatherhood of God and the fellowship of man. The whites had been kind to the blacks in Kentucky, for which all gratitude was due. They had helped them to establish schools, and voted a tax annually to sustain them. After all the good that had been done in a quarter of a century, why discriminate against them now? Why shut them out from places that only whites, accorded shunned cities, and groans under guard, as the hill, as they, can't get? Why still good citizens, and the Negro, is gaining in good citizenship every day, by legislating unmercifully against him? Rev. Mitchell continued in this strain for some time. He dwelt eloquently upon the chastity of the Negro home as it is today, and concurred with the sentiment that they were not now before a committee of the General Assembly seeking social rights, but civil rights."

Rev. Mitchell has filled many important positions in Kentucky. At one time he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the State University. He has been Assistant Moderator of the General Association of Kentucky Baptists, President of the State Teachers' Association, Vice President of the National Baptist Educational Convention, Vice President of the National Baptist Convention, and Commissioner of Kentucky to the Atlanta Exposition. He preached before the American National Baptist Convention in Washington, D. C., in 1893; and read an able paper before the National Baptist Educational Convention at Montgomery, Ala., in 1894; also, a paper before the National Baptist Convention at St. Louis, Mo., in 1896. He has now a book in press entitled, "Biblical Essays on Important Subjects."
E. E. Underwood was born in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, June 7, 1864. Graduated Western Reserve Medical College in Cleveland in March 1891. Located his practice in Frankfort, where he has been successful. In December, 1891, he was elected Secretary of the Anti-Separate Coach State Executive Committee, and is at present holding that position. In politics he is a power in the Republican party of Kentucky. He is President of the State League of 'Colored' Republican Clubs, a member of the Republican City and County Committees of Frankfort and Franklin county. He has twice served as a delegate to the Republican State Convention of Kentucky.

John H. Jackson, President of the State Normal School of Kentucky, was born in Lexington, October 31, 1850. He received his early education in the public schools of the Blue Grass metropolis, afterwards entering Berea College from which he graduated with high honors in June, 1874, having the flattering distinction of being the first Negro to graduate in Kentucky. After graduating he taught for a number of years in Lexington.

He was elected a Delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention in 1880, being the first Negro to receive such recognition from his party in this aristocratic old slave State. In this convention he was one of the historic and famous '306' whose fidelity to Grant in that memorable struggle has formed one of the most dramatic pages in the annals of our country's political history.

Prof. Jackson removed in 1881 to Kansas to become Principal of Lincoln High School of Kansas City, Mo., and discharged his duties in a most creditable manner. He was appointed by the Governor of Kansas, at different times, as Clerk of the Jury Commission, and also Clerk of the Police Board of Kansas City, Kan., serving in both positions with commendable ability. He was made a member of the Board of Examiners for Kansas City, Kan., no other Negro having ever been previously so honored in the State. He was prominently mentioned for the position of State Auditor of Kansas, to succeed Hon. E. P. McCabe in 1884, but modestly declined to become a candidate.

In 1887 he was called back to Kentucky to accept the position of President of the State Normal School located at Frankfort, which position he still holds. When it first became known that an effort would be made to pass a Separate Coach Law in Kentucky, Prof. Jackson came boldly to the front and was the first man to raise his voice against the measure at a public meeting in the latter part of 1891, at the Corinthian Baptist Church in Frankfort. He was a prominent member of the committee which fought against the enactment of this infamous law. When a delegation of several hundred Negroes—Kentuckians, as truly as though white—appeared before the Governor to ask him not to recommend the law in his message to the Legislature, Prof. Jackson acted as Master of Ceremonies, introducing the speakers.
When the bill came up in the Legislature of Kentucky Prof. Jackson was selected by the Anti-Separate School State Convention to go before the Joint Railroad Committee and protest against its passage, which duty he performed in a masterly address, urging a law based upon conditions rather than upon color. It might be well to here note that a law embodying the same ideas was recently passed by the Legislature of South Carolina to the satisfaction of both races. To the lasting shame of the white man in Kentucky, who in days of slavery, as well as freedom, has usually been kind and considerate to the black man, as compared with other Southern States, the Separate School Bill became a law, and remains upon the statute books of the State today.

Prof. Jackson served as Chairman of the Committee on Educational Statistics for the Negro race at the World's Fair in 1893, and made a report which was published extensively and favorable commented upon by the press of the United States. He was one of the Kentucky Commissioners to the Atlanta Exposition, and, by invitation, made an address covering the growth of Negro Education in Kentucky, which attracted much attention. By invitation of the Senate of Kentucky, in March 1897, he addressed that distinguished branch of the Legislature, and made so favorable an impression as to secure an appropriation of about $4,000 cash, and an additional annual appropriation of $1,400 for the benefit of the State Normal School.

No man in Kentucky enjoys more fully than Prof. Jackson the confidence and esteem of both races. His life has been devoted to education. The progress of the institution, of which he has been President for the past ten years, is a tribute more eloquent than any words could possibly be to his worth and work in this his chosen field. In an eminent degree he combines all of those qualities of head and heart which go to make up exalted manhood. In him his race recognizes a safe and wise leader. Nor is this all. He is an embodiment of the highest type of Christianity and morality, and it can truthfully be said of him:

"His life is gentle,
And the elements so mix in him
That Nature might hold him unto all the world
And say, 'This is a man.'"

Mrs. E. Belle Jackson.

Mrs. E. Belle Jackson, President of the Orphan and Industrial Home, of Lexington, was born in Boyle county, Kentucky, December 31, 1848. When old enough her parents, Monroe and Mary E. Mitchell, sent her to a school which the town officials permitted the free Negroes to conduct. They were slaves, but hired their time. In a few years they bought their freedom, and when Belle was eleven years old her mother took her to Xenia, Ohio intending to put her in school at Wilberforce, but she was too young to matriculate, as they did not admit students under fifteen years old; so she placed her in the Xenia public school, taught by Miss Sarah J. Woodson, afterward by Mr. John R. Blackburn, where she remained three years; being very apt she soon took rank with the leading pupils.

She professed religion when twelve years old, and joined the Methodist Church. She returned to her Kentucky home to spend vacation. Although very young she was energetic and took an active part in Sunday school and church work. Rev. John G. Fee, the venerable founder of Berea College, met Miss Mitchell while preaching in Danville one Sunday, and was so attracted by her that he finally induced her parents to allow her to go to Camp Nelson to teach the contraband women and children who had assembled there. This was her first experience as a teacher, and was far from pleasant.

The American Missionary Association had already sent a number of white teachers there from the North who were teaching the little "niggers," but when a Negro teacher came, one perfectly qualified for the work, they refused to eat in the dining room while she was eating with two exceptions. Mrs. Colton and daughter, who were Christian women. The landlady told Rev. Fee that she would not give Miss Mitchell a plate at the table. He said, "Then I will give her mine!" Rev. Fee reported the narrow-minded teachers to the Missionary
school work, she entered Berea College in the fall of 1887, and would have graduated, as was her intention, had not Cupid interfered. While teaching the first American Missionary school ever taught in Lexington, she met her present husband, Mr. J. C. Jackson, now the popular Limestone Street undertaker. They were mutually attracted to each other and were soon engaged to marry. Miss Mitchell was ambitious to finish the course, but Mr. Jackson, who had already waited three years, urged an early marriage. So she left college, and February 24, 1871, they were married.

Mrs. Jackson afterward taught in the schools of Lexington and Fayette county. For the past ten years she has given her time largely to charitable work. She seems to be imbued with the missionary spirit, and is constantly doing all in her power to uplift her race. Five years ago, with a number of other ladies, she conceived the idea of establishing an Orphan Industrial Home. The reports submitted and published in this book show how well the work is succeeding.
begging to retain him. In the final settling up of the estate it was found that
George would have to be disposed of, and he soon discovered that negotiations
were pending between the administrator and Chouinawash & Lawless, a firm of
slave dealers in Lexington who bought Negroes to send South. George asked
the administrator if he intended to send him South, and he replied, "Yes, I am
gong to sell you down South, and when you get there you will find that your
color—George is nearly white—will not save you from doing the same work
as other Negroes."

For several years prior to this time George had been allowed to do odd jobs
for people in the neighborhood, and he had saved his money with the intention
of buying himself, a practice followed by many of the better class of Negroes
in this State. He had also made considerable money in gathering blue grass seed.
He invested part of his money in a good horse, saddle and bridle. He had
about $100 in cash. When he learned that he was to be sold down South, he
and his brother Milton, who was two years his junior, decided to run away and
seek a home in the North. An elder sister had died in New Orleans, leaving
them a handsome estate, which would have been ample to purchase their free-
dom; but under the law slaves could not inherit property, and they therefore
saw nothing open to them but flight or the most abject slavery in the cotton
fields of the South. Their Scotch blood boiled in indignation at the thought of
the latter contingency, and in the dead of night they left their old Kentucky
home and rode North. They went to Canada, but had only been there a short
while when Milton determined to come to Lexington to see his sister. He
disguised himself, but had not been in the city long until he was recognized
and sent back to the administrator of William Bridges' estate. Before he could be
sold down South he escaped again, and went to Oberlin, Ohio, from which point
he communicated with George, and the latter soon joined him at Oberlin. George
was taken into the family of Mrs. Frances Safford (a niece of Mrs. Stone),
who lived in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts. Mrs. Safford taught George to
read and write. He learned rapidly, and would often entertain crowds of eager
listeners with stories of slave life in Kentucky. He became so noted from telling
these stories that people for miles around came to Mrs. Safford to see him and
to learn something of the institution of slavery as known in the Southern States.
He attracted so much attention that news reached Kentucky of his doings,
and William Bridges' administrator sent Lewis Postlewait and Thomas B. Megowan,
of Lexington, after the two Clark brothers. They succeeded in capturing Mil-
ton and returning him to Kentucky; but George made his escape through some
technicality of the law, and went to Portland, Maine, where he began giving
lectures on the "Legree" type of slave owners in the South. He lectured
throughout Maine and the New England States. He returned to Mrs. Safford's
in 1844, having gained an almost national reputation as the daring slave lec-
turer, and having stirred the people of the North against human slavery to such
an extent that the abolition of that institution was possible. His reappearance
in Ohio created a great deal of comment and no little excitement. Hundreds of
friends came to Oberlin and assured him that should his owners from Kentucky
attempt to capture him again they would protect him with their lives.

At the breaking out of the war he went to Canada. After the war was
over, the late Colonel William Cassius Goodloe and other distinguished Ken-
tuckyans persuaded him to come to Kentucky and try and induce the Negroes
of the State, who at that time had the Kansas fever, to remain in Kentucky
and not be carried away with the stories of the Kansans' booms. He spoke in
nearly every county of the State, and by his work he succeeded in preventing
many Negroes from leaving Kentucky. In more recent years he traveled
throughout the country delivering lectures on old times in the South.

In 1858 the venerable worker for his race became enfeebled, and was unable
to do anything for a livelihood. When his condition became known, charitably
disposed persons all over the North and in Kentucky, sent small contributions which materially assisted him, but his destitution was not fully relieved until it became known to Mr. Charles Umben, of Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand, a philanthropic gentleman and musician of the far antipodes. He succeeded in getting up a benefit musical performance in Dunedin, for Lewis George Clark, which netted seventy pounds sterling, or $350. This money, raised seven thousand miles away, was sent to Mr. Clark in March, 1897. It was placed in the hands of Mayor J. B. Simrell, of Lexington, who used it in providing for the needs of this man who had made history.

In disposition Lewis George Clark was as gentle as a child; his honesty was proverbial, and he had the respect, esteem and confidence of all who knew him. He was intimately acquainted with the Beechers, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and the other great leaders in the pro-slavery movement. He outlived all of them, his only living contemporary in 1897 being General Cassius Marcellus Clay, of White Hall, Madison county, Kentucky.

WALLACE ARKANSAS GAINES, OF NORTHERN KY; REPUBLICAN LEADER

Born in Dayton, Ohio, Apr 15, 1858; had a Ky background. Sent to Dayton public schools. Went to Lima, Ohio to live with mother, and entered the mixed schools of Lima.
and orders. He is a Mason, having taken all the degrees to that of Knight Templar; he is an Odd Fellow, having attained to the rank of Past Grand Master therein, and is also a member of the Patriarchy. The society in which he takes greatest interest, is that of the United Brothers of Friendship. This is due, no doubt, to Mr. Gaines' interest in the advancement of his race, this being distinctly a Negro organization, having for its purpose the unification of the race. In 1889, at Bowling Green, Ky., he was elected Grand Master of the I. R. F. and S. M. T. and has been re-elected each year since. Comment is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that under his administration the growth, prosperity and influence of the order in Kentucky has been unparalleled.

But few men have been more active or better known in the political affairs of the State of Kentucky than Mr. Gaines. For the past sixteen years he has been a delegate to every city, county and State convention; for the past twelve years he has been a member of the Republican Executive Committee of both Kenton county and the city of Covington, and at present a member-at-large of the State Advisory Committee. In 1892, he was elected a State delegate-at-large to represent the Republican State League at Buffalo, N. Y. As an evidence of the high esteem in which he is held by those in authority, it may be stated that in 1895 he was appointed Commissioner for the State at the Atlanta exposition; and in 1896, he was commissioned by the Governor as a State representative to the Nashville Exposition.

Mr. Gaines' strong forte is that of oratory.

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BRIEF HIST OF THE LEX COLOR A & M ASSN

In less than a decade after the proclamation freeing the Negro of the South, and long before the freedman had gotten through rejoicing over the incidents attending that event, the Colored Fair Association was inaugurated. On August 11, 1869, a mass meeting was held at Ladies' Hall in the city of Lexington. Henry King, for his active and earnest work and enthusiasm in the enterprise, was made Chairman, and Henry Britton, Secretary. The object of the meeting being stated by the chairman, a permanent organization was formed. Henry King was elected President; H. H. Harvey, Vice President; James Turner, Treasurer; Henry Scroggins, Secretary; and a Board of Directors, consisting of five members, James Harvey, Thomas Slaugther, George Perry, E. G. Smoot and Theodore Clay. These were the first to be thus honored by this enterprise, and of the number named above only two survive, at this date, May 1, 1897, namely, Theodore Clay and H. H. Harvey.

At the meeting in 1869 it was agreed that fifty shares of the stock should be put on sale at $10 per share, and in a short time two-thirds of the stock was disposed of. Subsequently the amount of stock was raised to one hundred and eight shares, which were readily taken by responsible parties. Grounds were secured on the Newtown pike, a short distance from the city, where the first fair was held from October 6 to 9, inclusive. Three fairs were held on these grounds and with such unexpected success that the Association concluded it would be more profitable to lease grounds and improve them with
such buildings and conveniences as would be better suited and
adapted to the purpose.

In 1872 a lease for a period of fifteen years was secured on a
tract of land about one mile from the city limits, on the Georgetown
pike. About $3,500 was expended on improvements. A semi-circle
amphitheatre, with a seating capacity of 2,500, a dwelling house and
stables were erected, and a half mile track made, besides other
necessary improvements. For the following fifteen years the fairs were
held on these grounds. The large and increasing attendance from
year to year, the high class of the exhibits, the very best and finest
stock of the Blue Grass counties being brought there to contend for
the liberal premiums and purses offered, soon convinced the managers
that the recent improvements were inadequate to the demand. The
half mile track proving unsatisfactory was abandoned, the amphitheatre
was found not to be large enough to accommodate one-third
of the visitors, and a hall in which was exhibited the handiwork of
women was too small.

Something must be done, as the fifteen years' lease had expired,
and it was evident that the Association must have larger and better
grounds to accommodate its increasing patronage. Some of the members
were of the opinion that it would be more prudent to purchase
grounds and improve them to meet the demands of the Association.
Others thought it best to have a committee visit upon the White Fair
Association to ascertain if an agreement could be reached for holding
the Negro Fair on its grounds. Such a committee was finally ap-
pointed and it succeeded in making a contract satisfactory to both
organizations.

The first fair held by Negroes on the White Association grounds
was in 1887 and since then their fairs have been held there. They
are considered the finest and best adapted grounds for fair and racing
purposes in America. The proximity of the grounds to the city, with
an electric car line running to the gate that conveys passengers
from any part of the city for 5 cents; a race course pronounced by
all first-class horsemen to be the equal of any; a double-decked
amphitheatre, with a seating capacity of 8,000; a spacious floral
hall, and sufficient stable room to accommodate the stock, gives to the
Colored Fair Association and its thousands of patrons an advantage
and pleasure they did not before enjoy.

Since the removal to the present location the fairs have grown in
importance and popularity. Many new attractions have been added
and changes made each season, so as to do away with the monotony
and tedium that so often characterize like exhibitions. The officers
in preparing their catalogue always take special care and deep interest
in striving to accommodate all classes of women's handiwork, and
very often the Secretary makes a personal canvass among them. It
is the prime desire of the Association to create rivalry and thereby
stimulate and encourage industry and artistic talent especially among
young women.
To show the unsellishness of the Association liberal premiums are offered on all articles exhibited in floral hall, without entry fee. This department of the fair has grown from year to year until it is now one of the main attractions. The books of the Association are open to the public, and often the exhibits of the best white people compete for the prizes. Another indispensable attraction of the fair is the speed ring. The people demand something more enlivening and exciting than the ordinary ring shows, and will have it or they will not attend, as they have already demonstrated here. This is a country of great horses and interested horsemen, and the Association cannot ignore the demands for exhibitions of speed.

The liberality and generosity of the officers have added much to the Association's popularity and success, and the promptness with which all obligations are met have given it a financial standing in the community to be envied. Liberal purses and premiums are offered and promptly paid in cash just as soon as the judges make their decision and the same is reported to the Secretary. Often belated exhibitors are accommodated with extra rings accompanied with handsome premiums rather than that they should go away disappointed after having prepared their stock. As much as $50 or $75 is often given for extra races after the catalogue races have been exhausted. The amusements are never allowed to lag although they come very dear sometimes.

The Association has been liberal in the distribution of complimentary badges, liberal in its advertising, liberal in looking after the comfort of its guests, and liberal in the pay of its employees. Upon these principles only can a great fair be successfully conducted. It takes over $2,000 to run the Lexington Fair exclusive of the premiums and purses, besides a great measure of work and worry. The Directors and managers, for the amount of time and labor given, are least requited. Their work extends throughout the year, board meetings to attend and committee work of all kinds to be done. During the fair to make an ideal officer one should keep busy. There are always on hand sharperers and schemers that have to be looked after. You will find one class at the gate trying to beat their way in, and still another at the Secretary's office trying by some means to defraud that officer out of a premium. Such unscrupulous persons will, in order to fill a ring, enter a horse to be shown in a class to which he does not belong, or for the same purpose they will enter an animal that is not on the grounds, and, when that fact is ascertained, will claim it to be no fault of theirs and demand a show for their money. Many other sharp practices are resorted to which at times become very annoying. So an officer cannot be idle and do his duty. He must be on the alert.

Since the organization of the company seven men have been honored with the Presidency: Henry King, who served for the years...
BRIEF HIST OF THE LEX COL A & M ASSN

w d johnson, biog sketch of prom negro men and women, 1897

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1869, '70, '72, '74, '83, '86 and '87; George Perry, who served one year, '87; J. C. Jackson, 1873, '75 and '76; Horace P. Gaines, from 1877 to 1882, inclusive; J. A. Scott, 1884 and '85; E. W. Chenault, 1889, '94 and '95; Henry Lee, 1888, '89, '90, '91, '92, '96 and 1897.

The honor of Vice President has been bestowed upon fourteen men, as follows: H. H. Harvey, serving one term; George Perry, three terms; H. P. Gaines, E. W. Jackson, Henry Lee and J. A. Scott, two terms each; James Harvey, George Scroggins, A. L. Harden, M. T. Clay, Isaac Lee, Reuben Scott, A. W. Redd, one term each; and Jupiter Lewis, the present incumbent, has been in office through ten terms.

James Turner was the first to be honored as Treasurer, in 1869, and served in that capacity until 1874, when he was succeeded by W. L. Taylor, who faithfully performed the duties of the office until death removed him in 1893. Henry Lee was then elected and served until 1896, when he became President, and S. W. Dunn assumed the duties of Treasurer, a position he still holds.

Henry Scroggins was elected Secretary in 1869 and remained in office until 1875 when he was succeeded by A. L. Harden, who has continuously served the company as Secretary to the present time.

The Association is a member of the National Trotting Association, a distinction and honor for many years enjoyed by no other kindred Negro organization. Its membership has given it prestige and power that it did not enjoy before, and has brought it under the notice of all prominent horsemen and Associations in this country and Canada. Its membership entitles it to a voice in making laws that govern all of the noted Associations throughout the country. Records made by horses at its meetnges are valid, as upon other tracks, and any horseman who violates the rule can be fined, suspended or expelled by this Association just as quickly as for the same offense on any other track. In fact, it is invested with the same power and rights, and governed by the same rules and laws, that any other National Association member is entitled to.

That the Association has done good in the community no one can deny. It is an incentive to industry and thrift among all classes, the farmer, the gardener, the horseman, the caterer, the seamstress, the tailor, the mechanic, the merchant, the artist, etc. It affords to all an opportunity, that would not otherwise exist, for competition in the exercise of talent—talent that might have remained unknown. It brings together relatives and friends long separated in happy reunion and innocent enjoyment. It is a credit to the race for there we can see placed upon exhibition the results of skillful labor, both artistic and mechanical, of our own people; and, again, it is a noble memorial of the worthy dead who sacrificed and contributed so much to the
Financially the Association has been a success. Thousands of dollars have been paid to the members in dividends, and when the charter expired in 1896, after twenty-seven years of prosperity, and the members concluded to disband and reorganize under new incorporations, the stockholders were paid more than a hundred dollars per share for their stock which at the organization of the company only cost them ten dollars. That undoubtedly is a very creditable record and one seldom equaled by any like institution. It may be asked, and naturally, too, why the old company, being a success, was disbanded and a new one formed? What advantages over the old could be expected in the formation of a new? There were several reasons for it. The first was that most of the members in the original company were old men and dependent widows who were anxious to get what they had in the company to assist in sustaining them in their old age and through the depression of the hard times. The second reason was to try in the new organization to offer inducements to young men to take stock, as young and energetic men were very much needed to supplant those who had grown old in the work. The third and, perhaps, principal reason was that the charter of the old company had expired and it was desirable to form a new company under an improved plan of incorporation, the charter being defective in many respects. While it is true that in the new company most of the old members have retained stock, yet there is an infusion of young blood that is certain in time to be very advantageous.

The last fair, in 1896, was the first held under the new order of things; and, taking everything into consideration, the great depression in business throughout the country in particular, it was one of the greatest meetings of the Association, and so well managed were its affairs that a handsome dividend of about 40 per cent was declared.

The present officers of the Association are: Henry Lee, President; Jupiter Lewis, Vice President; S. W. Dunn, Treasurer; A. L. Harden, Secretary; M. T. Clay, J. T. Clay, J. C. Jackson, L. C. Smith, W. H. Campbell, J. W. Ellis and Lewis Williams, Directors. All are capable and worthy gentlemen, who from training and ex-
experience know how to manage and run a great fair. Most of them have been connected with the Association since its organization and all of them have been prominent in the work for years.

They are leaving nothing undone that will tend to make the meeting of 1897 even a greater success than any heretofore. The various committees have been appointed, and the new features suggested and discussed, if adopted, will greatly enhance the pleasures of the fair. The selection of men to fill the most important places during fair week, such as Chief Marshal, stock marshal, ring marshals, ticket sellers and ticket takers, etc., is another matter which often gives the board much concern to be certain that the best choice has been made. The Chief Marshal is the most responsible officer. He supervises generally, cares for the company's property, sees that the grounds are in proper order for the fair, and each morning before the fair opens clears the grounds of all idlers. For several years Mr. T. J. Wilson has filled this important position with credit and satisfaction. He has again been selected for the place which is a sufficient guarantee that everything will be in first-class order for the coming fair, in September, 1897.

The printing is another matter of no little moment requiring good taste and judgment in its handling. Thousands of posters, streamers, dodgers, catalogues, badges, etc., must be planned, prepared and distributed throughout the country, requiring weeks of labor and watchful care on the part of the Secretary. For several years the Standard Job Office, in Lexington, has done the company's printing, which for neatness, taste and artistic workmanship, it would be hard to excel. That thousands of badges can be printed, strung and accurately counted and separated into convenient packages, and delivered without any loss shows a watchfulness and care on the part of the printer that is commendable; for in previous years the company suffered from loss of tickets before they reached the officers, which would not be discovered until after a day's sale when stubs and tickets were checked off at night.

This brief history of the Colored Mechanical and Agricultural Association is given as a basis upon which a more extended account may be written at some future time, possibly by a more competent historian. Many facts, more or less interesting, have been condensed or roughly related, and more entirely omitted in this limited space.
If the high prices of slaves could be considered a fair index of the profitability of Negro slavery in the South, the economic condition of "the peculiar institution" seemed to be stronger in 1860 than it had ever been. Yet behind the façade of increasing values of slave property there had been ceaselessly at work for at least two decades a slow and subtle erosion of the base of the institution. The disintegrating forces were strongest and most noticeable in the Upper South and in the towns and cities, where the growing practice of obtaining the service of slave labor by hire instead of by purchase was invisibly loosening the bonds of an archaic system.

As slave-hiring became an important aspect of southern slavery in the 1840's and 1850's, owners were able to hire out their slaves for annual payments averaging from 12 to 15 per cent of their value, while the cost to hirers, or employers, was usually less than would have been required for free labor.

Other classes of slaveowners frankly hired out their slaves because the demand for them assured profitable financial returns. The tobacco factories, the saltmakers, the iron and coal industries, the railroad and canal builders, and steamboat owners were calling urgently for hired hands.
HIRING OUT SLAVES TO REFORM THEM

(Some masters hired their slaves out in order to reform their character.) This seems to have been the motive of the Reverend William M. Pratt, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Lexington, Kentucky, in hiring out his slave Joe. Pratt was a northern man, a graduate of Hamilton College, New York, who had accepted the call to Lexington in 1845 with misgivings because he was opposed to slavery.\(^22\) Ten years later, however, he owned Negros worth $2,500 and was hiring them out. His diary for January 22, 1855, records that Joe, one of the hired slaves, had run away from his country employer and the minister could not persuade him to return. "I threatened to sell him," Pratt wrote, but "he said he would rather be sold than live there. I took him out [to his employer's place] and ordered him to stay, but as I came to town he followed me and for the first time, I had to whip him to make him go back. I don't know what to do. I have been too indulgent, he is spoiled and I am afraid he is contracting bad habits in town. I wanted him to have a home in the country where he would be free from town temptations."\(^23\) But Joe ran away again, and Pratt had to pay jail fees to return him to the hirer; and at the beginning of the next year the diary records that he had been hired to the city for the year for the sum of $105.\(^24\)

SOME OPPONENTS OF SLAVERY HIRED SLAVES AS SERVANTS

There were southern men and women who, because of antislavery convictions, refused to own slaves but hired their domestic servants from slaveowners. Such a person was Mrs. Joseph R. Underwood of Bowling Green, whose husband represented Kentucky in the United States Senate and was one of the leading southern advocates of the movement to colonize emancipated slaves in Africa. The Underwoods, and others like them, often had trouble in securing domestics. In 1850 Mrs. Underwood was able to hire four servants, even rehiring a slave girl whose owner accepted less than the market price because the girl was "so anxious" to remain with her. In January of the following year, however, she wrote her husband that she had not been able to hire any servants except a cook. She had made a dozen applications for a girl but could secure none except at an extortionate price. Grown farm hands, she reported, were hiring readily at $125 a year and skilled slaves at $250 and upward, plus their clothing.\(^25\)
Mr. Henry Clay Weeden was born in Oldham county, Kentucky. Dr. Givens and wife taught him to read and write before entering the LeGrange public schools, presided over by the Rev. F. B. Marra. He came to Louisville at an early age and entered the old school at Fourteenth and Broadway. Afterwards attending the city school, he entered the services of Dr. Stuart Robinson and Col. Bennett H. Young. He continued his studies under these distinguished gentlemen, especially in languages and literature under Col. Bennett H. Young, whom he is a protege. He then became sub-editor of the Christian Index under the late Bishop Miles keeping the books and looking after nearly 100 subscribers. After this he became editor of J. D. Harrod, having the distinction of being the youngest editor in the world. His editorials were copied and commented upon by notable men as the New York Independent. This was, indeed, an honor. Since then he has been connected with several papers as correspondent and on the editorial staff. He has represented local affairs being the only colored man in the city holding a certificate from same. During the G. A. R. Encampment, 1875, he was special reporter, and was allowed to go through all lines and enter all places in search of news. In 1881, as associate special reporter to Mr. James Robinson of the New York World, he reported the proceedings at the great educational convention which met at Lexington.

As a church worker Mr. Weeden has rendered great services. He was superintendent of Sabbath Schools ten years, and for twelve consecutive years he was made delegate to Annual Conferences of Zion Church. Twice has he been a member of General Conferences, and appointed to represent his church at the Ecumenical Conference at Baltimore, and assigned to read a paper on the Mission. He is a potent in Mr. Weeden's hands. He is a good speaker and an able organizer. He was a member of the National Republican League of the United States which met in Buffalo, New York, September, 1872, elected from State at large. By support of the New Jersey delegation he was elected secretary of one of the leading committees. He held a high position in the postal service. During General Harrison's term of office, he held the highest office of any colored man in this district.
BRIEF BIOG OF W. H. LAWSON OF LOU

W. H. Lawson has been quite a prominent man with his people. He was born in Mansville, Ky., and attended the school at Ripley, Ohio. He came to Louisville in 1836, and learned the painter's trade under the late Peter Lewis. He then took up artistic painting and decorating, and photography, which he follows today. He was in the 123rd regiment, U.S. C.I., and was quartermaster sergeant. He served thirty years as superintendent of the Twelfth-street Sunday School, and was a leading church worker. He was one of the original organizers of the U. B. R., has filled the office of State and National Grand Master, and wrote the latter's work, which is a born poet, and has written several poems which have been published. He made the race for Marshal of the City Court in 1872, and was the only man to have been elected, but the certificate of election was issued to one of six other competitors.

BRIEF BIOG OF MADISON MINNIS OF LOU

Madison Minnis was the first of his race to be appointed to the position of chief almoner of the City Hall. He was full of race pride, and worked unceasingly to advance his people. He was first vice-president of the Colored Orphans' Home, Pleasure Island, at which time he was employed as janitor and custodian of the City Hall. The City Engine bell was tolled, commemorating his death. This marked the first time in Louisville's history an occurrence of this kind.
BRIEF BIOG W. H. WARD OF LOU

BIOG GEORGE THOMAS OF LOU, CHOIR LEADER (Age 64)

W. H. Ward is a familiar figure to many citizens, both white and colored, who have been in contact with more people than any one colored man. He has served as Chief Janitor of the City Hall building. His first important appointment was as Chairman of the Republican Committee in 1874, and he was on the committee of fifteen which met to nominate Mayor Murray and Colonel James Backer as chairmen. In 1875 he was elected a member of the City Council and in 1877, when the strike and riot was at its worst, he formed a company of thirty-five men and offered his services to Mayor Shero to demonstrate the loyalty and patriotism of the colored men. The company was accepted, and led by Chief Harrison, Colonel Ming, and Colonel Thomas, the company was placed upon the payroll and each man was paid in common with the regular service. He afterwards received a commission as First Lieutenant of the City Guard.

George Thomas is possibly the oldest choir leader in this city. He was a music pupil of Mr. W. H. Gibson in 1879 and was in his night school from 1884 to 1886. In 1894 he enlisted in the United States colored troops and gave lessons to a large number of his comrades. Before the war he followed engineering, and on his return he followed that of his profession. He has served for twenty-five years as leader of the Greenstreet Church choir and as Sunday School superintendent for twenty years. He has taken part in all the musical events of his people and was acknowledged, at one time, the leading basso of the city. He is a clever gentleman, and every person has a good word for him. He takes great interest in his people. Mr. Thomas was born in Nelson County, Kentucky, in 1839, and is consequently sixty-six years old.
**Albert S. White** is a Louisville young man. Completing his education in the city schools and the State University, he studied law at Howard University, Washington. On receiving his diploma, in 1892, he returned to this city and was examined by County Attorney L. C. Woolfolk and Hon. A. E. Wilson, passing a successful examination. He has also been admitted to practice in United States courts, and Court of Appeals. He has shown much ability as a young lawyer, and his future is bright. The confidence of the public is growing in his favor.

**Detroit Stewart** was a resident of Nashville, Tennessee, and, it is said, that through his efforts colored men were forced in the Fire Department. He held a position in the Post Office during the Harrison administration. He has been connected with many movements of our people, serving as Vice-president of the Consolidated Lodges of Odd Fellows and Director of the Louisville Cemetery. He is at present filling the place of Sexton at the Louisville Cemetery, and his equal cannot be found. He has been offered places at good salaries in several cities to take charge and run the business of the yard. He is a self-made man.
Prof. Joseph S. Cotter was a native of Nelson county, Kentucky. He attended the public schools of this city, and reached the third reader class, and because of the indigent circumstances of his parents he was forced to engage at hard, manual labor. There is no teacher within the walls of the Louisville schools who is more deserving. He is certainly self-made, and has climbed the ladder and struck the same thus far reached in his life. His is an example for every young woman and man in Louisville who hopes to succeed. Little did I think that this boy, who was so humbly circumstanced, would now be at the head of one of our schools, commanding, by reason of his scholarly ability, the handsome salary of $125.00 per month, and having stood shoulder to shoulder with the “heavy laden” of his race, and a writer of poetry, which would be recognized for its intrinsic worth, lyrical beauty and metrical quality. For several years poems, bearing his name, have been appearing in white and colored newspapers, and some have been set to music. He found an opportunity to attend night schools, and by hard study he secured the school at Cloverport. He continued his study, and, at last, was appointed to the lowest class in the city schools. He was promoted to the principalship of the Seventy and Ormsby school, and now has charge of the Eighth and Kentucky school with 638 pupils and eight teachers.

Rev. C. C. Bates was born in Woodford county, this State. He was a member of the 133d Regiment, Company D. U. S. C. T., he served as corporal and sergeant in his company. He was honorably discharged, and, on his return, entered the Sunday School room and was a regular member. It was in this auxiliary of the church he learned his alphabet and how to put the letters together to form words. He became interested and gave all of his spare time to the study of his books. He shortly entered the ministry and was ordained a Baptist preacher, he pastored several churches, and at the time he was called to the Hampton street Church was living the suburbs at Walthersville, Kentucky. When he took charge he found the church heavily involved with a debt of $3,000, which he succeeded in settling. The membership was 150 and now he has 1,550 on his church roll. He rebuilt the church in 1882, and under his administration many improvements have been made. He is very popular with his congregation and well liked by the people in his neighborhood. He is a good preacher, an excellent pastor and financier. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the State University, and is Moderator of the State Baptist Association and is worth while.
**Napoleon Bonaparte** is well known to nearly all the school officers in the Centre and Walnut street buildings. He was a prominent Mason, a member of Keystone Lodge No. 5, and was its first treasurer, organized the Lodge of Masons in 1880, and elected its first master, and, after a period of several years, was re-elected master and served four consecutive years. He was a charter member of Enterprise Chapter, elected and served two years as high priest, and was selected as the first treasurer of Cyrene Commandery, Knight Templers, and served as its grand conductor. He was a member of the Council of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky and elected deputy grand master. He assisted in the establishment of the Masonic State Grand Lodge in 1887, and was in the first organization of the Colored Orphans' Home, and has been connected, officially, with it since its organization. He was one of the champions for colored schools, and, with others, sent the first petition to the City Board of Education. The peculiarity of the matter was Mr. Bonaparte's duty was to see that the petitions were properly placed where they would come under the immediate notice of the Board. Much credit is due him for the very deep interest he manifested in the matter, he never tired in his efforts, he had the confidence of the members of the Board, and being on the inside, utilized every opportunity. He was very friendly disposed to young people and is their friend. Full of race pride and that indomitable spirit, with talents, influence, time and means have not been sparingly given and not with a selfish motive, but freely. His word is always 'Young men, the front, realizing the fact that the colored people's standing must be advanced if at all, by the rising generation.' His work claims for him a select place in the hearts of every lover of the race.

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**LEADING BLACKS CALL FOR EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION JULY 1869 IN LOU**

"To the Colored People of Kentucky," brochure handout call for Black educational convention in Louisville, July 14, 1869, found in Roll 21, M-803, Kentucky School Reports, BRFAL, mf.

*We are called Freedmen, the chains which bound us in actual physical slavery have been broken, but we are not yet free.*

*Three conditions have combined to make us the victims of the most cruel and tyrannical oppression, and slavery has been banished forever from American soil; and now, this is to be followed by another amendment declaring that there shall be no further taxation without representation—that no longer shall we be called to bear arms in defense of our country, and yet be excluded from the rights and privileges of citizenship. It may follow, we trust, that it is our destiny and the will of God, that it shall follow, that we may be taxed as other men are taxed, and the taxes we pay appropriated for the education of our children. Much has been done for us, now let us act for ourselves.*

*Education has been confined to the white race—we and our ancestors have grooped in darkness and ignorance for hundreds of years. We were held in bondage and toiled for the taskmaster—we made the land to bloom and blossom like the rose; the aristocracy of the land were lords upon the proceeds of our labor.*

*We are told that the tobacco fields of Kentucky and Virginia wave in rippling luxuriance, and the cotton fields of the Mississippi and Red rivers, while the tobacco fields of Kentucky and Virginia wave in rippling luxuriance, and the cotton fields of the Mississippi and Red rivers, while the cotton and tobacco fields, in the crowded cities and in our plantation cabins, by night and by day, we waited and wished for the coming of the better time, the morning that came at last.*

*There was a longing within us—a voice that said there is something better than this. And in secret and in silence, in the rice, the cotton and tobacco fields, in the crowded cities and in our plantation cabins, by night and by day, we waited and wished for the coming of the better time, the morning that came at last.*

*But now we are told that we are inferior to the white race; that we are ignorant—it may be true, but why is it true? The ways of knowledge have been closed to us; no one has dared to educate us. God, they should incur the penalties of unjust laws. Mind is not the growth of a day or a year, but of centuries. We may be ignorant, but now that our chains are broken, and we must stand up and make our way through the world, we ask that an even chance, we only ask that our children may be educated, and prepared for the struggle of life.*

*We want to be intelligent, law-abiding, Christian men and women. We are willing to be taxed, we only ask that the taxes may be appropriated for this purpose.*
"To the Colored People of Kentucky," brochure handout call for black educational convention in Lou, July 14, 1869, found in Kentucky Sch Reports, BRPAL, Roll 21, M-803.

The Government of the United States has been very kind to us, though Kentucky, the state where we must make our homes, among whose people we hope to live in peace and quiet, neither asking our restoring social equality, but only equality before the law, has made no provision for us; yet we have 290 schools, and 14,000 of our children gather there day by day.

This the United States has done, but this must soon cease. The state has made no provision to continue these schools, we must do it ourselves; let us make an united and determined effort to help ourselves, and it may be that just men will rise up and plead our cause, and it will triumph in the end. And we ask for but simple justice, sooner or later we will secure it.

Again, we are poor, but there is no reason that we should remain so. We made our masters wealthy, we can do the same for ourselves. Throughout the length and breadth of this land, wherever there is a stately mansion, a broad plantation, or a beautiful city, we can point to it as reared by the proceeds of our labor. The labor of our fathers, who toiled before us. Then, if we educate ourselves and our children, that we may labor intelligently, we may build up homes for our families, and come to be not only tolerated but respected by the people among whom we live.

Certainly all good men will wish us God's speed in our endeavors. Therefore, in view of all this, and for the purpose of making some provisions for the future, we the undersigned, a committee appointed by a meeting called together to consider the interests of our people, hereby call an Educational Convention to meet in the City of Louisville on Wednesday the 14th day of July, 1869, and we ask the people of every town and neighborhood to send one or more good, earnest men to cooperate and consult with us:

H. J. Young, Pastor, Quimby Chapel.
W. H. gibson.
D. Straker, Jg. Reader.
M. J. Day.
G. W. Brown.
J. H. Meriwether.
R. G. Morton.
Isaiah Mitchell.
John C. Adams.
A. Heith.
G. A. Schaffer.
Nelson C. Shamble.
J. B. Cox.
Leroy Branham.
W. T. Bidwell.
R. W. Lockman.
R. B. Stansbery, Pastor 15th St. Church.
Mr. Richard Peckwell.
Anna Wartham.
Samuel Elliott.
Mary H. Bailey.
Samuel Wirsham.
Antony Bunch.
James B. Johnson.
James H. York.
James Adams.
James Irvin.
James Adams.
James Brown.
James W. Mclean.
James Adams.

BRIEF HIST ST. JAMES A. M. E. CHURCH IN LOU

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St. James A. M. E. Church—This church, which is located on Fifteenth street near Broadway, does not exceed in age fifteen years. A dissatisfied section over the remodeling and building of the Asbury, and one faction rented the old tobacco warehouse on Thirteenth street, near Green, and started a church. They were led by Rev. John Coleman, who was pastor of Asbury Church at the time of the trouble. In a short while they left this place for more commodious quarters, finding shelter in the old church, which is now used as a blacksmith shop on Green, below Ninth street. Upon the ground where the new church stands (Fifteenth street, near Broadway) was a small old frame church, which had been purchased by Rev. Davis for a Baptist congregation. They remained there some time, paying some $600, and finally were forced to give it up. Then this congregation bargained for the property, agreeing to pay $1,000 for it. They secured possession, moved in, and occupied it until it was destroyed by fire in 1884. The new cottage church, with tower, has since been erected at a cost of $1,700 in which the congregation is now worshiping.
Green-street Baptist Church—The congregation of this church was formed on First street, between Market and Main, in a little frame house, in 1839 or 1840, with twenty-five persons. They worshipped in this place for more than a year, and then bought the house in which they are now worshiping from Father Buck, as he was addressed. The church had been previously used as a Baptist church. The Rev. Andrew Wells, who was leading the flock on First street, still piles the pulpits, he continued working in the brickyards in the summer and the pork-houses in the winter, as one remarked: “I can see his hands as he raised them Heavenward, how they showed cuts and bruises.” He died in 1850. The Rev. Charles Satchels, of Cincinnati, was the pastor, but he remained with the church here but a short time. He was a precocious, very advanced, educationally, and his congregation could not thoroughly appreciate him. The Rev. Orange Whiteside was called by the church. He only served a short while, before he moved. The church was then without a preacher, but in October, in the spring, the Rev. Richard Shephard took charge, and remained until his death, April 13, 1872. The Rev. Dr. D. A. Gaddie was then called to the pastorate. The first clerk of the church was a white man, by the name of Mr. Cosby, in 1847. He was followed by Mr. W. Y. Clinton who was elected in 1850, being the first regular colored clerk. Brother Ben Drake was the first trustee, he lived to be 115 years old. The first Sunday School was organized in 1858 by Mr. Bulkley, a white man, who still lives in this city. The first Sunday School Superintendent was Mr. James Reynolds. Mr. W. J. Davis joined the church in 1855 when he was ten years old, but being so young he was set aside one year. The first pastor was not at first, given a salary, but was paid by the ladies; knitting socks or making shirts, and at times several would get together and make pants and present them to their pastor.

Lampton-street Baptist Church was organized in 1860 by Rev. Spencer Taylor (who was a carpenter) between Preston and Jackson Breckinridge and Caldwell streets in an old carpenter shop, where meetings were held until they secured better quarters, a frame house was built on Caldwell between Preston and Jackson streets. The congregation was still led by Rev. Spencer Taylor, who was unfortunately killed by some unknown person while on his way to Bardstown. The next pastor was Rev. Paul Simcoe. He resigned, and the Rev. Milton Harris held the pulpit for several years, until his salary was reduced, when he resigned. Prior to the calling of Rev. Milton Harris the Rev. Patterson was appointed from the Fifth street Church to hold the congregation. The present brick building was erected in 1863, and many improvements have been made, new pews, elevated seats and pipe organ to make the additions. The church is filled at the services. The present church officers are: Robert White, Samuel Brown, George Nugent, Thomas Burke, Harrison Sloan, William Green, treasurer; A. W. Bulitt, clerk; Thomas Dorsey, Superintendent Sunday School.
Cavalry Baptist Church, at Fifth and York streets, is part of the oldest men of his race in the State. This church was first built for a white gentleman, and given to the Baptists. A factional fight arose in the congregation, and the church on Fifth and York streets from the Fifth and York street congregation. As the building had been given by the congregation, it was claimed that the church was owned by and was used for church purposes. It was contended that Fifth and York Church had no claim and no right to collect rent for it. Therefore, the congregation permanently located under the leadership of Rev. Edward Brodie. He was followed by Rev. Charles Edwards, then Rev. John Hinnant, who was there during the war. The Rev. William W. Taylor was called to pastor the church, and served until his death. At that time he was a member of Green Street Church and pastor of the Floyd and Chestnut Street public school. During the fall of 1872, at which time the Rev. W. W. Taylor was in a good way preaching and the church was filled with people, the floor gave way, and sank about two feet, at a point where the column in the basement rested, being only supported by the column, which caused a great commotion. The congregation arose and rushed out yelling, pushing and falling over each other, and in fact it was stated that some persons deliberately walked over others who were down and could not get up, some jumped from the windows. Eleven persons were reported killed and died from the effects of injuries received during this accident. Had the people remained quiet and quietly withdrawn from the building no one would have received a hurt or a scratch. The news of the accident spread like wildfire, and people from all churches in the city hurried to the scene of the disaster. It required a large detachment of police to disperse the crowd, and a large number of people remained around the church all night. It was some years before this sad event was obliterated from the minds of the people. The Rev. Willis W. Taylor died in the year 1882. He was reckoned to be worth a good deal of property at his death. The church was rebuilt and the walls made much stronger—double-strength—and as a structure of this kind is sufficiently strong as long as people can crowd in. Immense crowds gather to hear the talented Dr. Parrish discourse on the scriptures. The church was then known by the name of

The York street Baptist Church, but in October, 1883, a council was held at the Fifth street Baptist Church, at which 111 members met, and by motion, the letters of dismission were granted, and the York Street Church was then disbanded and a new organization, the Cavalry Baptist Church, was formed. The following officers were installed: William Starrs, C. H. Parrish, J. W. Smith, D. F. Parker, J. W. Smith, Trustee. Edward Jackson, clerk. Charles Smith, treasurer. W. Carpenter, H. Prior, B. Burbridge, F. Palmer, Charles Smith, deacons. Rev. C. H. Parrish, in the capacity of pastor. He resigned in 1884. Rev. C. H. Parrish accepted the call September 27, 1884.
Zion Baptist Church—Is a split from York-street Church in the spring of 1877. Eighteen members withdrew from the Church and rented the old Smith mill which was then a part of the old Smith mill which stood at the Northeast corner of Preston and Broadway. The services were continued at this place and in July, Dr. Burrows, of the Broadway Baptist Church, and Rev. Green, of the East Chester Baptist Church, organized the church. The place of meeting was given up and the house on Ninth street near Broadway, now occupied by Wingfield a hardware store was used for church services not being satisfied with this, the old brick church was stood opposite Centre street on Broadway, and had formerly been used as a cattle shop and gymnasium, was rented. The congregation was preached to by various ministers, and Rev. Phil Alexander served as the first pastor. He was followed by Rev. Davis, M. M. Biddle, Huffman, Scott and Jamison. The church membership continues to grow, and the present lot on Centre street was purchased and the foundation of and the cornerstone laid by the Masonic Fraternity March 1892. July 1892 the church was dedicated at 3 o'clock p.m. The dedicatory sermon was preached by Rev. A. Heath. Brother Isaac Ledford said: I was accused of leading the lights but there were others, brothers John Woods, John Willis, Bench Welch, and others who had an interest in the church as well as I. The church is in a prosperous condition and has a large attendance at the services, the membership numbers 400. The church building is a good one, with stained glass and pipe organ. Rev. W. B. Craighead was called to fill the pulpit at the death of Rev. Jamison, he was born near Westport and is a graduate of the State University, from the collegiate department. He is a very promising young man and much of a pulpit orator. The following named persons are deacons: Theo Hanks, chairman, J. Taylor, Robert Adams, George McMillian, Anthony Barrett, Riley Horn, S. Alexander, Thomas Barrett, treasurer; W. H. Lenord, clerk.

Quinn Chapel—The beginning of this church was on Main street about the year 1838. A white man, who owned a good deal of property, provided this place of quite the old Galt House, near Second street, and a church was started. The meetings were held upstairs, where Bishop Quinn, the first colored Bishop to visit Keokuk, was arrested from this place for holding meetings, but was subsequently released. The officer finding that he had the proper papers for conducting the meetings, in the year 1848, near Ninth street, and built a frame church. Rev. B. Parker was at this time the pastor. In 1848 they bought the ground for the present church on Walnut street, and with eight oxen the frame church was drawn from Ninth and Green to Ninth and Walnut. Services were conducted there and in 1850 the present brick church was started, and in 1851 it was dedicated by Bishop Paul Quinn and D. A. Payne. The Architects of Quinn Chapel (1872) were Charles Smith, Lewis Thomas, Robert Parks, and William Bucott. In 1877, among the officers were Rev. Rev. Evans, Beuges, Charles Bullock, Simon Fair. The first Sunday School was organized by Rev. W. W. Rives in 1849. The first superintendent was W. H. Gilson. The church has been pastored by many noble and learned men, and at this writing Rev. Evans Tyree is in his fifth year. He is an able and successful preacher.
Twelfth Street A.M.E. Zion Church—The congregation of this church formerly held services in the frame church on Fifteenth Street, near Walnut. The increase in membership necessitated a much larger building and the officers bought the Baskin White Methodist Church on Twelfth street, near Jefferson, May 18, 1896, for $3,000.00 for it. The original building, which was a two-story brick, was put in condition for occupancy by an outlay of $1,700, and the congregation moved in. The trustees and members endeavored to sell the old Fifteenth Street property from which they expected to realize a good sum to be placed in the payment for the Twenty-first Street property, but the Bishop intervened, and they were prevented from doing so. As one of the old members, who had assisted in building Fifteenth Street Church, desired that property to remain as it was, the First Zion Church built in Kentucky. The General Conference was appealed to, but the Bishop was sustained. When the great earthquake struck Louisville, in March, 1897, the Twelfth Street Church was a victim, and was entirely wrecked by building, organs, and furniture suffered, and the congregation had to rent a new home and continued there. Then the old Merciful Savior Church, on Madison Street near Fifth Street, was secured, and the congregation worshiped there. They again moved, building services in Stephen’s Hall, Tenth and Jefferson. They remained here until the first story of the new building, on the old site, was erected, and they moved in 1892 and have remained there ever since. The new building, when completed, will be a very fine on the largest in the city. Messrs. Jackson Burke, L. H. Williams, and Henry Baker were prominent in the church. The membership of the church included Rev. John Holiday (now Bishop), J. H. Swane, A. D. Kay, B. Claborn, J. B. Johnson, W. A. Forman, R. T. Anderson, L. Blaylock, and the Rev. R. C. Seymore is the present pastor who is laboring hard with the people to add to the story.  

BRIEF HIST COL ORPHANS’ HOME IN LOU

Colored Orphans’ Home—Mr. Peter Lewis, an old and highly respected citizen who, by the Alwise Providence ceased his labors on earth was the first to agitate the idea of an orphan’s home for colored children. By the permission of Dr. Humphrey and the officers of the Second and College Street Presbyterian Church, a meeting was held in the lecture room of the church in the spring of 1877. Those who were present at this meeting were: Dr. Humphrey, Mrs. Lou Morris and Dr. Stuart Robinson. The meeting was called to order by Dr. Humphrey. After a few minutes of discussion, Dr. Stuart Robinson, a colored member of the church, moved and it was seconded by Mrs. Lou Morris that a committee of five be appointed to frame a plan and a meeting was held by the committee of five: Mrs. Lou Morris, Mrs. O. B. Jones, Messrs. Peter Lewis, Robert Clayton, M. M. Wilson, N. Bonaparte and S. Grose. The meeting was held in the lecture room of the Presbyterian Church, Second and Broadway, at the next meeting. The following persons were present: Dr. Stuart Robinson, Dr. H. S. Robinson, Col. Bennett H. Young and James W. Bowles. Mrs. L. P. McCall. Mrs. M. M. Wilson, Mrs. Lou Morris, Mrs. O. B. Jones, Dr. Humphrey, Rev. Dr. Stuart Robinson, and Dr. Charles L. M. Brown. The idea of a colored orphan’s home endorsed. Weekly meetings were then held in the various churches, and the interest was awakened in the minds of the colored people regarding an orphan’s home. Fully a permanent organization was perfected by the election of the following officers: Col. James W. Bowles, president; Madison Minnie, vice-president; Mrs. O. B. Jones, treasurer; Horace Morris, recording secretary; Col. Bennett H. Young, corresponding secretary. During the mid-winter a mass meeting was held at Madison Temple, and addresses were made by Judge Bullock, Dr. Stuart Robinson, Col. Bennett H. Young, and others. A subscription list was opened at this meeting. At a subsequent meeting the committee on place and reported the old hospital of the Taylor Barracks, which is now between Second and Third, and Elm and Ormsby streets, the place was accepted by Dr. Stuart Robinson and Charles L. M. Brown. The committee on place and reported the old hospital of the Taylor Barracks, which is now between Second and Third, and Elm and Ormsby streets, the place was accepted by Dr. Stuart Robinson and Charles L. M. Brown. The place was occupied by the orphan’s home in January, 1878; the first inmate, Eliza Smith, was on the following March 1878. These quarters, not being well adapted for an institution of this kind, a place was rented on Twenty-first between Market and Jefferson streets, and during the months of November of the same year, this place was occupied as a home. Dr. Stuart Robinson.
not being satisfied with the place secured the present premises, and in May, 1896, the
last moving was made. Dr. Stuart Robinson, who took an active part in the or-
mation of the Home and who had put his whole soul in the work, with Col. Bennett H. Young organized, and had an Act passed by the Legislature incorporating the Colored Orphans’ Home Aid Society. He started a subscription list, and some of our most
prominent white citizens gave liberally to the fund. Receiving a donation from the
churches of the negro community as a part of the money made in February, the
remedy therefor the balance of $1,200 was paid, making a total of $3,000. The
money at that time consisted of a lot of three acres and a brick house of blue 
Dr. Robinson was a friend to the Home until his death, contributing his time and
means for its support. Col. Bennett H. Young was elected as successor to Col. Jas. W.
Boyle as president, and has been annually elected to fill that place. He is deeply
interested in the welfare of this institution, and is always ready to guard its 
He is one of Louisville’s foremost and noble citizens and is entitled to our 
condolence for those bereft of proper guardians in this world. The following persons have served as vice-presidents, Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Mary L. Mead, Prof. W. H. Perry, Rev. John Frank, Treasurer; Rev. W. W. Heywood, Prof. John M. Maxwell, Secretaries: Horace Morris, Col. Adams, J. H.
Boyle, Prof. W. H. Perry, W. C. Gilbert, Prof. E. L. Williams, and H. Weeden.

responding secretary. The matrons were, Mrs. McKean, Mrs. W. Wood, Mrs. Ward.
Mrs. Waite. Mr. Bibb was one of the most interested vice-presidents of the home and
he at all times worked hard for its success, and it was under his administration
that the addition of four rooms to the building was made.

The Home is supported by contributions and the $1,200 endowment fund. Mr. 
Brown collected $300 in checks, also was a treasurer, and by Col. Bennett H. Young, quickly raised a
sum, and Mr. Wm. G. Meyer, at his death, gave $500. Mr. Andrew Ferguson
$100. Mr. J. A. Zimmerman in speaking to us a few days ago said, “Mr. Catlin called
on me one day for a subscription to the Colored Orphans’ Home, I made one, and re
quested him to call on Mr. Meyer, that he made an annual contribution to an orphan
home and I thought he would give him something. In a few days I met Mr. Meyer and
told him that Mr. Catlin wanted to see him, he wanted to know how the Home was
located. I told him. He said he would ride over there some day and see the place.
I notified Mr. Catlin that he should speak to the matron and be on the lookout for him.
Now, you see, I think my little information to Mr. Catlin about Mr. Meyer did good.
at his death the Home got $500.

The Ladies’ Sewing Circle has been an important adjunct to the Home. It was or-
organized in the fall of 1897 with the following officers: Mrs. Fannie Simmons, vice-president; Miss Bette Heath, treasurer; Mrs. Mary Bullitt, secretary. The
Circle has added four rooms to the building, clothes the children, furnishes the bed-
ing, towels, etc., and have, at times, paid matrons and the cooks, salaries and pay
assistance in many cases. Since its organization $5,572.25 has been raised, of which
$100.05 was paid on the four additional rooms and over $300 was paid by the
Board. The Circle is very systematically conducted, the members pay a monthly fee
of ten cents, and they have a regular constitution and by-laws for their government.
Two annual entertainments are arranged by the Circle, which have always been highly
successful. One on Thanksgiving day and the other in May or June. The ladies have
made a balance in their treasury. The number of inmates in the Home at present
are eighteen. The present officers are: Mrs. Mamie E. Steward, president; Mrs.
Mrs. Rachel H. Harris, vice-president; Mrs. Julia B. McKinley, secretary. Miss R. D.
Rogers, assistant secretary; Mrs. Mary Bullitt, treasurer. Executive Committee—Mrs.
Frances Macaulay, Mrs. Susan Johnson, Mrs. Sallie Clark.

The following are the present officers of the Home: Col. Bennett H. Young, presi-
O. D. Carter, W. F. Steward, George Murphy, W. H. Steward, Frank
Gray, Napoleon Bona parte, John Parrish, Miss Lucy Flint, H. T. Grainger, H. Wilson.
BRIEF HIST COL ORPHANS’ HOMES IN LOU

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CH 889

AN ACT to incorporate the Colored Orphans’ Aid Association of the city of Louisville.

WHEREAS, Certain benevolent persons in the city of Louisville, are desirous of establishing a Colored Orphanage, to be supported by subscription of funds, to be used for the purpose of providing an asylum for colored orphan children; and said society, though supposed to be a charity, do hereby have the power to give our colored people an opportunity to practice self-help, and bind ourselves, under the conditions herein appended, to pay the same set forth, as stockholders, and at the time designated, to John B. Temple and Bennett H. Young, toward the purchase of a property for the use of the Colored Orphans’ Home. It is a condition of this subscription, that the property shall be held for the stockholders, by the trustees granted to the Colored Orphans’ Home now organized, or other similar society, which shall maintain the property, a reasonably extensive and efficient asylum for colored orphans, and shall keep the property in repair and sufficiently insured; and, that, such Colored Orphans’ Home Society shall have the option to purchase the property at its cost, or, if the society incurs six percent interest in the year of purchase, and in case of a failure, shall maintain the Colored Orphanage for orphans, and a failure to purchase, then the property shall be at the disposal of the stockholders, through their trustees, and whereas, the American M

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The St James Old Folk's Home—The necessity of a home for the aged and infirm became apparent several years ago, and a few of the leading colored citizens met and discussed the question, which resulted in an organization and the election of the following officers, etc.: Isaac Curtis, president; George W. Martin, vice president; L. N. Nelson, secretary; James Brown, treasurer; W. H. Ward, G. Garrett; Horace Moore, Wm. Weisgerber, J. Adams. Theo Hawkins and James Thompson were made directors. The meetings were continued for several years and the necessity increased. A purchase of property was made in Portland, and the first position was made. The building was not in order and the home opened. The foreclosures were made due to the loans not being paid, and the mortgage was foreclosed. The board then rented the building and finally moved into new quarters on Tenth street near Walnut. A new board of directors was elected and set to work. The efforts of Mrs. Isaac Curtis, president; Mrs. Maggie Frye, vice-president; Samuel W. Jordan, secretary; J. L. Venus, treasurer; J. L. Burt, chaplain; and the following were made, Mrs. S. W. Jordan, George W. Ferguson, Wm. Phines, Jun., L. H. Thompson, Wm. A. Smith, J. L. V. Washington, W. H. Perry, Ladies Auxiliary, Mrs. S. W. Jordan, president; Mrs. Maggie Frye, Miss Georgia Moore, and Mrs. Annie Garrett vice-presidents; Mrs. L. J. Gibson, secretary; Mrs. M. C. Ferguson, treasurer. The St. James Old Folks Home was organized and incorporated March, 1897.
**United Fellows' Lodge**—The first lodge of colored men in the State of Kentucky was organized about 1844. The first constitution and by-laws were adopted February 20, 1845; amended December 21, 1846; reorganized February 13, 1856, and again revised in 1868. It was a benevolent society, and an entrance fee of $1.00 was charged and monthly dues of 25 cents. The first officers were: Rev. Henry Henderson, president; George Barkley, vice-president; Abraham Munworth, secretary; Daniel Henry, treasurer; John Thomas, chairman of the sick committee. The present lodge is in existence, but was converted into an Odd Fellows lodge, and still bears the original name, "United Fellows."

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**United Brothers of Friendship**—The beginning of this order was through the meeting of a band of men who, in 1861, met in the alley between Second and Third and Market and Jefferson streets in the house of Mrs. Nancy Taylor. It was at the time when our people were not allowed out later at night than 10 o'clock carrying a "pass" from their masters. On various occasions the men were forced to remain out at night for fear of being arrested on account of not adjoining in time. They first organized as a benevolent society. The men who composed the lodge were: Messrs. M. W. Taylor, W. N. Hazelton, C. B. Morgan, John B. Page, Benjamin Carter, W. H. Lawson, W. T. Lewis, David Yancey and others. They continued to meet at this place until 1862, and for two years they met at different places. In 1863 they secured Centre Street Church as a permanent place, and in 1866, Sixth Street Baptist Church was their meeting place. In 1866 they moved to Quinn Chapel. It was in this year that they drafted a charter, and was the first colored body to be chartered by the Kentucky State Legislature. A hall was then rented on Green Street, between Third and Fourth avenues, and the membership increased rapidly, and the opening of new lodges and State Lodge was organized with Mr. Wm. H. Gibson as the first State Grand Master. The order continued to grow until it spread throughout the United States, Canada and the West Indies, and it was necessary to organize a National Grand Lodge. The entire number reached the thousands, and are composed of lodges, ladies' temles, camps, the uniform rank, and juvenile lodges, temples, and camps. There are in the city eleven lodges, twelve temples, three camps, and several auxiliary lodges and temples, with a membership exceeding 2,000. The hall at Ninth and Magazine streets was purchased some years ago at a cost of $5,000 and has had several thousand dollars improvements put on it. They have also a Widows' and Orphans' Home, at Brook's Station, Kentucky, with 124 acres of land and comfortable buildings.
Friedman's Bank—No doubt many a soul is made sad at the utterance of the name of this defunct institution, but should we stop for every mishap and reverse in life we will make but a short distance and accomplish nothing. We admit that the suspension of this banking institution discouraged many to save, waste their means, but being extravagant with their earnings does not 'right the wrong' or make up the losses. That this bank did much to localize in our people the spirit of frugality the weekly deposits made by them in the forty odd banks attest.

Notwithstanding the failure of the bank many continued to lay aside their times and found other banks to place their money on deposit, and today the $2,000,000 colored people in the United States are worth millions in money, property, stocks and bonds. The bank was put in operation in 1885, and shortly a branch was established in Louisville. The first cashiers were white men. Dr. Goddard, Colonel Porter and Mr. H. H. Buricholler. Mr. Horace Morris was then elected, he being the first colored cashier in the local bank. During the period, from 1880 to 1884 the date of the suspension the deposits exceeded $1,000,000, and it is claimed there were in the neighborhood of 5,000 depositors with $10,000 in the vault. The depositors have been paid but and there is reason to believe the full amount will yet be made. Hon. Fred Douglass was president when the failure came. The following named gentlemen were the directors of the local Freedman's Bank: Rev. Richard Sneathen, Rev. Henry Adams, W. Spradling, James Speed, Jesse Merritwether, Wm. B. Belknap, Edgar Needham, Judge Bland Ballard, Colonel H. M. Kelly, Rev. John Heywood and J. C. N. Powles.

Smoketown—In 1866 the colored people began to lease lots and build houses on Breckinridge street, from Preston to Jackson and Jackson to Caldwell and back to Preston. One passing through any one of these streets on a bright day would come in contact with children and nothing but children. The houses were not the finest but furnished a neat appearance. The people had implicit confidence in each other in those days. The war was over and everyone free and equal. Moses Hindsley and Mr. Ballard were the leaders and spokesmen for the inhabitants of Smoketown, and their commands were heeded. At the expiration of the leases our people were in a worse condition than before, their money had been spent and the only thing was to begin anew. Hundreds of dollars had been wasted, not intentionally, but unfortunately thus ended the first blow.
The company was organized August 1891, and a successful business has been carried on at the corner of Madison and West streets. A $100 stock was first placed in, and since then they have been able to carry a $1,000 stock with a delivery. The first officers were: John Caddie, president; P. B. Hocken, vice-president; J. Perkins, treasurer; M. N. Yancey, secretary; Edward Hansberry, general manager. The present officers are: Joseph M. Xumie, president; J. Fair, vice-president; Julius Perkins, treasurer; M. N. Yancey, secretary; Edward Hansberry, general manager. Miss Johnson is the clerk, and has been with the company since its start. The company, at present, is in good shape, and contemplates increasing its stock in the spring.

Schools. That the education of the youth, both white and black, is of great importance to the welfare of the nation is an undisputed fact. The power of education has been exemplified through all ages, and it stands first and foremost of all agencies which dispels ignorance, diminishes that despicable voice of superstition and illiteracy, and produces happiness, refinement, and intelligence. It is the great lever of progress, and has been verified in the liberation of the slaves, which gave to many the opportunity to develop his ingenuity, and the hope that there were the words: 

"Without knowledge, there can be no progress. The colored people have shown much eagerness to acquire some learning, and have practiced many devices to learn their letters, some receiving their knowledge from the dusty road as a blackboard, by having them of their white friends, the dust, and mark the alphabet, some remained up all night seeking knowledge, and many were benefited by the Sunday Schools.

Schools for colored children were in operation in this city and the early settlers were among the early teachers. The latter operated a school on White-front row, which was then on East street, between Chestnut and Walnut streets. Schools were also conducted by Rev. Peter Booth and Henry Henderson and Mr. S. W. In 1847, Mr. William H. Gibson, Sr., came from Baltimore to Louisville and established the Mr. Robert Lane in his school. He shortly established a school on his own at the corner of Courthouse and Green streets, in the Colored Methodist Church, which was largely attended, the establishment of which nearly absorbed the others. These schools, which were taught many years before the war, were operated by the permission of the local authorities. There were many free people in Louisville, consequently a good many free children; however, many of the slaveholders permitted, and, in fact, a large number sent the slave children to the schools. These schools were run until the war, after the war schools were located and maintained by many of the religious denominations. A very large school was conducted by Mr. G. H. Pickens, at one time he had as many as 500 names on his roll.
An old lady, by the name of Sister Fendy, conducted a school on Baptist Row. She had some two or three hundred scholars; and, it is said, she could only spell. Many private schools, both day and night, were taught. The pupil were truthfully stated.

After the close of the war a committee, composed of Messrs. Peter Lewis, Horace Johns, Jackson Barks, and others, through General Ely, petitioned the Government and secured assistance to establish a school. The American Missionary Society of New York, joined in this undertaking, and a two-story brick building of eight rooms was erected at the Northwest corner of Fourteenth and Broadway. The school was put in operation by the employment of white teachers from the North, with Mr. Pope as principal, and was known as the Ely Normal School. This was quite an

courageous and the attendance was very large, at that time, this school in the city. This did not satisfy the leading citizens, and another was made to the Board School Board for the establishment of city free schools for colored children.

Petition after petition was sent the Board, but no cognizance was taken of them. At a meeting of the Board, April 1, 1870, a petition, signed by Marshall Winslow and others, was presented and read, which greatly impressed the Board. At the meeting of the Board, held Thursday, September 22, 1870, the following resolution was adopted by Mr. J. D. Pope, chairman of the committee on colored schools, which was adopted.

"To the Board of Trustees—Your Committee on Colored Schools respectfully report that to the best of information they have been able to get, the amount of the city's taxes paid, and to be paid, by the people of African race in the city for the year 1870, is $83,200; and they respectfully report that a sum not exceeding $300 per month should be decided upon for the support of the colored schools. For the $300 per month, we believe the State amounting altogether to $4,600, we recommend shall be placed to the credit of the colored school fund. We recommend further, that in the first of October, 1871, the schools for the colored people shall be opened, one in the Center Street African Methodist Church and one in the Fifth Street African Baptist Church, and as soon then;

after a suitable place can be obtained, another school shall be opened, making three in all. That in each of these three schools three teachers shall be employed, one who shall be principal, at a salary of $40 per month, one other at $30, and the others at $20 and that toward defraying the expenses of these schools for this school year $20 be appropriated."

On October 3, 1870, the colored school committee, through Mr. Pope, chairman, presented the following lists of teachers, which were confirmed: Fifth Street Baptist Church—Susie Adams, principal; C. C. Gossard, Ada Miller, Center Street Church—Mrs. Martha A. Morton, Mrs. Julia Arthur. The school was not designated, but the Center Street Church was selected—Mrs. E. Stansberry, principal; Florence Murrrow (white), Mrs. Mary A. Johnson. The number of pupils enrolled during the year was 712; average number belonging, 578; average daily attendance, 512; average number of pupils to the teacher, 57.

The schools were known by No. 1, 2, and 3. The cost of each was: School No. 1, salaries, $340.53; incidental expenses, $15.43. No. 2, salaries, $201.00; incidental expenses, $10.00. No. 3, salaries, $190.20; incidental expenses, $18.53. The Board was provided for a colored Board of Visitors on July 17, 1871. Mr. J. D. Pope, chairman of colored school committee, presented the following named gentlemen as the colored Board, which was received: Horace Morris, Marshall Woodson, Jesse Merritt, W. M. Brown, Washington Watson, W. J. Brown, Napoleon Bonaparte, J. H. Morris, J. B. Riley. During this session of the Board Mr. Philip Stover moved that the music teachers be directed to give one hour each week in colored schools. The schools were conducted in the basements of these three churches, two school terms, the progress of the children was as good as could be expected considering the unfavorable circumstances in which they were placed.

On November 6, 1871, Mr. J. D. Pope, who was the chairman of the colored school committee, presented a resolution, which was adopted, that a special committee of three be appointed to wait on the General Council to have the city charter amended by the Legislature so that all taxes paid by colored tax-payers, not to the exclusion of colored people for five years. The committee reported back December 1, 1871, detailing the Council's action and reviewing the Mayor's veto. The committee reported a
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Dec 4, 1871

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On June 3, 1872, Mr. J. D. Pope moved that the school building, Fourteenth and Broadway, be rented at $300 per year, for colored schools to be opened September 1, 1872. This building was not centrally located, but it was believed that the improved facilities for classifying pupils and other advantages to be derived from the convenience of the building would compensate, in a great measure, for the long distance some of the children traveled to attend, as all the schools were to be transferred to the building. Prior to that, Mr. Ferguson, of Cincinnati, was employed as principal of the school, at a salary of $600. The following assistants were employed: Lottie Adams, $100; Florence Harrow, white, $350; Elvira C. Green, $300; Jesse Davis, $300; Mary C. Baker, $300; Mary Washington, $250; Alice Woodson, $250. The members of the Board became more interested in the education of their children, and on August 4, 1872, Mr. H. Camp, committee on colored schools, moved that a building at Campbell and Chestnut streets be secured at a rental of $150 per year. The people showed much ability to take advantage of the opportunity afforded them by the establishment of the schools, and the Board soon found it necessary to open the Campbell and Chestnut street building, which they did by appointing Mr. Wyatt N. Stewart, an Ohioan, principal, at a salary of $300 per year, with three assistants at $400, $250, and $300, each, per year. These two schools soon became crowded, and the Board set to work to provide an additional building in the central part of the city. January 6, 1873, by a resolution offered by Mr. J. J. T. Murray, a special committee composed of Messrs. H. F. Camp, L. L. Warren and J. J. T. Marry were appointed to wait upon the Legislature, and to have it provide for raising greater funds for colored schools. On February 3, 1873, Mr. H. F. Camp, from the special committee, reported the passage of an Act by the Legislature releasing the School Board from the payment of the $42,000 of bonds due the Sinking Fund, directing that the money be expended in the purchase of three lots and the erection of three houses. This was a happy victory, and the Board erected the first colored city school at Sixth and Kentucky streets, at a cost of $32,000.
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The building was supplied with furniture of the most approved character, and it was said to be the handsomest and best arranged building for colored children in the country at that time. The doors were thrown open in October, 1878, and Prof. Wareing was the principal in charge. People from all parts of the city paid a visit to the building and left a word of praise for the members of the School Board, Mr. George H. Tingley, Superintendent Public Schools, who had used his influence for colored schools, said: "The colored people of this city, as a class, are poor, and can not afford to send their children to private schools. They need their services as soon as they are able to earn anything, and their school life is necessarily of short duration. If a sufficient number of buildings, conveniently located, are not provided, it is evident that a large number will be deprived of the benefit of even a limited education, which they so greatly need and which they are so eager to acquire." Mr. B. F. Camp, who was at that time President of the Board and who was deeply interested in the colored schools and worked so assiduously for them. In his report had this to say: "This Board at first opened one school, on Broadway and Fourteenth streets, which was soon filled; then another on Chestnut and Campbell streets, in a private house, rented, so that the pupils of the eastern part of the city might not have so far to go; and this year, besides retaining these two schools, we have erected one of the largest and most comfortable school-houses in the country, on the corner of Sixth and Kentucky streets, which will doubtless soon be filled; and we have also rented a small house in Portland for the convenience of the colored of that suburb. The patience with which our colored citizens awaited the slow process of procuring them educational facilities is worthy of all praise, and the intelligence, self-denial, and patience with which they are working to improve their minds and add to their scholarship should not be forgotten. They will reap their reward in the near future."

There were many drawbacks under the school law in these times, and it was quite surprising to many to see what was accomplished. The members of the Board who were foremost in the advocacy of the colored schools interested the gratitude extended to them by the colored citizens and they very highly appreciated their efforts. Our schools equal any in the country, and the time is not far distant when we will have a Normal department, Manual Training School for boys, and female as well as male teachers in the High School department. At the inception of the public schools in this city, October, 1876, they started out with nine teachers, 112 pupils enrolled during the first year, no buildings, with an annual cost of about $3,500; we have now nine buildings, 103 teachers, whose salaries exceed $1,000 per month; ten teachers in night schools; 5,411 day pupils and 4,301 night pupils. The Colored High School was established in 1882, the first commencement was held at Library Hall, there were seven graduates during the fourteen years of the establishment of the High School the whole number of graduates foot up 168. There are 106 rooms in the nine buildings, and settings for 5,519 pupils. Jackson and Breckinridge streets school is the only one heated by steam. Nearly all the teachers employed in our schools are our home boys and girls. The following are dates and cost of buildings erected for the accommodation of colored children: Central, 1876, $32,000; Jackson and Breckinridge, 1874, $13,500; Western, 1877, $20,000; California, 1882, $15,000; Main Street, 1884, $20,000; Malden Lane, 1890, $20,000; Portland, $2,500; Eighth and Kentucky, 1890, $12,000; the following additions have been made: Eastern, $20,056.76; Portland, 1903, $99, Malden Street, $92,125; 1904, $35,418.31.
The Industrial School of Reform

The Industrial School of Reform was known, until a few years ago, as the House of Industry. This name was changed because of the good it is destined to accomplish, and is more applicable to the character of the institution. Many of our people are not aware of the intent and purpose of the school; they rather regard it as a place for boys and girls, and not where the unfortunate misguided and abandoned youth could be taught useful trades, and be given religious as well as secular instruction thereby being fit for useful citizens for any community. Major W. F. Mather, who was its first secretary and treasurer of the school, in speaking to a few days ago, in L., the agitation for a colored boy's department was begun. Messrs. Daniel Shade and Edward Wilder were among the most zealous advocates. This was drawn from the fact that so many small colored girls and boys were arrested for petty crimes collected from the streets and bad places, and the only place for comfort was the Work House.

Mr. D. Spalding, who was president of the board at that time, became greatly impressed with the dire necessity of something being done for these unfortunate, and in his report of December 31, 1872, said: 'There should be a provision made at an early date for a house of refuge for colored juveniles. It would support the report of the General Council. We have ample room in the House of Industry, but there is no suitable building, and since your honor's board last report, the question has been carried forward. The coming summer, it would seem but necessary to give attention to the large number of this unfortunate class who are daily running our streets committing depredations that will ultimately consign them to a cell. Humanity calls loudly upon us to use all our means to alleviate their condition. Many of them are now wandering their way on the downward road to ruin, with no proper restraint thrown around them to become useful citizens. Let us therefore in this great work make all efforts to make them useful citizens. A gentleman made this appeal December 31, 1872: 'We are still much in need of a house of refuge for colored juveniles, and would most earnestly request the General Council to give us their hearty cooperation, that we may be able to operate such an institution under way during the present year. It would remind necessary to commit the care of these children to a large number of persons who have charge of them to our jails or work houses, where, though reformation is secured, yet it is not obtained. Their training and future welfare is in great measure neglected. Common humanity calls loudly for our sympathy. Shall we not, then, endeavor to make useful citizens of these children by giving them a helping hand, or shall we let them pursue their downward way to destruction, and become more and more disgusting objects to society. The General Council should, I think, appropriate a sum suitable to form a building where a few children could be educated in the grounds belonging to the House of Industry, for the sick and bedridden, and a small addition for work shops, that would afford ample employment for many classes of both male and female. That such an institution as this would be of very little value to the community, if not of great importance, I am satisfied that the General Council would give the matter serious consideration, and if it be thought best to form a resolution that the General Council, in the first place, I think, it is a matter of great importance. We would, then, most respectfully submit the whole matter, not without hope that an early day you will give the subject your thoughtful attention.' Mr. Spalding in his annual address to the General Council to the absolute importance of a building for colored juveniles, and the option of associating with him in the fight. In 1876 the house was erected. His Honor the Mayor, Hon. Charles D. Johnson, in his annual address, January 1, 1877, said: 'A substantial and handsome building has just been completed, for the purpose of caring for the sick and bedridden at that time and which has been successfully carried through. This House of Refuge reflects credit alike upon the liberality of sentiment.
our citizens, and the good taste and economy of the managers, of whom Hon. Daniel Spalding is president. On September 20, 1877, the first inmates to the colored department were admitted, and, ending December 31 of the same year, twenty-five boys had been placed in the school.

Mr. Spalding for the year 1877 made this pleasant mention: "Our house for colored juveniles, the colored delinquents, opened in September last, has at this time twenty-one inmates, and we have an abiding trust that the industrial, intellectual, and religious training they receive here will be impressed upon the lives of a large majority of them. The impressions produced upon a large community of children, and the efficiency of the discipline are discovered in the interest manifested in the school, in the attention secured in the chapel, in the order and industry in the workshops, and in the character of those who come back to us after months and years of absence to report themselves and to express gratitude."

Mr. Peter Caldwell, who had charge as superintendent and was so well adapted for the place, having all the necessary qualifications to manage and control an institution of this kind, and who, by his unlimited efforts to make the institution a success, has won for himself not only the very high esteem and confidence of the Board of Directors but the citizens as well, having an interest in both white and colored children alike, has this to say of the colored department in his annual report for 1877: It will be necessary to erect a shop building this summer, as our other shops will be too much crowded. We desire that the colored children should have equal advantages given to them to rise and improve themselves as the white children have. The prospects of the colored department could not be more encouraging. The children are orderly and scrupulously neat. They have not only surpassed us in their good behavior and advancement generally, but in the excellent care they have taken of the building which has not to have been done for furniture, and one who did not know to be a fact, would not believe that the building had been occupied, as it has, by twenty-five colored children for nearly four months.

Mr. James E. Pyle, who was principal at that time, writes the following in his annual statement: "We regard the education of these poor, neglected, and destitute children paramount to all other duties. Our special endeavor is to educate them in the broadest sense of the word. Hence, while we impart instruction in the various branches of learning, we are far from considering these items as constituting the sum of their education—Our great aim is to shield them from temptation, to check all visible errors, to instill moral and religious truth, and while we make them worthy citizens of our community, to render them fit candidates for the heavenly mansions above. Their daily life here is a school for general training in good habits of thought and practice, and these influences combine to produce good results, not only in the schoolroom but wherever their duty leads them."

The Legislature passed an Act, which was approved February 15, 1869, to establish a house of reform for juvenile delinquents. Louisville became interested in this movement and desired to have the institution located in Jefferson county. To accomplish this end the General Council passed a resolution appropriating $8,000 as an bonus if the State would comply with this wish; which was accepted. The commissioners appointed by Governor purchased the present Lakeview Asylum, and the house was opened.

The city council set to work to accomplish this end. Mr. L. R. McCleary, who was the clerk of the Board of Directors, was commissioned by his honor, Charles B. Jacob, mayor, to take charge of the matter and with a well-prepared brief, after weeks of toil and labor at Frankfort, the matter was presented to the Legislature, and an Act was passed, which affected the colored girls and which it is by the Act, for colored girls house of refuge expressly as requested by the General Council. The work was cheerfully re...
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Capt. John H. Leathers makes this statement in his printed report, March 4, 1896:

"The new building for colored girls, which was completed about two years ago, we are pleased to state is finally opened and ready for the reception of inmates. The addition of this building thereby affording proper facilities for the care of all classes of unfortunate children, both white and black, male and female, places our Institution in the very front rank of similar institutions in the United States.

"The opening of the colored female department will necessarily augment our care and responsibility, and require an additional outlay of money to carry forward the work that this new department will be expected to do. There are promises, however, in the future, that a greater liberality will be extended to us on the part of the Mayor and General Council, and that ample means will be provided for the carrying forward of this humane and philanthropic work, which has now for the first time in its history become complete and rounded, in all of its appointments (insomuch as it includes all unfortunate classes of youth, irrespective of sex or race or color) found within the boundary of our city limits."

Captain John H. Leathers in his annual report, dated August 31, 1896, says: "The new building for colored girls, complete in all its arrangements, was formally opened last April, and the girls in that department receive the same care, discipline and educational facilities that the white girls enjoy."

"The Superintendent, in his report for the same year, has this to say: "The importance of society to the proper care and training of the children of today and the citizen of tomorrow, can not be over estimated. Their influence upon advancing civilization and welfare to society are enormous. When a child develops into a man of morality, industry and thrift, something is added to the general prosperity and happiness, but when it becomes the victim of neglect, perverted tastes and vicious habits, society is never able to recover its losses. If the child is not mastered or degraded, the youth of Darkest Africa go untaught and untaught, great harm can come to us. They are too far distant, if they live and die in degradation, no earthly interest of ours will be put in peril. They do not govern us. However degraded and degraded they may be, they can not degrade our children." From statement I, you se
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that we are caring for 238 American children, and 160 of these are Kentucky born, only two are of foreign birth. We and our children have to live with these children. We can not isolate ourselves and our children from them. They are members with us in a vast community and with them we have to do, and we should regard them as the offspring of a common father, endowed with a common nature, possessing common rights and destined to a common eternity. Children, by being placed in an institution to not surrender any of their common rights common wants, physical and domestic, which are common to our own children. Food and raiment as well as shelter, are as necessary to their existence as to that of any other children.

We have made these quotations because they are worthy of a careful and considerate perusal. The appointments and arrangements are perfect, the sanitary condition excellent, and the efficient management can not be improved upon. Since the opening of the departments for colored children 94 youngsters have been committed. For the year ending December 31, 1898, there were twenty-one girls and sixty-two boys in the school. The girls are taught to sew, and care for the house, and the boys are worked in the mattresses and broom shop. There is a regular corps of capable teachers employed, and regular school sessions are held daily. The firm is the weekly publication.

As has a colored boys' department edited by Mr. R. Wilkinson, formerly an inmate, and made for the instruction and edification of the young. Each of the days, on leaving the institution received a proficiency in stenography and typing, and the purchase of books and reading material is made.

We have no evidence how far better it is to have an institution of this kind for girls and boys of disorderly conduct than to have them go to the World House. We can cite you to many cases where bad boys have become good men through the benign influences of this school.

THE BLACK INDUSTRIAL SCH OF REFORM IN LOU

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Captain John H. Leathers, the president, is one of Louisville's leading and prominent citizens, and merits the high appreciation for his untiring efforts to maintain the school upon a high basis with equal privileges and comforts to all alike. The members of the Board of Directors exercised every exertion for the establishment of these buildings for the proper training and correction of our incorrigible youth; their efforts have been very prolific, may they long be remembered by the once enslaved and unfortunate race.

At a meeting of the Kentucky Humane Society, held May 22, 1895, pursuant to a call, the following persons were present: Capt. John H. Leathers, Capt. John H. Weller, Messrs. Julius Barkhouse, P. Caldwell, G. G. Brown, Mrs. Rogers, and Miss Duvall. The following colored citizens were present: Rev. J. H. Frank, Shelby Gillespie, L. Curtis, R. Jones, J. C. N. Fowles, George Murphy and W. H. Ward. The meeting was presided over by Captain Leathers. By a resolution the following committee was appointed: J. C. N. Fowles, chairman; W. H. Ward, vice-chairman; H. Morris, secretary; T. W. Marshall, W. H. Steward and Allen Johnson. It is the duty of this committee to report to the Humane Society colored children, male and female, between the ages of six and twelve years who are not under proper care and whose surroundings are such as would lead them astray, ruin their lives or make them criminals.
HORACE MORRIS has been a conspicuous figure in the affairs of interest and importance to his fellow-colored citizens since freedom was first extended to our people. He was educated in Ohio and has lived here all his life. He is a prominent Mason and has been connected officially with that body. He was a member of the "under-ground" railroad of Ohio, and took an active part in the Martha Griener trial in Cincinnati in 1860. He was secretary of the Advisory Board of the colored schools and at the close of the Freedmen's Bank he was the only colored cashier called to Washington to assist in settling the accounts. He held a clerical position in the Treasury Department under General Blairs and during Garfield's administration was appointed steward of the Marine Hospital, the first colored man in the country to fill such a position.

LOU ODD FELLOWS (1866)

The introduction of this order was caused by the dissatisfaction of a number of men who withdrew from the Independent Sons of Honor in 1866, among whom were Carey Lowery, Shelton Guest, Perry Craig, Edward Owens and others. They found shelter in the Center-street Church near Green, and organized themselves and were known as the United Sons of Independence. They elected Rev. Wm. P. Bittler, chairman; James Mosby, secretary, and Shelton Guest, treasurer. Mr. Carey Lowery, who was the pioneer for satisfaction, suggested the idea of converting this new organization into an Odd Fellow lodge. He visited the place of meeting of the Boone Lodge (white) on Jefferson street near First, and through the kindness of member was presented with literature and aprons, but was informed that they could not organize or make them Odd Fellows. Providentially a Mr. J. O. Burns returned to Louisville to visit relatives, and had been initiated an Odd Fellow. He was approached regarding the proper steps to take. He gave the address of Mr. James Needham, the Grand Secretary who was located at Philadelphia, Pa., with whom a correspondence was opened at once. A letter was received from him advising the earliest seekers for Odd Fellowship to apply to Ohio Lodge at Cleveland as that was the nearest Lodge to them. The application was made, and Messrs. D. H. Cosby, J. E. Bankhead, A. J. Catlin, G. S. Whitfield, D. L. Coons, and J. W. Bush were commissioned and sent from the Cleveland Lodge, and on June 10, 1867, the first colored Odd Fellows Lodge in Kentucky was established. There were two names advanced for the new lodge—"Mount Sinai" and "Union." Union receiving the highest number of votes was adopted as the name. From the organization of this lodge the order began to grow in the State. There are at present in Kentucky 14 lodges with a membership of 4,108.
Jacob Street Tabernacle—In the fall of 1869, when there prevailed much confusion and the members of Centre Street Church were running to-and-fro connecting themselves with other churches, Baptist and Methodist, the Rev. Anthony Bunch, who was assigned as city missionary, rented a school-building on the northwest corner of Hancock and Chestnut streets and organized an A. M. E. Zion Church. He was succeeded the following year by Rev. E. H. Curry, who purchased a lot east of Hancock and Chestnut in 1870. This was sold, and a lot was bargained for on the north side of Jackson Street, fifty or sixty feet from the corner west of Jackson Street. The partying out that the ground was to be used for a colored church building cancelled the agreement. Then the present site, where the church now stands on Jacob between Preston and Jackson streets, was purchased May 1871. In the meantime the frame church which stood at the corner of Hancock and Roselane was bought for $325 and bodily transferred to the newly purchased lot. The house was put in order and dedicated as "Curry Chapel," the congregation grew, the adjoining lot was purchased and in 1873 the new brick front church was erected. Services were conducted in the basement. In 1881 the main audience room was completed. The additions and the erection and completion of this fine church edifice was accomplished under the Rev. E. H. Curry's ministrations.

The following were the appointments made to the church since 1869: Revs. A. Bunch, E. H. Curry, Y. Carr, T. J. Manson, J. H. Sweres, J. B. Johnson, D. W. Vicars, Charles Jones, and E. B. Jones. The latter was appointed a deacon. The first person and choirmaster was a Will. Brown, Pat. Johnson. Among the most intelligent and fashionable Methodistic congregations in the city, the last accomplishment of the Rev. Dr. Curry was the placing in use of a powerful pipe organ during his administration in 1883.

The foundation of the present building is the stone from the fence which surrounded the old post-office building, Third and Green streets. This was the first colored church to have stained glass and an elevation in its main audience room. Among its officials are, G. H. White, J. H. French, J. L. Wingfield, M. Yates, W. W. Willis, J. W. Brown, J. Crawley, James Ballard, Amos Kemp, J. R. White, Henry Clay, James H. Weedon, Coleman Wilson, Henry Barbour, Wm. Kennison, Mrs. Ellen Kidd, Jas. A. Nunn. Local preachers—Charles Breckinridge, James Alexander, Chas. Brown, James Stableron.
Colored Department of the Kentucky Institute for the Blind

On March 27, 1881, Gov. Knott signed a bill of the Legislature appropriating $20,000 to erect a building for the education of the colored blind children of the State. This school was formerly opened October 1, 1880. Its scope is the same as that of the school for white blind. The children are taught all the branches of a good English education, weaving in cane, tuning of pianos, music and the use of the needle. The report for 1880 shows nineteen colored inmates, twelve males and fourteen females. Mr. B. H. Huntton, superintendent of the white department also has charge of the colored quarters. The following colored persons are employed: Miss Fannie Wood, matron; Miss Octavia Wood, teacher; Miss Ella Williams, housegirl; Mrs. Margaret Wood, cook; Edward Wood, houseman. We could not do otherwise than give an account of this institution, notwithstanding it is a State affair, it comes under our notice because it is located inside the boundary of the city. The colored children's building is a substantial and spacious one, amply supplied and equipped to make the children comfortable.

Judge N. R. Harper, who came to this city in 1869, was the first colored lawyer in the State. He has been identified with many movements for the advancement of his people, and, aside from his profession, he is an organizer and instructor of vocal music. He was instrumental in organizing the great musical festivals among the colored people in 1871-72. He was the first of his race to receive a commission of notary public in the State, and the first colored man of the State to preside as judge, he was called to the bench by Judge S. H. Thompson in 1888. He was appointed by Governor Bradley commissioner of the Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Statistics of the Colored People of the State. He is a fine speaker and has figured conspicuously in politics for years, is widely known throughout the State, and was the choice of many at one time as the nominee for Congress in this district and his legislative district. He edited for a short time a negro periodical in 1873.
Fifth Street Baptist Church is located on Fifth between Chestnut and Walnut streets and is the first colored Baptist church to be set apart separately. The nucleus for this church was formed on Market Street below Eighth. Rev. Henry Kilgore was the first pastor who was assisted by the white brethren. The church-house was a little frame building, and was probably the same church used by the Methodists as it is said union meetings were held there. It was reached at night by the use of lanterns, the place being swampy. A slave-owner dedicated the ground at Fifth and York streets, known to the citizens at present as Calvary Baptist Church, about the year 1833 for a place of worship for his slaves and others in the immediate neighborhood, with the assistance of donations of lumber and other material, a "meeting-house" was erected.

Fifth Street was then a country road (Black Lick Road), and was sometimes called Saratoga Street. Great inconvenience was experienced in getting to the church through Fifth street on account of mud and water, puncheons and logs made the walks. The church, at that time, was beyond the city limits.

Rev. Henry Adams became pastor of the church in 1839, and the first Sunday in June, 1849, the church was organized as a separate church for colored Baptists. The first clerk of the church was Mr. Wm. Colgan, white, he was succeeded by Mr. L. M. Hewett, white, who served from 1849 until December, 1861, when Mr. Solomon Patterson, the first colored clerk, was elected. On January 13, 1845, the present building now occupied was purchased from the Fourth and Walnut street Christian Church. The purchase price was $1300 paid in cash. Messrs. Caesar Burrell and Solomon Patterson (colored) were elected as the trustees. In 1841, the pastor was paid $600 per year by Mr. Solomon. This person was succeeded by Mr. B. R. Jones in 1843. Rev. Mr. Adams pastored the church until his death thirty-three years later. His funeral was attended at the Fourth and Walnut Street Baptist Church, the eulogy was delivered by Rev. S. L. Hehn, who knew him in his boyhood days. It was a very remarkable occasion, the bell of the church was tolled, the choir of his church rendered the music and the Committee on Apportion and George Brown acted as ushers. As the funeral cortège passed through the streets great crowds witnessed it. Mr. Adams was a popular preacher and the leading light of the colored Baptists in the State.

The Rev. Andrew Heath was called as pastor. He died in 1866 after fourteen years of service. John H. Frank, who was assistant pastor, was called. He was at the time a porter in a millinery store on Fourth street, and was certainly honored in receiving a call to such a fashionable and intelligent congregation. He is popular with his people and has filled his pulpit acceptably. The present membership is 1,143, Sunday-school scholars 600, with twenty-six teachers, the yearly collections amount to $6,500, and the pastor is paid a salary of $1,200. The present officers are: T. Parker, W. H. Steward, H. Crutcher, J. H. Jackson, W. M. Highower, J. J. Bonaparte, J. L. Brown, C. R. Malon, W. H. Duncan and Richard Hamilton, clerk, who was elected at the death of Mr. C. R. Jones in 1893. It is said the first colored choir organized in the city was at this church in the early part of 1847. Its first leader was Mr. Samuel Gibbs. It sang without an organ and in subsequent years had a bass violin as an accompanist. Among the members were: Solomon Patterson, P. Bullitt, Edmonia Goodall, Jane Christopher, subsequently it was led by Solomon Patterson. About the beginning of the war John Collins became the leader and among the members were: John Johnson, C. L. Jones, Andrew Knight, Burrell Kellar, Daniel McKane, Andrew Heath afterwards pastor of the church, Jane E. McKane, Jane C. Campbell, Lizzie Gibson. The present choir was organized in June, 1867, out of a singing class which was taught by Madison Minnies and of which he was the leader. It has had as members, Miss Martha A. Morton, Mrs. S. Gertie Hutchinson, Mrs. E. J. Gibson, Miss Tillie S. Waters, and Mrs. M. E. Steward, the present incumbent. Among its members have been Mrs. E. Porter, Mrs. J. C. Burke, Mrs. W. C. Ferguson, Mrs. M. L. Means, Miss S. J. Preston.
LOU CEMETARY ASSN (1887)

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Louisville Cemetery Association. There have been several corporations started in this city, but the most successful and wealthiest of them all is this cemetery company. The late Bishop W. H. Miles became very much interested in a movement for the formation of a company of this kind, called a mass meeting in Centre street church last week, and a resolution to that effect was adopted, and quite an interest manifested in the new project. The plan was presented, and articles of incorporation were drawn up and adopted. The legislature incorporated the company in 1887, and an agreement was entered into for the purchase of 40 acres on the Poplar Level road. In the fall of the same year the grounds were dedicated, the principal address being made by W. H. Robinson. The company, formed in 1887, purchased 15 acres for an endowment fund, and a white man, who had acquired good experience at the business, was employed, who remained with the company for some time. J. A. S. 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W. H. Steward, was the first colored man sworn in on the letter carrier's force. He was a pupil in the Rev. H. Adams' school, and after the opening of the city school was employed as teacher. He has occupied the position of the State General Baptist Association and ten years as secretary of the National Baptist Convention and has been for several years officially connected with the State conventions. He has figured prominently in his church and has been for several years the superintendent of the Sunday school department of his church in the State. He was for two years Grand Master of the State Masonic Lodge. He has property and has been identified with the negro's interests in the city.

Samuel B. Taylor, Educator in Lex & Lou after C W

Prof. Samuel B. Taylor received his early educational training in this city, which was later supplemented by a special course at Oberlin College. He passed a civil service examination and received an appointment in the postal service in 1885. He declined to accept a position as teacher at Simpsonville, Ky., in 1886 he was appointed assistant teacher at Lafayette street school in this city, and in November of the same year promoted to principal. At the opening of the Main street School, February 1887, he was appointed principal, which position he has filled acceptably up to this time. In addition to this he has been the principal of the Eastern Night School several years. Prof. Taylor was born in Louisville in 1842, and is a deserving home boy.
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J H Taylor came to this city in 1865 and followed his trade as house carpenter until 1867 when he formed a partnership with Rev. Yarmouth Carr and opened an undertaking business. Mr. Taylor made the coffins in a good many cases. He afterward conducted the same business with the late W. C. Fox, and has since been managing a business of his own. He had no schooling, but by hard study acquired a proficiency in English. He is well and favorably known, an Odd Fellow, Mason, United Brother, Knight of Tabor, and is possibly connected with more secret societies than any one man in Louisville. He is worth several thousand dollars which was made in this city.

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Jackson Street M.E. Church was at one time known as Frog Pond Church and is well known to the colored citizens. The present brick building was erected in 1888. The ground for this church Jackson between Green and Jefferson streets was deeded by Mr. Francis Preston and wife in 1832 for Methodist church purposes. After which a frame church was erected which was built upon posts. It was named Frog Pond Church on account of the pond and the croaking of frogs. It is said the noise from the frogs during night service greatly interrupted the meeting. This church is under the M.E. Church, over which white bishops preside. It has been quite a notable church, great crowds at one time attended the services. Rev. Adam Nunn was pastor of the church in 1868 when the present building was erected. The pulpit has been filled by Revs. J. H. Swerdee, J. (Cortney), M. L. Miller, M. M. McConnell, J. Stanley, L. M. Haygood and others, and at present occupied by Dr. T. L. Ferguson an able and eloquent speaker who was raised a Quaker. In 1848 the church was pastored by Rev. George Holland assisted by William Thompson, Henry Pittman and John Young. The present officers are Dr. Page Lewis, chairman; J. D. Long, secretary; Dr. W. A. Brown, Matt Brown, Solomon Loving, Calvin McAtee, Paul Johnson. The late Wash Spradling gave much assistance to this church in the way of means, and on severing his membership with Centre Street joined with this church.
p 48/ Porter came to Lou. in 1879, and has been a success. Large practice, for years "one of our leading physicians. He was the only colored graduate in a class of forty from the Long Island College Hospital, Brooklyn, New York, in 1878."

BRIEF ACCT ASBURY CHAPEL IN LOU

Asbury Chapel (Ninth between Walnut and Grayson streets) has been located at this place forty-six years. The old church which stood at Fourth and Green was at one time occupied by this congregation. October 12, 1829, a subscription was started by white people for the purpose of raising means to erect a church to be known as the "Associated Protestant Methodist Church," which had an organization and head-quarters in Baltimore, Md. A sufficient amount was subscribed and paid in, a lot was bargained for and a brick house of worship built at Fourth and Green streets. The congregation did not seem to grow very fast, were without a pastor at times and finally abandoned the church. Some time prior to 1838 the church was rented by the city of Louisville in which the Louisville Chancery Court convened. The Dutch Reform Church leased it September 14, 1839, and a Presbyterian congregation also worshiped in it. It was unoccupied for a short while and cattle used the basement to shelter in. It was leased January 15, 1842, by the Methodists, and later the African Methodist Church came in possession of it.

There was a claim held against the property by a party, and suit was entered to recover the amount. The case was tried in the Chancery Division and by a decree of the court the property was sold at the Court-house door March 10, 1845, and was purchased by James Harper (colored) at $3,000, he being the highest bidder. He paid in cash $719.60 and executed two notes of $719.60 each, and three notes of $450.11 each, with David Straws as security. The sale was confirmed by the court March 21, 1845 and on March 25, 1845, the transfer was made. The first payment which was made on the property James Harper advanced $180.64 and David Straws $558.46. The buying of this church was a good investment, the services were more interesting than usual and attendance larger. The Masonic Temple Company, which had purchased ground on Jefferson street, desired to have the block facing Fourth street from Jefferson to Green streets, made the colored church people an offer of $3,000 for their property, the offer was accepted February 14, 1861, with the proviso that the company would purchase the ground for a church within a certain radius. Ninth street was the western boundary line, the present location of eighty feet was selected by the white Masonic body...
BRIEF ACCT ASBURY CHAPEL IN LOU

W. H. GIBSON, SR.

at a cost of $2,750; a building was erected on the lot and the balance due on the Fourth street property ($3,250) was paid on it. In the spring of 1861 the congregation bade farewell to the Fourth and Green street church and transferred to Ninth street. The deed in full was made to the Ninth street property October 21, 1861, naming David Straw, Levi Evans, Wm. Butcher, Nathan B. Rogers and Nathan Brownhusters. The church prospered, succeeded well and the pulpit has been filled by some very able preachers of the race. In 1874 the first pipe organ placed in a colored church was placed in this church, which attracted large crowds. In 1877 the church was destroyed by fire, since which time the congregation has been worshiping in the basement.

The selling of this church to the Masons was objected to by members of the church, and a law suit followed, which was finally settled and the deed was made in 1833. Hon. Hiram R. Revels, who was in 1860 elected to the United States Senate to fill the place of Jefferson Davis from Mississippi, pastored this church.

W. H. Gibson, Sr., came to Louisville from Maryland in 1847 and began the teaching of school by assisting Mr. Robert Lane, in a few months opened a school for himself in Asbury Chapel. When the church was removed in 1861, his school was carried on, in Seventh street between Green and Jefferson, opposite Hoefer's. During the war, he was commissioned as recruiting sergeant and added more than a hundred men to the 6th Massachusetts regiment. In 1862 he left for Indianapolis and in 1865 located in Leavenworth, Kansas, stood the examination and secured the school. In 1866 he returned to Kentucky. Judge Hovey, who is now on the Supreme Bench, and at that time president of the school board, wrote urgent letters to have him return to the work. As early as 1867 he gave musical entertainments at the church at Fourth and Green streets by his choir accompanied by an orchestra, playing the violin and Germans performing on other instruments; his entertainments were attended by crowded houses. He received an appointment in 1871 as mail-agent between Louisville and Lexington, and had a most delightful time. In 1873 he was appointed U.S. Collector and filled this position until Mr. Cleveland's first term of office. For years he has been prominently connected with Quinns Chapel, and variously associating himself with measures affecting his people's interest. He is the night custodian of the Bank of Kentucky.
JOHN M. MAXWELL, EDUCATOR

Prof. John M. Maxwell has been for eighteen years the principal of what is known as the Central High School. He is a native of Ohio and was the second principal of this school. He ranks high as an educator of the state and has the distinction of being one of the best grammarians of his race. He was absent from this building for three terms, so well was he adapted to the work at this school the Board of Education re-elected him to the principalship. He was the first president of the colored Y.M.C.A., and was for a number of years Treasurer of the Colored Orphans Home. He is highly respected.

C. H. PARRISH, EDUCATOR

Prof. C. H. Parrish, A.B., A.M., is admired not only by the Kentuckians, but has the high consideration of the educators, both white and black, of the country. Beginning at the bottom rung of the ladder in life, that of a "hewer of wood" and "drawer of water," he has reached the Zenith, that of the presidency of one of the foremost schools for his people. He came to Louisville in 1880, entered the State Baptist College, graduating with high honors in 1886, his matchless address at the commencement exercises still rings in the ears of those who heard it. He engaged with the late Dr. W. J. Simmons in educational work at the Eckstein Norton College, and at the death of Dr. Simmons was elected president. He is a loser of his race and deeply interested in its progress. He grasps every opportunity and is among the first to give his assistance to any movement of advancement. He ranks high among the believers in the church of his choice, and has won the respect and confidence of all denominations, creeds and religions. He thoroughly considers all sides, and, if he is needed at any time, to speak a word or do a deed, even in the political arena, to push forward his race, he does not shrink from the task. Through him the Eckstein Laundry was started in this city. It is our greatest pleasure at all times to add a good word for one who is not an adopted son of the soil of Henry Clay, the immortal Lincoln and other illustrious men, but, who is a native-born, and has by dint of hard labor achieved greatness.
LODGE HALLS IN LOU

weeden's hist col people in lou, 1897

**Halls**—The first effort at buying a hall for lodge purposes was made by the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows. The importance of such a project was discussed by prominent members of the order for several years, but in 1890 Union lodge appointed a committee on ways and means. The lodge, with St. Luke, St. John and other lodges, were incorporated Sept. 11th, 1890, and a two story brick dwelling was purchased on Green Street near Poyntette, for $2,500, with a cash payment of $1,000. The purchase of this building greatly electrified the colored citizens, it was regarded as a noble effort. An inducement was made to the order for the purchase of the old Eclipse Building, Thirteenth and Walnut streets. On October 25th, 1896, this property was bargained for at $10,000 with a payment of $2,500. In March, 1897, the building was destroyed by the cyclone. Additional ground was bought and a new building, much larger, erected in 1897, three stories, modernly built, lodge rooms, a music hall, with a seating capacity of seven hundred with opera chairs, a complete state arrangement, banquet hall, and store fronts. The erection of this building cost $17,000, the property is now estimated at $35,000.

United Brothers of Friendship followed suit on July 6th, 1896. They bargained for the large store front building at the south east corner of Ninth and Magazine for $8,000, with a cash payment of $1,000. The release to this property was made February 6th, 1897. Present value, $10,000.

Independent Sons of Honor purchased a brick building, store front, of two stories on Broadway between Eighth and Ninth streets, October 10, 1895, paying $3,000 with $1,250 in cash. The release was made August 28, 1896. Present value, $5,000. We have four lodge halls owned and controlled by colored Fraternities. The total amount of this property with the improvements is set down at $75,000.

BRIEF BIOG E P MARX, LOU

weeden's hist col people in lou, 1897

**Rev. E. P. Marx, D. D.**, is the popular pastor of the Beulah Baptist Church, he is a native of Shelby county, served two years in the late war and was commissioned Quartermaster Sergeant. He taught his first school in Shelby county and was a hard student at the same time himself. His qualifications at the end were very limited. He is the author of a personal history and is one of the leading Baptist ministers of the state, and has a national popularity. Seventeen years, secretary of the Central Baptist Association, eleven years, treasurer of the state Baptist Association, and served several years on the executive committee. He is one of our ablest citizens and has property to the amount of $10,000. He is an able speaker, much of a theological reasoner, and is highly esteemed by his church and the public. The degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by Cedar College in 1892. He is a man of keen perspective since the war.
Fifteenth Street A. M. E. Z. Church—This was the first church of the Zion connection erected in the State of Kentucky. January 30th, 1807, the present place of worship, Fifteenth Street between Walnut and Grayson, was purchased for at the one-third cost. The trustees who figured in the purchase and whose names went on record were: Peter Lewis, Jackson Burke, Hampshall Camack, Thomas Henry, Anderson Mason. A small frame church was erected. As this was the second church in the city it be supplied with a pipe organ added much to its popularity. When the congregation desired to move to larger and more commodious quarters a large number of the old founders of the church went against the sale, and the general conference sustained the Bishop and the original founders. Since the withdrawal of the Twelfth Street church, the strength of the church has been greatly impaired. Bishop Alexander Walters of Jersey City, New Jersey, pastored the church in 1838, and quite an interest was exerted at that time. Last year Rev. A. Mason recovered the church, decorated the interior and placed a chapel on the old building, which makes an excellent and commanding appearance. Rev. A. Mason is in charge at present and the membership is on the increase.

Church of Our Merciful Savior, Episcopal Mission, Lou

The old blacksmith shop on Green street which has sheltered so many congregations was used in 1835 as a place of worship for a colored Episcopal Mission. The first rector was Dr. Walker, who was succeeded by Rev. James Atwell, colored, who was ordained by Bishop Smith at the old St. Paul Church, corner Sixth and Walnut. The services were continued here, later the church was without a minister and a Mr. David Straker was lay reader. These premises were abandoned and a school for both sexes opened on Eleventh between Grayson and Walnut in 1850.

In September, 1876, Dr. Norton, with his private means bought a lot on Madison between Ninth and Tenth streets. A building was erected on this lot and in November the school was transferred from Eighth street to the new place on Madison street. This school soon furnished a nucleus for a Sunday school and mission, out of which grew and developed the present congregation of the church. For years it was pastored by white clergy and laymen, and was continued by the support of Dr. Norton's prosperity and adversity, and finally developed into a strong and independent parish. In 1879 the addition of a number of influential and intelligent people of our race was made. A claim was set up by the communicants that they desired one of their own race to minister unto them. The Bishop regarded this as a most natural wish and as soon as possible a colored minister was assigned to the work. In 1880, the Rev. A. T. Brown (colored vicar) was appointed. During the same year through the indefatigable labors of Bishop T. T. Dudley, the present property occupied by the congregation was purchased at a cost of $1,000 and improvements amounting to $3,000 were made upon it. Rev. A. T. Brown remained with the congregation until 1886, when he resigned. He was immediately succeeded by the Rev. H. T. Brown the present colored vicar. The church building is large and commodious, and was formerly used by a white Presbyterian congregation. It is located on the corner of Eleventh and Walnut street. They have a well regulated choir, Mr. Wm. Reinecke (white) organist. The Rev. Mr. Brown is well educated, a polished and Christian gentleman.
"Isaac Curtis came to the city before the war. He bought himself for $1,300 and walked six miles on Sundays to a person who gave lessons in reading and writing. He is said to have the most complete cabinet of geologist collections of any colored man in the State. He has figured in politics for years."

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MASONIC

MASONIC—Mr. Norine was the first lodge of colored masons organized in Kentucky which was June 12, 1847. Its first meetings were held in New Albany, Ind., until 1857 when they were moved to this city, meetings were held on Walnut near North, Fourth between Walnut and Green streets, Third and Market, and Seventh and Grayson. The first officers of the lodge were: Rev. Levi Evans, Worshipful Master; Wm. Butcher, Treasurer; Wm. H. Gibson, Secretary; John Lacey, White Potter; Henry Conwell. Three new lodges were eventually organized on account of the increase. Pursuant to a call of a masonic convention held in the summer of 1861, the several lodges met in January, 1867, and organized a State Grand Lodge, the following officers were elected: Jesse McVoy, M. W. G. M.; Rev. Levi Evans, R. W. D. G. M.; Wm. Butcher, R. W. G. Treasurer; G. A. Schaeffer, R. W. G. Secretary. A procession was formed which marched to Fifth Street Baptist Church, where the grand officers were installed publicly January 31, 1867.

In 1872 Rev. J. L. H. Swepes, who had located in the city from Ohio, with the assistance of some leading citizens procured a sufficient number of persons, and a lodge of masons, under the jurisdiction of Ohio, was set up by State Grand Master W. H. Pomeroy, of Cincinnati. The institution of this lodge was the cause of two more lodges, Mt. Olive and Southern Cross, later two Knights Templar Commanderies were organized, which gave to Kentucky the first colored Knights Templar Commandery. The establishment of these lodges, under Ohio jurisdiction, brought about strife and contention between the old and young masons, which lasted until 1884, when a friendly number of the brethren, desiring to more fully protect the principles and defend the ties of masonry, resolved to make an effort to have all the lodges in Louisville and Kentucky under the jurisdiction of the State Grand Lodge in the State in which they lived. Armed with the proper credentials the three masters—of Pomeroy, Mt. Olive and Southern Cross met the Ohio State Grand Lodge at Greensboro, August 1884, and made known the wishes and inclinations of their brethren. In Kentucky, great opposition was
LEADING BLACK MUSICIANS & SOCIETIES IN LOU

Music and Musical People—It is generally conceded that the colored people have a natural gift for music and, as singers, have no equals as a race. There are a great number of young girls who have received no training scientifically, but have charmed great audiences by the natural range of their voices. The piano, organ, brass and stringed instruments have been very skillfully handled, and by many who had no instruction. Fifty years ago there was but one piano in a colored family's house in Louisville, and to-day, as estimated by a music dealer and others of authority, there is a thousand pianos and organs are in use by the colored people.

Miss Eliza Davenport is an accomplished pianist and organist. She has given much time to the study at the Chicago Conservatory of Music.

Mrs. Deo. E. Porter is one of the leading singers of the city. She was educated in the city schools and was a pupil of Madame Emery. She frequently sings at the leading musical entertainments of our people and is quite a favorite.

Mrs. Luella Jones ranks high as a pianist and solo artist. She began the study of the piano in Indianapolis under a French teacher, and had a splendid training in voice culture. She was in preparation for the stage, but abandoned the idea to accept a position in the city schools.

Miss Eliza Evans, or Miss Evans, plays well the large organ at Jacob Street Church. She is one of thousands of others, but only the parental ears of a mother and a brother were limited. She developed into a very attractive singer and had quite a fancy for the organ. By the kind permission of the members of the church, she used their organs for practice, and succeeded in mastering the reed organ. She was selected by the Sunday-school as its organist and subsequently elected organist of the church.

Mrs. Mamie E. Steward is an excellent pianist and organist, and is the instructor of music at the State University, she is classed among the leading performers.

Mrs. S. Gertie Hutchison has the reputation of being the ablest pianist in the community.
LEADING BLACK MUSICIANS & SOCIETIES IN LOU

weeden's hist col people in lou, 1897

Miss Nellie L. Frey is one of the leading vocal teachers in the city. She has large classes, and is also a teacher of the piano and organ. She is a teacher in the day schools.

Miss Martha Morton was the first colored lady in the city to perform on a piano.

Prof. Andrew Bell is a professional pianist and a popular teacher of piano music. He is also organist at St. Augustine church.

The Treble Clef Club is an organization of ladies who have banded together for mutual improvement, and to study the authors of music. The talented pianist and organist, Miss Eliza Davenport, is the director.
weeden's hist col people in lou, 1897

BRIEF ACCT CENTER STREET C M E CHURCH IN LOU

Centre-street C M E Church, which is situated on Centre near Green street, is generally known as the historical church among the colored people of Lou.

In 1854 or 1855 the congregation was formed on Market between Eighth and Ninth streets, which met in the old church-house used by the white Methodists, April 16, 1855. W. S. Sprague, who was a black man, leased a lot on Eleventh between Chestnut and Madison streets to Edward Duncan, Austin Woolfolk, John Jack and himself (free men) to be used for a term of eighteen years without pay, for African Methodist Church purposes. The deed was acknowledged in the presence of Richard Byrds and Peter Booth by each one making his mark. As these men were all free there was some doubt about Mr. Sprague, and he was compelled to prove himself a free man before the matter was settled. A frame building was erected on the lot and services were conducted by Ben Gant, Peter Booth, Henry Tifft, Henry Scott, John Jackson and others.

This church was a free church, and the slave holders became somewhat alarmed and thought it unfair for their slaves to attend a church of this description. They set to work, and on April 16, 1856, bought a lot and built a church on the present site of Centre-street Church. The building was a one-story structure, the entrance in the alley which lies north of the present edifice, windows opened on Centre street and on the east side, the pews were ordinarily built with striped backs and the natural earth made the floor. A cash payment of $40 was made on the ground with three notes of $100 each. The trustees were all white men.

After some time the one-story church was torn away and the present building erected, with steps running from Centre street pavement to the entrance up stairs. The congregation was pastored by Father Green, Peter Booth, Henry Lytle and others. The church was made larger by an addition to the rear end. In 1850 the steps were removed and an entrance made from the inside to the second story.

In 1854 there was no appointment made to this church, and the Rev. Richmond Bridwell called on Rev. Thomas Bottomley, the white presiding elder, who informed him he could not provide for the white church and that he must look out for himself. Shortly after this Rev. Thomas James came to the city, as United States Marshal, and getting control of the men in the slave-nest, enrolled them as members, selecting Centre Street Church as a rendezvous for the wives and children of these men. This being a strong incentive for the leadership of the colored people his progress was quite rapid. At that time a representative of the A. M. E. Z. Church he prevented the discipline of this church and cut communications, etc., seeking shelter under her wings. There was one desiring voice—Mrs. Ann Davis—and this formed the basis for a long protracted law suit, known as the Watson and others vs. Peter Lewis, J. Burt, etc.

Rev. William F. Butler was the first Zion minister placed in charge of Centre-street Church, he remained two years and defended the church. The late Bishop W. H. Miles succeeded Rev. Butler as pastor, and Rev. W. T. Budde was assigned to the Fifteenth street church which was in course of erection, but resigned and formed an alliance with the M. E. Church (south) in the Ann Davis suit, which was a year later decided in favor of the M. E. Church. This left the Zion members at Centre street without a house to worship in.

This church is widely known, in which a great many meetings of various kinds have been held. The pulpit has been filled by some very able men, among whom might be mentioned, Dr. M. C. Pierce, J. W. Bell, J. R. Bell, E. B. Martin, Dr. J. J. Bowman, S. B. Wallace and Dr. C. H. Phillips. Rev. J. W. Luckett is the present pastor. The church has been recently beautified, refitted with new gas fixtures and presents a handsome and neat appearance.

In 1848 this church was known as the John Wesley Temple, Rev. Peter Booth was the pastor, assisted by C. Barber, Benj. Gant, Henry Henderson and B. Scott.
WEEDEN CONTRASTS WEALTH OF BLACKS IN LOU 1847 AND 1897

THE COLORED PEOPLE'S WEALTH FIFTY YEARS AGO AND AT PRESENT. RELIGIOUS STRENGTH, POPULATION, VOTE, LODGES, ETC.

Histories of all nations are exposed to print. In the last few years, quite a number of books have been published upon the condition, progress and achievements of the colored people. These works have been of a general nature, selecting and making sketches of colored women, men and institutions throughout the United States. From the introduction of slavery into this country, which was in 1619, gave it twenty negroes when they were emancipated. In 1870, the negro population was estimated at 3,000,000, which now exceeds 8,000,000. They have made rapid advancement. We have abler preachers than we did thirty years ago, more capable teachers, good drivers, skilled mechanics, engineers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, and men fitted for all sorts of public duties. In Louisville we have women and men following and filling various vocations, whose duties are as well discharged and whose capabilities are equal to those of equal opportunities. The education which our girls and boys are receiving is doing much to divert from them the roughness handed down by untutored mothers and fathers for which they were culpable. Breeding the colored people of this community will be more polished and refined attain greater success.

In 1847, there were 37 free colored people in the city. The amount of property on the Assessor's books for the colored people for that time was on $22,202, of which $2,000.00 was in real estate and $19,202 worth. In 1888, the colored population of the city was estimated at 16,000, four Methodists, and three Baptist churches, ninety-five tax-payers, forty paid taxes on improvements to the amount of $37,000. Fifty-five real estate which amounted to $14,410, total amount of property $211,712. Wash sprang owned twenty-eight houses and lots which were rated by the assessor at $11,572. The present population is put down at 49,162. 8,400 voters. 15,347 church members. 8,500 Sunday-school scholars. Twenty-three Baptist churches. Members over, proportion...
Louisville National Medical College—No doubt a good many people are
unaware that we have here in Louisville a college of this nature. The college is
located on Green between First and Second streets, and was purchased by the trustees
as a permanent place for the school. It is a large two-and-a-half-story brick building
and is well adapted for this purpose. The first session of the school was conducted in
the United Brothers' of Friendship Hall, Ninth and Magazine streets, in 1858, and
the first commencement was held in Centre-street Church which was witnessed by a
large audience. Six was the number of graduates who had previously studied medici-
ne in other colleges. The institution was incorporated by the Legislature in 1858
and properly recognized by the State authorities and throughout the country in com-
mun with other colleges of like character. Forty-three persons, including the class of
1890, have graduated from this college, representing twelve States and the West Indies.
To Dr. Henry Pitabutler is due much credit for the establishment and success of this
school.

Prof. Frank L. Williams is thirty-three years old. He entered the public
schools in 1873 and passed through them within a few months of completion of the
course. He attended a Normal school in Indiana where he did his first teaching. He
afterward matriculated at Berea College where he graduated with the highest honors
from the classical course. He has since been teacher, Y. M. C. A. secretary and insti-
tute instructor for Kentucky. He takes much delight in conducting institutes and is a
capable man for this task. He has a bright future, and as a young man can, if he will,
become a leader for the young men of the city.
Brownstown—This settlement was located on Second Street between Magnolia and Shipp streets, which is now a fashionable neighborhood of the city. The town received its name from a man by the name of Brown, who was among the first to settle there and who was considered a leader. The frame houses were not modern in build, but afforded a comfortable place in which to live. Mr. Brown furnished the people in the neighborhood with water drawn in an old-fashioned well. There were about 300 inhabitants in the town and two churches: the Baptist, pastored by Rev. J. W. O. Oldham, and the A. M. E. Z. Methodist, which was bought June 24, 1874, by Rev. J. W. Washington, who was pastor. Mr. Julius Stege's residence is also located on this lot. The property is now owned by the Smoketown and Baptist Towns. The money invested faded away and was lost. There yet remain five families who, by some means, hold on to their claims. Certainly this was the most valuable property the colored people had claims on since the war in a settlement.

Prof. A. E. Meyzeek, Lou educator

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Prof. A. E. Meyzeek is a new acquisition to the educational interest of our people. He came to Louisville in 1880 from Terre Haute, Ind., where he was for six years principal of the Fourteenth District School. He visited Louisville before as the representative of the United States Publishing Company, being the only colored man on the road for work in the county teacher's institutes.

He was offered a position in our schools, and was assigned to the principalship of the Eastern Colored School. After remaining there one year, he was transferred to the Western, and later to the Eastern Colored School, where he remained two years with credit. He was given charge of the Central High School, which position he filled very acceptably for three years. While principal of this school, he organized a separate and distinct department of work—established a working reference library, at a cost of $500, and also improved the laboratory and machinery. It is true of his work. He was afterward made principal of the Eastern School District, where he is doing good service.

Mr. Meyzeek was educated in the mixed schools of Indiana and Ohio, graduating at Terre Haute, and later finished his scholastic career in the Indiana State Normal College. He read law in the office of Lamb, Senator, and Sr. Smith, and educated himself for a lawyer, but finished his vocation in the schools. He has been prominent and actively engaged in affairs pertaining to his people, and is a man of high standing, having advanced to the 320 degree.
Weeden's Hist Col People of Lou, 1897

There is much speculation regarding the Negro's future in this country. Many conflicting reports have been advanced, some contending that we are growing better and others announce us worse. That we are improving there is little difference of opinion. Our advancement for thirty-two years is a testimonial of this fact. If the Negro problem is to be solved, it must be accomplished by the Negroes themselves. We admit there are sins of omission and commission in our ranks, and that we are subject to alluring influences as others. We must acknowledge that we have a duty to perform, the performance of which calls forth the efforts of every intelligent woman and man of our race. The proper regard and appreciation of one another is an important factor in our behalf. A race divided against itself distrust, deceitfulness, bigotry, selfishness, "I know it all" striving to keep one another from advancing educationally and financially, and if I can't lead you shame, and generally disturbing and forestalling another's progress—have greatly marred our onward march. So long these evil characteristics exist among us, so long will we be ostracized, maligned, and ill-treated by our brother Caucasian.

The Negro wants the support of the whites of this country, and if our interests and progress are greatly affected, demoralized, effaced and debased on the account of politics we ought not hesitate to step down and out.

While we refrain from discussing politics, we are well aware that the franchise given to our race was not made as a binding obligation of our vote, but it was given to us in good faith for the purpose of having us take proper care of our interests in this country. We are all American citizens.

Detained as captives and enslaved nearly two and a half centuries, without experience as citizens, many disadvantages confront us. Therefore, we stand in need of all political parties of the people of the United States. Our preachers are doing much to stimulate our people through their pulpits, and it would be more useful for them to double their efforts in this particular. We are sorry it is true that too little interest is manifested in the cause of the Negro by a large portion of our teachers, and especially on the part of the males who ought to be the very leaders. They should be identified with every movement or enterprise which would have a tendency to benefit the people. They come to our city seeking employment and should give effort and convenience to the church work and measures which would advance our people, they should take the front rank as the best informed of our race with their talent and time. We can not see how this would be an encroachment on the part of our teachers to be interested in the cause. We are quite sure it would not lower the dignity of the office nor detract from it, but would add honor, and much respectability would be extended from an unfortunate people. We trust that a better interest abler, and unceasing efforts will be made by our clergymen, educational leaders, and other representatives of the race to push on and forward the cause, for which we speak."
LEX BLACKS ORGANIZE TO HELP TAKE CASES INTO FED COURTS June 1871

c b king, 'antebellum free negroes as race leaders in ky & va during recon,' ma thesis, uk, 1949

In an effort to acquire the right to testify in the courts of Kentucky, black leaders in Lexington, James Turner, Henry Scroggins, and J. C. Jackson, "... founded the Fayette County Justice Association, which had as its object the aiding of colored people to carry their cases to the federal courts where they would be granted a fair hearing."

source: Lex Ky Statesman, June 16, 1871

BLACK LEADERS AT JAN 1866 LEX MEETING; FREE IN 1860

c b king, 'antebellum free negroes as race leaders in ky & va during recon,' ma thesis, uk, 1949

... the leaders of the first Negro mass meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, seven of the eleven mentioned in the newspaper account were listed as free in the Census of 1860. This meeting was held on January 9, 1866, in the First African Baptist Church for the purpose of expressing a choice for the agent of the Freemen's Bureau which was about to open an office in the Lexington area. Ferdinand Robinson was temporary chairman of the meeting until Henry King was chosen by acclamation and J. Henry Dixson appointed secretary. Robinson was listed as free in the census of 1860, and King had also acquired his freedom prior to 1865. A committee of three was appointed to make a choice, and
while this committee retired to deliberate, Henry Scroggins, a barber who had been free before the war, proposed that the meeting adopt resolutions stating loyalty to the state and nation, "that we are in favor of setting aside the prejudices of the past," and favoring universal amnesty and universal enfranchisement. The resolutions were adopted by the assembly after considerable debate in which Scroggins, John L. Tandy, Erasmus Wells, and W. A. Warfield, all free prior to 1860, were the major participants. Other men listed were Henry H. Britton, Thomas R. Jackson, Thomas DeS Tucker, and the Rev. James Monroe, pastor of the First African Baptist Church where the meeting was held. Most of these men were relatively well off financially and well thought of in the city. Britton, for example, was a barber who owned over a thousand dollars worth of real estate and lived in the exclusive neighborhood of Lexington on Mill Street near the old Gratz house.

When the committee had made its report for the choice of the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, Captain J. H. Johnson, the meeting adjourned. The appointment of their choice to the office was not so significant as was the fact that Negroes were beginning to take the initiative in deciding matters which were of concern to them.
Three months after the defeat of their party they held a colored state convention at the Second Methodist Church (colored) on Upper Street in Lexington. At least two Negro leaders were opposed to holding the convention at that time, for in October, before the convention met in November, Malcolm Ayers and Benjamin Tibbs of Danville published a circular repudiating the convention. They stated that they had no part in calling the convention, and gave as their reason that they did not think a convention at that time would do any good for the people of their race. 62

Despite such opposition plans were carried through for the holding of the convention, and Henry King of Lexington called the meeting to order on November 26, 1867. The permanent officers chosen were: W. F. Butler, of Jefferson County, president, Henry King, Gabriel Burdett, C. Clarke, Elisha Green and E. Wren, vice-presidents, R. T. W. James of Frankfort, secretary, Henry Scroggins of Lexington, corresponding secretary, and Bartlett Taylor, treasurer. Unfortunately it has been impossible to determine the backgrounds of many of these men. Elisha Green and Henry Scroggins were listed as free in the census of 1860, and William J.
Simmons, in a biographical sketch of Barlett Taylor, states that his freedom was purchased in 1840. Whether the other leaders at the convention had experienced freedom or not, some of them had certainly acquired a considerable amount of political adeptness by the time of this convention. Parts of W. F. Butler's opening address give evidence of this fact.

First we had the cartridge box, now we want the ballot box, and soon we'll get the jury box. Thus we go boxing our way along. I don't mean with our fists but by standing up and demanding our rights. We went out and fought the battles of our country, and gained our liberties, but we were left without means of protecting ourselves in the employment of that liberty. We need and must have the ballot for that purpose. I stand here for universal suffrage for rebels as well as black men. I am not afraid of rebels voting if you give us the same weapon of defense.

Butler went on to say that the future of the country depended not so much on what party was in power as it did on removing all disabilities from the people in exercising their rights. Showing that he was far from being the tool of the white Republicans, he said that "if Jeff Davis were pardoned tomorrow I would sooner vote for him for President than for Vorhees, Vallandingham, or Pendleton," because, "we don't want any half-hearted, rotten-at-the-core Republican conservative," who would
When he got to the subject of social equality between the two races, Butler declared with obvious truth that

...we don't need their social equality doctrine, because...the white folks have kindly managed it, so that we have every shade to choose from, from the deepest jet black to the purest white.... Allow me to say that the practice of social equality has not been on our side, but on the part of the whites, who in their dark and devious ways were not always able...to tell black from white. 73

Following Butler's speech a series of resolutions were presented and adopted by the convention requesting the right to testify in all courts in the commonwealth, and the right of suffrage, the right to receive fair treatment and decent accommodations on all common carriers, and the continuance of the Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky until such time as the laws of the state should be revised as to make its presence unnecessary.

Then the convention adjourned. In addition to advising the Negroes to abandon their political organizations for their own good, the Lexington Observer and Reporter commented: "In justice to those composing this convention we ought to say, that their personal behavior was in the highest degree orderly, sober and decorous." 75
For their convention of 1870 the Negroes requested the use of the chambers of the House of Representatives, but the request was referred to the committee on public offices where it died. Nevertheless, the convention was held in Frankfort on February 23, 1870, with H. J. Young of Louisville as President and W. H. Lawson of Louisville as Secretary. Both of these men were listed as free in the census of 1860. In anticipation of the official announcement that the Fifteenth Amendment had been ratified, the Negroes of the convention adopted a series of resolutions expressing their gratitude to the "statesmen, warriors, and patriots" who had "upheld the Federal Government and made it indeed republican in form," guaranteeing to Negroes for all time "the blessings of civil and religious liberty." Recognizing that the Republican party had bestowed these blessings upon them the convention resolved to support the Republican party, the "instrument of Providence for the attainment of the blessings and privileges they now enjoyed."

To emphasize the proscriptive policy exercised against Negroes by the state Democratic party, resolutions were passed enumerating the various ways in which the Democrats had discriminated against and stigmatized the Negroes of Kentucky. Then there was a final plea...
Despite this dispute the majority of the Negroes were anxious to exercise their newly granted right of suffrage in the 1870 elections, and they did so in the primaries of April of that Year. Some of them resisted when they found that no representatives of their race were on the ballots, but in most cases they followed the lead of their "straight-haired-brethren" and voted Republican. In Paris a colored political rally was held in the local Baptist Church, presided over by Henry Hastings, at which the Negroes were exhorted to vote Republican by both white and black orators. }
for the Republicans, was one of the speakers, and he was described as a "consequential looking darkie" who was faultlessly dressed and who misused a lot of big words. He told his audience that they knew how to shoot during the war and that there was no excuse for anyone of them to vote wrong now. One rather discerning member of the meeting commented: "Oh, yes, our votes is all they want. Never one word said about giving us office."  

Negroes did vote in the August county elections despite the use of various subterfuges to keep their vote at a minimum and make it as ineffective as possible.  

Lexington had secured a change in its charter to move forward the election date to February—the Fifteenth Amendment was not proclaimed until March 30—and to extend the terms of offices to three years, thus guaranteeing white rule for at least that period.  

In Paris the first three Negroes to cast their votes were Albert Falkner, Mose Williams, and Levi Todd. A barricade was erected to separate the white voters from the black. When the elections were over, the
ACTIVITIES OF BLACKS IN 1870 ELECTIONS

Republicans, with their augmented Negro support, had gone down to defeat again. If there was chicanery of any kind involved in the elections, there is little to indicate it in newspaper reports, and surprisingly enough there appears to have been little violence in connection with the campaigns or the voting. In Lexington there was a riot following the elections in which William Landers, a white policeman, was killed, and Claude Harvey and R. Johnson were arrested on suspicion for his murder.

Throughout 1871 the major concern of the blacks was to secure protection from the Klan and other self-appointed law enforcement bands. Numerous cases of lynchings were reported in the press. The outcome of one Negro meeting of protest held in Lexington was that Henry King, J. C. Jackson, and Thomas R. Jackson were sent to present the meeting's resolutions of protest to Governor Stevenson, and through him to the legislature. At a similar gathering a few weeks later, James Turner, J. C. Jackson, and Henry Scroggins, all free prior to 1860, were appointed to present another resolution of protest to a meeting of white farmers in the county who were likewise interested in preserving law and order.
In March, 1872, the Republican state convention was held, and for the first time Negroes were present as delegates. Prominent Negroes in the debates and proceedings were George Scroggins of Fayette County, Jeff Porter of Bourbon County, and George A. Griffith of Campbell County. Five of the twenty-three delegates from Bourbon County were Negroes. At least two of the Negro leaders, George Scroggins and Jeff Porter, had experienced freedom prior to 1860.

From the point of view of the colored voters of the state, the most important issue at the convention was equal representation for their race on the Republican ticket. Negroes held some 42,000 of the Republican votes and they felt that they were entitled to representation. Scroggins and Griffith spoke prevently on this point, but they were opposed by a number of white speakers, notably General John W. Finnel. Finally a nebulous compromise proposal was adopted to pacify both sides and retain a semblance of harmony within the party, but the issue was not settled and caused strife all during the campaign.
p. 52/ King says that during the campaign of 1872 a Republican meeting was held in Lexington, during which "... Gabriel Burdett, the colored Republican elector for the state, gave his reasons for supporting Grant instead of Greeley."

footnote says: "Burdett, it should be noted, was slave /sic/ until the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified." source: Lex Ky Statesman, July 10, 1872

Throughout the 1870's and 1880's Negroes were candidates for offices on the Republican ticket, but only in a few cases were they elected even for minor offices. J. M. Porter, who ran for constable in 1873, was the first Negro candidate for office in the Paris district, and his chances for election were destroyed when the white Republicans refused to support him and put up a candidate of their own. Scott Harding, colored, was likewise unsuccessful in his race for county jailer in Logan County.

The failure of the white Republicans to support Negro candidates in the past and their seeming
indisposition to support them in the future caused a great deal of bad feeling within the Republican party in the state and local conventions of 1874. At a Negro party caucus, the Rev. J. B. Stansberry, described as the Negro Republican leader in Fayette and as intellectually equal to any Republican in the county, stated that their number entitled them to representation and that unless they received their full share of the offices the ticket would be defeated. At a local convention held in Lexington, presided over by J. C. Jackson, a debate was held between Erasmus Wells and a man named Grimes, both of whom represented the "go slow; it's too soon" policy, and Stansberry and Henry King, who presented the radical Negro viewpoint. At the conclusion of the meeting a vote was taken, the results of which indicated that the majority of the Negroes present favored electing Negroes to public office.
While the dispute within the party raged throughout the state, with color not always determining sides as is indicated in the above, an incident took place in Lexington which will serve to illustrate the ins and outs of the fight. Sometime in March, Henry Scroggins announced as Republican candidate for jailer. The white Republicans realized that the Negroes were irate and would demand recognition, but they hoped to pacify them by nominating a Negro for corner, thus saving the higher office for some white political worthy.

When the Republicans met in convention to nominate their candidates, J. C. Jackson rose and nominated Henry Scroggins, citing examples of Scroggins' service to his party, his race, and his community.

Scroggins was deputy sheriff at the time and very popular with the Negroes; but Samuel Breckinridge, spokesman for the whites, promptly opposed the nomination. In their opposition, the whites had recruited Erasmus Wells to their side and he too made a speech against Scroggins insisting that it was too soon for the Negroes to run. Several other white candidates were nominated to oppose Scroggins, but in the voting which followed Scroggins led on the first three ballots, which were voice votes. Then it was decided that a written ballot should be used, and the flash of insight which led to that decision gave the
nomination to the white candidate. Many of the Negro electors could neither read nor write, and when they asked their white neighbors to write Scroggins name on the ballots for them, the whites tricked them and wrote in the name of the white candidate. When the Negroes discovered the chicanery, they were irate. In an effort to appease them the whites nominated and supported Horace P. Gains, colored, for assessor, and though he became the candidate this action did little to soothe the ruffled feelings of the Negroes. In an anonymous letter to a newspaper, one of their number probably stated the feelings of the majority of his race when he wrote: "The Republican Convention is over. The battle fought. The victory lost. The movement of the colored men of the city and county has been defeated; their candidates sacrificed."¹²⁴

A few days later a number of prominent Negroes of Lexington promised Scroggins their support if he would back the party and run as an independent, but Scroggins thanked them and refused. He showed himself a good party man, and in a letter to the press, asked all Negroes to forget the strife of the past and unite to "move on to victory over a common foe," the Democratic nominees.¹²⁵
Another minister who was active in the General Association and in the founding of the State University was Elisha W. Green who was born in Bourbon County in 1828. It appears that he was the property of Walter Warder, a Baptist preacher, but sometime before 1860 he acquired his freedom, as he was listed in census of that year as free.
According to the census of 1860, Richard Sneethen was born in Virginia and was forty-six in that year. He owned personal property worth $200 and real estate valued at $1,500.

Source: 1860 Census

The First Baptist Church of Lexington, already mentioned, had an offshoot in 1862, owing to the ministry of the Rev. Frederick Braxton. A slave of R. J. Breckinridge, a Presbyterian minister of Lexington, Braxton was called in 1854 by the First Negro Baptist Church to succeed London Ferrill as minister. In an account of this happening William Pratt wrote: "Braxton was present and accepted the call. I think he is a sensible and good Negro." In 1862, because of a political dispute within the congregation, Braxton and five hundred of his parishioners took their letters and left the First Baptist Church to found the Independent Colored Baptist Church.
On August 20, 1863, Braxton purchased from John DeGaris a lot for a proposed church building. The property had been acquired by DeGaris from the heirs of Robert S. Todd, one of whom was Abraham Lincoln.

No doubt Lincoln's name, signed by proxy, on the deed made the transaction seem very acceptable to Braxton and the congregation for which he acted. 

Apparently the building which Braxton purchased was none too well preserved, for while he was preaching the funeral sermon of one of his parishioners, the floor gave way and several members of the congregation were killed and many injured.

Sometime between 1854 and 1860, Braxton acquired his freedom, since he was listed as free in the census of 1860.

Some idea of the effect which the meetings of the General Association of Colored Baptists had on the Negroes of the state may be gained from newspaper accounts of the number of people who attended their yearly assemblies. In July, 1872, two trains, "besides a dozen of hacks, carriages, buggies and other vehicles," were used to transport the Lexington delegates to the meeting in Winchester. Certainly the assemblies were of as much value to the social life of Negroes as they were to their religious life.
The colored Methodists in Lexington first organized in 1820 when they secured the use of a stable from a Mr. Wilkins. About 1830 they purchased the property they had been using and erected a brick church. At the close of the war the church withdrew from the Conference of the Methodist Church South and gained admittance to the African Methodist Episcopal Conference of Ohio. Leaders in this church were James Turner, a trustee for thirteen years, and the Rev. J. D. Stansberry, who was pastor for 1872 to 1874.54

In October, 1868, the Lexington Observer and Reporter reported that there was movement under way in the state to form the colored preachers of the Methodist Church South into their own conference "and set them up in business for themselves."55 In October, 1869, this plan was accomplished, and Negro elders, and Bishops were chosen.56
The Negro Presbyterians in Kentucky apparently remained an integral part of the white churches until a much later period than did the colored brethren of other denominations. In 1867 William Miller, a Negro who aspired to be "a candidate for the gospel ministry" under the care of the west Lexington Presbytery, was given a collection taken at the Presbytery's annual meeting to help defray his expenses. It was also recorded in the minutes of the meeting that, "the Presbytery expresses its earnest desire that all colored men desirous of entering the ministry will make their connection with us." At the meeting of the next year the following resolution was adopted:

All the churches under the care of this Presbytery were directed to take up a collection before the first of June next for the support of W. Miller (colored man), a candidate for the ministry under our care and send the same to the chairman...of the committee superintending his education.

In the 1870's, when the Baptists, Methodists, and Christians all had at least one separate church for Negroes in Lexington, the Presbyterians had no separate church.
James Turner, a prominent free Negro in the ante-bellum as well as the post-bellum period, interested the American Missionary Society in the school, and that organization sent six white teachers to Lexington. These teachers remained until 1874, and during their stay a building was erected on Corral Street to furnish more adequate accommodations for the school.  

BRIEF BIOG C C VAUGHN

One Berea-trained Negro teacher and preacher who helped to educate his race was C. C. Vaughn. He was born a slave in Virginia around 1848, but in 1852 his master moved to Ohio and freed all his slaves. Vaughn managed to acquire the rudiments of learning between jobs, through the help of his cousin who had some knowledge of books. After serving a year in the Army, 1864-65, Vaughn entered Liber College in Jay County, Indiana, but owing to a shortage of money he had to drop out in 1867 before finishing his course. He had taught in Ohio for something less than a year when he was offered a job by the American Missionary Society to teach in Cynthiana, Kentucky. In two years time he had saved enough money to continue his education, and in 1870 he enrolled at Berea.
In April, 1869, there were

over 1,300 colored children of school age in Lexington,
and only one school for them. As the Negroes could
not raise the money required to build another school,
the Negro trustees, Henry Scroggins, James Turner,
Erasmus Wells, all listed as free in the census of 1860,
appointed James Turner as agent to solicit donations
from white citizens. In two months time enough
money had been raised to make a payment on a lot on
Upper Street, and plans were subscribed to pay for
the proposed building.

not until 1872 did the
city fathers of Lexington make any provision for giving
Negro education financial support. In that year the
mayor and councilmen decided by a seven to two vote to
appropriate $750 out of the taxes collected from Negro
taxpayers to be paid on the Upper Street property. An
additional $600 was to be used "for sustaining the
schools for the education of colored children."
Lexington was not nearly so generous, but it did take steps to help the Negroes help themselves with the problem. On January 4, 1874, a city ordinance was passed to the effect that the city would undertake to appoint and pay the salaries of teachers for three schools on the condition that the Negroes, through their school board, would provide the buildings and "furnish said buildings with proper furniture and apparatus for teaching, and keep the buildings in proper repair and properly warmed." The colored Advisory Board in this undertaking was composed of George Scroggins, Alfred Hardin, Henry Scroggins, Horace Gains, Samuel Williams.

Erasmus Wells, John Tandy, and James Turner. The three schoolhouses secured by the Board were located on Corral Street, Fourth Street, and Church "Alley." The expense to the city was estimated to be $250 per year, and it was anticipated that 1,500 children would receive the benefits of education under the plan.

A Democratic editor was quick to point out to the Negroes that it was a Democratic city administration which had passed the ordinance and that "one good turn merited another." The Negro Advisory Board sent a letter to the city council expressing the appreciation of the Negro
citizens of Lexington for the benevolent action of that body in passing the ordinance. The concluding paragraph of the letter was indicative of the faith which the Negroes had in education as a cure for the ill fortune which had plagued their race.

Being unwilling that our children should grow up in ignorance and experience the disadvantages under which we have labored, and are now laboring, we feel an interest, and earnestness, in this matter that we do not in any other, for upon this, in a great measure, our happiness, prosperity, and usefulness depend.47

Despite the good intentions of the Negroes and the meager support of the city, there were only two schools in operation by 1882, and both schools were badly overcrowded. The school on Church Street had three teachers to instruct 162 pupils, while the Fourth Street school had but two teachers for 105 students.48
One such person was Mary E. Britton, a native of Lexington, born of free parents in 1854. From 1871 to 1874 she attended Berea College, but did not graduate. She taught in the Lexington Negro school known as the Church Street School, wrote for a number of religious publications under the nom de plume "Leb," and was a doctor of sorts. She received her medical training at Battle Creek, Michigan, but it seems that she spent more time teaching and writing than she did practicing medicine.

Another Negro woman who pioneered as a teacher in Kentucky was Mrs. Cordelia A. Atwell. Before the war she taught in both private and public schools in Philadelphia, but in 1866 she moved to Louisville to teach and was one of the first teachers in the Negro high school established in that city. While in Louisville, she married the Rev. Joseph S. Atwell, an Episcopal clergyman, but she continued her educational work and was for a time principal of a parochial school in Petersburg, Virginia.
The first record found of a Negro bank actually in operation in Kentucky, aside from the branches of the Freedmen's Bank, was an account of the founding of the Bourbon Colored Mutual Saving and Loan Association. The Association established headquarters in Paris, Kentucky, and John Spears and Green Jackson was elected president and secretary respectively. 16

16 Paris Kentuckian Citizen, 4-27-1887

"The chief project and source of income were the annual fairs held from 1869 until 1907, when the Association was rechartered as the Agricultural and Mechanical Realty Company."

source: Interview with Dr. T.T. Wendell, sec of the realty assn.
The treasurer of the Association, James Turner, had been emancipated in 1841, and between that time and his death in March, 1885, he acquired a considerable amount of property in Lexington. He left $2,200 in cash, a grocery store on the corner of Vine and Upper streets, houses on Mill and Upper streets, and a considerable number of books.

Negroes in other sections of the state also held fairs. In September, 1872, "the colored Fair of Madison cleared some $300 despite the thin attendance." The Negroes of Nicholas and Bourbon Counties held fairs in 1872 and 1873. Of the 1872 fair the Paris True Kentuckian said: "There was a very good attendance, good order, and a better show than might have been expected."
Jackson was born a slave in 1848, but while he was still a child he and his family were freed. When he reached his majority, he invested his savings in a small fruit and confectionary store in Lexington, and he was so successful in this enterprise that when the Freedmen's Bank opened a branch in Lexington he was chosen as teller. Shortly thereafter he was promoted to cashier and transferred to the Little Rock, Arkansas, branch, where he served until 1874, when the bank failed.

For the next seven years Jackson held a United States government job as causer in Lexington. For a time he edited a newspaper, the American Citizen, but sold it to go into partnership with Will Porter, an undertaker from Cincinnati. As the first Negro undertakers in Lexington, Jackson and Porter started out cautiously on a small scale with one funeral car and a team of horses. A few years later Jackson bought out Porter and began to expand the business by erecting a new building and opening a livery stable. It was the largest and one of the best equipped livery stables in Lexington.
Henry Alexander was a mulatto who was born in Mason County, Kentucky. When he was twenty-one he purchased his freedom and became a storekeeper and grain merchant in Mayslick. He must have been successful in his business dealings, for in 1846 he sent two of his daughters to Philadelphia to be educated, and he later sent three of his other children to Oberlin College in Ohio. Several of the children returned to Kentucky to teach during the readjustment period, and one of them, Marie Ann, taught in Covington, Kentucky before the war. 35
The Knights of Labor should not be classed with other secret societies and organizations, even though it did have a ritual to attract members. It was primarily an organization for workingmen, and it is interesting that in Lexington in 1887, 300 of the total membership of 800 were Negroes. Little information on Negro activity in labor organizations is available.

FACTS OF THOMAS BURTON'S EARLY LIFE

thos w burton, what experience has taught me, 1910

p 15/ Born May 4, 1860, Madison Co, Ky, near Tates Creek and Shallow Ford. His parents were slaves. His father's name was Edward, his mother's Eliza. His father died when Thomas was 5, his mother when he was 9. /p 16/ He was the last of 15 children. His parents had no education, though his mother knew the alphabet and taught it to Thomas. His mother also took Thomas to church at the Shallow Ford meeting house, known as Mt. Gilead. /p 17/ Thomas said he remembered hearing the older folks whisper of the hope for freedom while a child.
The old log-cabin in which I was born consisted of two rooms; one down, and the other up. We had to go up in the loft by means of a wooden ladder. In the lower room was a large fireplace which would easily heat the two rooms. One large rock, three by six feet, was placed in front of the fire for a hearth. On this big rock mother would do a great deal of the cooking by pulling the big coals out of the fireplace and placing them under the skillets, and the embers on the lids. The boils and stews would be cooked in pots and kettles, which hung over the fire on racks and tripods. Two windows were in this cabin; one in the lower room, and the other above. There were two doors, both below; one on each side of the house.

After the death of my mother, in 1869, I still remained at the old homestead until I was sixteen years of age, working for what I could eat and wear. I did not know what it was to work for wages until I left the place to stay. While on the place I learned to do all kinds of house and farm work. I certainly appreciate the fact that I can do all of these things even to-day. The man who can do these things is somewhat independent, even though he may not have a dollar. There were no schools in that neighborhood for colored children, and of course I had no chance to get an education at that time.
THOS BURTON DESCRIBES CORN SHUCKINGS IN MADISON CO AFTER C W

thos w burton, what experience has taught me, 1910

thos w burton, what experience has taught me, 1910

Later on, after the fear of the Ku Klux had somewhat subsided, there was great enjoyment at corn-shucking in the fall of the year by the light of the moon. From twenty-five to thirty neighbors would enter a corn field and husk it out in a single night. After the task was done a big feast would follow. People took such pride in those days in helping one another, and in return their efforts were appreciated.

THOS BURTON BECAME CURIOUS ABOUT OUTER WORLD AT AGE 16 (1876)

thos w burton, what experience has taught me, 1910

When I was about the age of sixteen years I felt as though I ought to be earning some pocket change, so as to be like some of the rest of the boys with whom I was associating. And, too, like most boys at that age who are inexperienced, I wanted to leave the plantation so as to see more of the world and its doings, but did not know exactly how to go about it to get away. So one day I made the old boss mad, and instead of him telling me to leave, he simply gave me a good thrashing and told me to go to work. Delighted I was to obey. I shall never forget my early training on the farm. Farming in those days was somewhat rude, and seemed to those who took a part that they were making a great headway.
During the time of hay harvest several men were put in the field with a scythe each, who would cut the hay. Another crew of men would follow these with two-tine wooden pitchforks, the timber of which was either dogwood, beech, or black hickory. These pitchforks were prized very highly and could stand the test of strain really better than our most modern ones. The men would take these forks and windrow the hay. After this was done they would put it into shocks, and then, by means of an ox-cart, would haul it near the edge of the meadow, and there put it into stacks.

When it came to the cutting of wheat, rye, oats, and barley, it was done by means of cradles. The man who could carry the cradle day after day, all through harvest, was serviceable to the community in which he lived, as also were those who could handle the scythe skillfully. Few men can handle a scythe successfully so as to make each stroke count while cutting hay or grass. When the rye, oats, barley, and wheat crops were not so very large, and the men pretty well up with their work, they would thrash out the grain by means of hickory sapplings. These sapplings were cut in lengths from six to eight feet; the small branches, of course, were trimmed off so as to be easily manipulated, and about eighteen inches from the larger end the sapplings were made flexible by pounding on them with a heavy hammer or something of the kind. A portion of the soil was scraped away so as to resemble a cock-pit. On the floor of this was spread a large sheet or canvas. The sheaves of the grain were carefully placed one by the other, the heads of which were pointing toward the center of the pit. The men would pound on the heads of the sheaves with these sapplings until the grain was thoroughly threshed out. At the same time the straw was being put into a rick. To separate the grain from the chaff, the grain was scooped up and poured into the hopper of a large instrument known as a fan, with a man at the crank. Those who had large crops, in order to thrash the grain, would make a ring resembling a circus ring; it was prepared just as the above; but in this ring horses were placed, with boys on their backs. I had to ride in one of those rings till I was sick of it.
T BURTON'S FIRST JOB, FARM LABORER, 1876, WAGE

Thos W Burton, what experience has taught me, 1910

P 37/ Hired himself as a farm laborer, first job, age 16, 1876, and was paid $4 per month for 1 yr. Says he wasted most of his money and got drunk.

THOS BURTON HIRES AS A FARM LABORER FOR 3 YRS, AGE 18-20

Thos W Burton, what experience has taught me, 1910

P 41/ After being led by those who were equally unfortunate as myself, for a number of months, I thought that I would get me another job. So another man hired me for the sum of eight dollars per month, and I worked for him for that price three consecutive years as a farm hand, and thought at the time that I was getting pretty fair wages; I am sure that I was doing a man's work, and felt myself much of a man physically.

At the close of each year I worked for that man I saved the better part of my earnings, as I did not need many clothes while I was working on a farm. My every-day apparel had so many patches about them that one could not tell the original pattern, especially in the fall of the year, during corn-cutting season. Then there seemed to have come over me another state of mind: to use up my money as fast as I earned it; it didn't matter at what I was working, for I would take my little drink occasionally when I was not on duty, until I began to move in a better circle of society, when I became spiritually-minded and recognized the fact, if I lived in that thought, it was to be in harmony and peace. I began to realize that God stood ready always to receive those who were willing to come to Him and be accepted as His children. And that man forgets, but God never does.
So early in the spring of 1880 I was converted to God, and was baptized in Burnum's Pond, Richmond, Ky., the third Sunday in June of that year, by the Rev. Madison Campbell. After that I started out with a higher realization and to open myself more fully to the divine inflow, so much so that I could clearly see my insignificance as a man. The young lady with whom I was keeping company was a graduate from the high school, and I could not read nor write. I began to think that was an awful thing, and so it was. So I said to the people with whom I was living that I was going to quit drinking, and save up my money and go to school and get an education, so as to be like other young men with whom I was then associating. Quite a few of those who were not educated themselves would say to me, “Tom, I hear you are going to school!” And when I would answer in the affirmative they would say: “You had better go to work and pay your debts, and get yourself some clothes, because you are too old a man to be going to school. You'll never learn nothing.” But I had my mind made up to go to school and let drink alone, and nothing was going to stop me but sickness or death. So I started out to fulfill part of my advice in the way of paying my debts, but had no time to save money sufficient to buy clothes before winter term opened at Berea College, Kentucky, for that was a place I had been anxious to go to for many years, and now was my real opportunity.

It was during the month of January, 1881, I started for Berea, a distance of fifteen miles from Richmond, Ky., which I was then claiming as my home. No railroad connected the two places at that time, nothing but a hack line, which was run by Mr. Van Winkle, who lived in Berea. The fare was only seventy-five cents one way, but I thought I could not afford to pay that; so I started out the Big Hill Pike, walking, wearing a blue jeans suit, slouch hat, and stocky boots. The legs of my pantaloons were so small that I could not wear them on the outside of my big boots, therefore I just simply stuffed them within and went on. A carpet bag on my back, containing a few articles, and nine dollars and seventy-five cents in my pocket, I reached Berea College at nightfall the same day I started. After resting over night, I went along the next morning with a lot of other boys to the treasurer's office to matriculate for the winter term.

At that time a student could work at the college, so as to pay a part of his schooling. At Howard Hall, a dormitory for the boys, was a mess club run by those who were not able to board at the Ladies' Hall, the regular boarding place. There were twenty-five students at this mess club waiting for a cook. After I matriculated in part, and returned to the hall, some one asked me if I could cook. "Why, sure thing," I remarked. I took the job and cooked for the boys that whole term, went to school, and did my own laundring on Saturdays. I entered the primary department and learned to write a letter, and received an answer to it that winter for the first time in my life. May 4th of that year (1881) I was twenty-one years of age, and felt myself very important because I could read and write and was of age.
"After Commencement of that year I went into the harvest field and did anything my hands could find to do; so when fall term opened I was there to hear the first stroke of the old college bell. I then entered the intermediate department and remained in school the fall and winter terms, but had to go to work the spring term. I left with the determination to make money enough so as to return in the fall and remain in school the whole nine months."

I then entered the intermediate department and remained in school the fall and winter terms, but had to go to work the spring term. I left with the determination to make money enough so as to return in the fall and remain in school the whole nine months. I found my way to Maysville, Ky., and there I worked for a contractor by the name of Mr. Tom Curr. He put me to digging sewers with a lot of other men, and from that to shoveling coal from the barges on the Ohio River. Thinking, perhaps, that I could make more clear money as a roustabout on the river, I got me a job as roustabout on the Morning Mail, a boat then running between Maysville and Cincinnati. That job reminded me more of slavery than any I had met since the real days of slavery, but I thought I could stand anything physically that any other man could. I worked with a new determination...
THOS BURTON RETURNED TO BEREAA FOR 3RD YR; HAD TO LEAVE FOR WORK

... and returned to Berea that fall and entered the normal preparatory department, but had to leave again the following spring term because my money ran short. I found by this time that the farther advanced I got the more money it took to keep me in school.

That year there was a railroad to be built from Winchester, Ky., down to and across the Kentucky River; up through Shear's Bottom, past the Red House, to Richmond; then to Berea, where there never was a railroad before; and from there to Round Stone, in the mountains. I got me a job on this road as steel driver and helped put through three tunnels, including that one in Berea. I worked at this job six months without stopping for school this time.

Road, driving steel, associated with rough fellows from all parts of the country, I became rough too, to a certain extent, in order to hold my own.

Nearly every man, and boy, too, you saw would either have an ugly-looking knife or a revolver, and they did not carry them for fun. After working there a while, and after seeing and experiencing a few things, I started out with one revolver; but as time went on and I became a little more experienced in that business I carried a pistol on each hip, and a free-for-all fight was no more than a game of baseball would be to a civilized crowd. An officer was in very poor business to interfere with us unless he caught us unawares. So when I returned to school the following winter I took my pistols along, of course, with my reputation as a "scraper."

THOS BURTON TALKS OF HAVING GUNS AT BEREAA MID 1880S

There was a white man who lived in the village near the school, and who, too, was a former classmate of mine. He turned out to be a desperado, and at times he was a terror to the town and school. His brother and another student had a misunderstanding one day. The brother of the desperado told his side of the affair to suit himself, and without investigating the matter the desperado said he was going to kill the student at first sight; and he meant it. The student did not know the desperado, nor did the desperado know the student. And, too, the student was studying for the ministry. There were three white merchants who heard of the affair and offered the student revolvers; but he refused them, saying, "I will trust in the Lord." With an oath they said, "You had better trust in these pistols, because that man means to kill when he says he is going to kill." Some one told the student to ask counsel of me concerning the matter. By that time the student was getting somewhat worked up over the matter. So on Saturday afternoon the student came to see me. After he had related the affair, I did not say a word, but, knowing the desperado as I did, turned to my trunk, took out one of my best pistols (for I had three), well loaded, handed it to him, and went on, and would not listen to any argument. With reluctance he took the pistol home. Just before Sunday-school time the next morning (for we all had to go to Sunday-school) the student said there came a peculiar feeling over him, such as he had never felt before; and that something seemed to say to him, "You had bet-

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ter put that pistol up your coat sleeve when you start for Sunday-school this morning, because you are going to meet your antagonist." The college bell began to peal for Sunday-school; the student could no longer remain in the house, and without realizing what he was doing he shoved the handle of the pistol up his sleeve, manipulating the muzzle with the fingers, and started off for Sunday-school. About one hundred yards away from the house he noticed two persons coming towards him riding double on horseback, and when they came near him he recognized the desperado's brother. As soon as the boy saw him he shouted, "There he is!" The desperado then, with an oath, began to make his usual hip movement; but it was too late, the student was too quick for him. When the student saw the han-

dle of the desperado's pistol he pointed my pistol in the desperado's face and said: "I dare you to move a muscle. If you do, I will shoot the top of your head off." And he meant what he said.

After I had entered the college preparatory department I began to think seriously as to what my future mission should be, and in order to be successful in life I must have God's help. So I asked God to reveal to me what He would like to have me do. There was a day set apart by the county superintendent of schools for all those who wished to teach school to go to Richmond, Ky., and take the examination. I availed myself of the opportunity and took the examination, and received a certificate. I taught the school at Waco, Ky., in 1885 and 1886, but powders, pills, and the sciences of medicine and surgery kept haunting me.
THOS BURTON WENT TO INDIANAPOLIS 1889 TO STUDY MEDICINE

Thos w Burton, what experience has taught me, 1910

I went to the city of Indianapolis, Ind., in 1889 and went under the instructions of Dr. William Chavis, as my preceptor. The winter of 1890-91 was spent in the Medical College of Indiana. The term of 1892 being spent in the Eclectic College of Physicians and Surgeons, from which I graduated on March 24, 1892. I had to partly work my way through the Indianapolis schools by waiting table, working in lumber yard and in private families. Some of these families certainly made me toe the mark; so much so that at one place were two girls also working: one did the cooking and the other was the nurse; and, of course, I was second help.

Apr. 5, 1892, began practicing medicine in Springfield, Ohio.

SLAVE LIVING CONDITIONS, GREEN CO 1840s-50s; "THE CUSTOM OF THE TIMES" 6883

Robert Ball Anderson, from slavery to affluence, 1927

I was born in Green County, Kentucky, March 1, 1843, but a short distance from the little postoffice of Haskingsville, eight miles from Greensburg, the county seat. The earliest impressions that I can now recall, are of the slave quarters on the old plantation. This was where the slaves had their cabins, little one room log huts, for the most part, with the slaves housed in these huts pretty much as pigs in a pen, one family to a room, and some times two or three. There were few beds, the slaves sleeping for the most part on the floors on a pile of straw or a shuck mattress. There were no chairs and what few tables there were, were made of packing boxes or slabs. There were no luxuries, no conveniences, and no privacy. These conditions were so, not because my master was especially cruel, for he was not. It was merely the custom of the times, when it was thought that the colored race needed no more care than a hog or cow, and got considerably less than a horse.
My mother had better quarters than the majority for she was a house servant, the cook for the masters family. She lived in a log cabin about twelve foot square. Here I lived with my mother and the other children until I was six years old.

My father belonged to a neighboring planter by the name of Alfred Anderson. The slaves, in those days, had no family name, but took the name of their master or owner. My father was known as Anderson's Bill, or Bill Anderson, more familiarly known as Uncle Billy. My master's name was Robert Ball. That gave me a family name of Ball, and because I became, very early in life, a favorite of the master, I was named Robert Ball after him.

My father, living on a neighboring plantation, was permitted to visit us twice a week so long as mother was with us, which was an altogether too short time. When I was but six years of age, my mother was sold to a slave trader and taken south to work in the sugar cane fields of Louisiana, and I never saw her again.

When mother was taken from us, Emma was a baby three years old. Silva, the oldest of the children, was fourteen, and she was a mother to the rest of us children. She took my mother's place in the kitchen as cook for my boss. Working under the direction of the boss's wife, or "Missis" as we called her, my sister bought provisions, cooked the meals, knitted and sewed for the plantation. She also made my boss's clothes.
ROBT ANDERSON DESCRIBES CROPS, LIVING CONDITIONS, WORK OF CHILDREN ON GREEN CO FARM, 1840s-1850s

Robt Ball Anderson, from slavery to affluence, 1927

They made thread from cotton or wool on a spinning wheel. His sister ran the spinning wheel and made cloth on a loom; her job was to cut out and make clothes for slaves and their owners. Silva did most of this work with cloth but other sisters of Robert helped her a little. Silva taught Robert to patch his own clothes, piece quilts, to braid foot mats out of corn shucks, and to make horse collars stuffed with corn shucks. In the kitchen, "A big log was laid across the back of the fireplace and another across the front, and the fire was built between these. In one side of the fire place the cut wood was piled to be kept dry by the fire until wanted for use. On the other side the pots and pans were piled." Robert's clothes were "a one piece dress or gown" much like a "gunny sack, with a hole cut in the bottom for me to stick my head thru, and the corners cut out for arm holes. We never wore underclothes, not even in the winter, and a boy was ten or twelve years old before he was given a pair of pants and a shirt to replace the sack garment. We never had more than one at a time, and when they had to be washed, we went naked until they had dried." Wore hand-me-downs. Clothes were of "coarse home spun linen" which had all the "scratch of woolen underwear." Says "... we were kept largely on a diet that left us hungry most of the time. It was only on rare occasions when the fall work was done that we were permitted to go hunting and bring in 'possum, rabbit, woodchuck,..." etc. Part of his work as a child included "carry the food from the kitchen to the table... I would some times shake the biscuit plate, or stump my toe and let a biscuit..."
The Missis "was not always a cruel taskmaster,..." /p 19/ The current Missis, the third wife of old Col Robert Ball, could be quite mean in comparison with the colonel. "While he ruled us by kindness, the Mistress ruled by force. I hated her as I would a rattler, and would spend many hours every day making plans as to how I could get the best of /p 20/ her without having to take a whipping for it." Robert thought she drank too much, though he was not sure of it. She often had "spells and whenever she did, some of us always suffered...." When the old colonel died, his son Robert took over and was kind to the slaves.

/p 32/ Anderson said that overseers varied in their treatment of slaves, but the overseer at the Anderson plantation was kind enough. /p 35/ Said "My old master did not believe in whippings, and did not do it himself and would not let anyone else do it if he could prevent it. Our whippings came when he was not present." /p 36-39/ Anderson described a very bad whipping by his mistress. /p 39/ At the next attempt to whip Anderson by his mistress he said he "... jerked it /the whip/ from her hand.... I used that whip on her, exerting all my strength. /p 40/ She did not tell her husband what happened, but demanded that Robert be sold, which her husband refused/

BLACK PREACHERS, RELIGIOUS SERVICES, GREEN CO 1840-50s

The colored race is, as a whole, a very religious people. We people on the plantation had our church services the same as the white folks. We did not always have a church to hold our services in, but we usually had a preacher, and sometimes white preachers would hold services for us, to which special services all the colored folks were invited.

Our preachers were usually plantation folks just like the rest of us. Some man who had a little education and had been taught some thing about the Bible, would be our preacher. The colored folks had their own code of religion, not nearly so complicated as the white man's religion, but more closely observed. We would gather out in the open on summer nights, gather around a big bonfire, to keep the mosquitoes away, and listen to our preachers preach sometimes half the night. There would be singing and testifying and shouting. Usually when we had these meet-
an religion of witch doctors and fear. The gentler side of religion as typified by Christ in his compassion for the sick, the poor, and the little children, was not known in the religion of those days. The white people knew nothing of that kind of religion and it is not to be wondered at that the colored race took up the same kind of religion that was taught by the masters. Sternness and inflexibility were the portions taught. Condemnation was the big theme, but the forgiveness was taught only as a process of escaping hell fire. Love and charity were virtues to be taught by the "mammies" and not by the preachers.

The colored people are naturally musical. They have a peculiar music of their own, which is largely a process of rhythm, rather than the written music. Their music is largely, or was, of a minor strain, a sort of rhythmical chant. It had to do largely with religion and the words adopted to their quaint melodies were largely of a religious nature. The stories of the Bible were placed into words that would fit the music already used by the colored people. While singing these songs, the singers and the entire congregation kept time to the music by the swaying of their bodies, or by the patting of the foot or hand. Practically all of their songs were accompanied by a motion of some kind.

The slaves knew nothing about music from the standpoint of a musician, but all of them could sing and keep time to music, improvise extra little parts to a melody already known, or make up melodies of their own. They liked the weird and mysterious in religion and wove this feeling into the melodies that were improvised as a means of expressing their feelings. Many of the negroes could play string instruments, and accompany themselves on the banjo and guitar. The banjo was a popular instrument with the white people, and naturally became a popular instrument likewise with the colored race. There were no pianos in those days, very few violins, and only an occasional spinnet, or dulcimer. The banjo was the most common instrument and the slaves learned to make their own banjos, and occasionally one would be given to one of the slaves that showed exceptional ability, as a mark of esteem, or as a special favor of some kind. These were very few, and for the most part the melody in the heart of the plantation slaves had to find expression in song.

The melodies improvised by the slaves were made to fit particular purposes. The crooning lullaby of the "colored mammy" lulled many a little white child to sleep, and the
stady rhythm of the marching songs carried many a slave across the tobacco and hemp fields ahead of a slave driving overseer, when their tired muscles refused to budge for any other stimulent than that of the rhythm song, while the wierd and mysterious music of the religious ceremonies moved old and young alike in a frenzy of religious fervor.

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We, on the plantations, had our social gatherings and social functions just as our white masters had. Ofttimes when the white folks had a social gathering, a party or ball, there was a provision for a similar gathering for the colored folks, or sometimes they were permitted to come and look on at the parties and balls.

We had occasional dances and parties in the evening, to which the colored people from several of the adjoining plantations were often asked. We danced some of the dances the white folks danced, the minuet, the reels, and other dances common in those days, but we liked better the dances of our own particular race, in which we tried to express in motion the particular feelings within our own selves. These dances were individual dances, consisting of shuffling of the feet, and swinging of the arms and shoulders in a peculiar rhythm of time developed into what is known today as the Double Shuffle, Heel and Toe, Buck and Wing, Juba, etc. The slaves become proficient in such dances, and could play a tune with their feet, dancing largely to an inward music, a music that was felt, but not heard.

We also had religious dances, which were expressions of the wierd, the fantastic, the mysterious, that was felt in all our religious ceremonies.

At some of these social gatherings, the individuals would dance those peculiar shuffling dances, sometimes for hours at a time, or until exhausted, with the others standing around patting the feet and hands and keeping time to the rhythmical beat of the dancers feet. Sometimes we sang, some times whistled, some times hummed the music for the dances, and occasionally we had a banjo for accompaniment.

The slaves on a plantation could get together almost any time they felt like it, for little social affairs, so long as it did not interfere with the work on the plantation. During the slack times the people from one plantation could visit another, by getting permission and sometimes they would slip away and make visits anyway. During the heavy work time very few of them felt like having a good time after they had put in twelve to sixteen hours in the fields, doing their best every moment of the day.
Yes, we have been punished, many times, but we, who have been thru those cruel days of slavery, and are now free men, do not like to think of that part of our lives. We would much rather think of the bright spots, the happy moments, the kindnesses that were shown us, and the friends we had in those days. We had many happy days as well as unhappy ones. But that is all over now, and we, who have seen slavery in all its phases, can never be thankful enough to those who gave so freely that this institution might be wiped out forever.

We people on the plantation didn't know much about the war, just such reports as came to us as it was picked up here and there and passed from mouth to mouth. The reports were many, and varied, so that we did not know what to believe. It was impressed on us indirectly by everyone, that there was little chance of the slaves being set free. Some didn't care whether they were free or not, as there was little to look forward to either way. The great question was, "What will we do? We have no home, no money, no clothes, no nothing". On the other hand, for some of the people, there could be no existence worse than the one they were in. It was a problem either way.
One day, after I had been punished unjustly, I had a talk with my brother and sisters and I told them I was going to run away. They tried to talk me out of it. About that time the rumor came that there was a Union man about twenty miles away who was recruiting for the Union army. Several of my friends ran away and joined the army and I made up my mind to go too.

I studied over it for some time and then definitely decided to go. I told my brother that I was going and tried to persuade him to go with me. He did not want to go and tried to keep me from going.

Finally I went to my old master and talked it over with him. At first he was angry, then he told me I would have to decide for myself what I wanted to do, and that if I wanted to go, for me to go. He seemed to sense the fact that the slavery of the past was over, and that a new era was opening for all. We had quite a talk, and parted friends.

As I turned to leave him, he made the remark, "Remember, Robert, you can stay on the plantation just as long as you want to."

I did. I stayed just as long as I wanted to. I stayed just long enough to tell my brother and sisters goodbye, and to say farewell to my plantation friends. Then, just as the shades of night began to thicken, wearing all the worldly goods I possessed, I slipped thru the fence, and started on foot toward the town where I had heard the officer was who raising the company for the Union Army.

I had no regrets at leaving the old life behind. I had made many friends and had left many behind me, but I knew that I could make others wherever I went. Twenty one years of my life had been spent in one place, working for one family, and all I had to show for that labor was an old pair of trousers, a hickory shirt, a pair of shoes with no socks, and an old hat, none of which were any the better for wear.

I reached the recruiting office, took the oath of allegiance to the United States, was mustered into the 125th Colored Infantry and started drilling. I was transferred to Missouri a short time after that and was made a guard at one of the Federal camps. I was not in any of the battles of the Civil War. I had been a soldier but about six months when the news came that Lee had surrendered and the War was over.

I had enlisted for three years, and had the war continued for another month, my company would have been sent to the front, as we had been drilled into a pretty good army, and all were anxious to get into the fray. I was taken from one camp to another, as the company or regiment was needed, and then came the war with the Indians.

My company was ordered to Kansas, and became a part of the army that corralled the Indians on their reservation in what was known as Indian Territory.

I served in the army for two years and eight months. After returning from the Texas campaign I was mustered out at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, and discharged a short time later with my company at Louisville, Ky.
ROBT ANDERSON RETURNS TO OLD PLANTATION IN GREEN CO AFTER CW,
CONDITIONS

Robt Anderson, from slavery to affluence, 1927

After my discharge, I went back to my old birthplace for a visit with my people. Conditions were not very favorable there. The slaves no longer had a master to look after them, and they were cast adrift with no home, no means of livelihood. Some were able to secure jobs with new masters, but there was a decided change. The change had been so sudden, so wide sweeping, that no one was ready for it. Things were pretty much in chaos. There were more laborers than there was money to pay them and the colored people were worse off than when they were slaves. They were kicked from pillar to post, fed with wrong ideas, and left to shift for themselves.

ROBT ANDERSON WENT NORTH; CHANGED NAME AFTER CW (from Green Co)

Robt Ball Anderson, from slavery to affluence, 1927

I didn't stay long here, but went north where I was told I could find plenty of work. Shortly afterwards I landed at Davenport, Iowa. I had been among the white people enough to learn that the child always took the name of his father. I had gone under the name of my old master, Ball, and had enlisted in the army under that name. After the war my father kept the name of Anderson, and we, my brother and my sisters, changed our names to Anderson, taking our father's name. This change of names caused me some little trouble later in getting my citizenship papers and my homestead papers straightened out, as my army papers were made out under the name of Robert Ball, but I have never been sorry for the change, and am known now by the name of Anderson.
Robt Ball Anderson, from slavery to affluence, 1927

p 49/ Anderson worked at Davenport, Iowa, saved money from army, and added money from Davenport job, and bought a piece of land sight unseen. It proved no good for farming ("I placed too much confidence in the real estate man who sold it to me."). took a job as a laborer in Fremont Co. /p 50/ Worked for a farmer & saved his money. In the spring of 1870 decided to take a Nebraska homestead. Bought a team of oxen and worked hauling goods to Nebraska to pay expenses there. Located 250 miles from the railroad. Bought RR land hoping the RR would come through. Crop failure caused him to lose the land (grasshoppers ate everything).

/p 51/ Lived off coyotes & jack rabbits. Followed by drouth. By 1881 had lost everything; went in 1881 to Kan. to work on RR, as a cook. Went back to the farm, and at 36 went 3 months to school; all he ever had. Worked on Kan. farm, saved money, located on Nebr. homestead again. /p 52/ Attempted tree planting claim in Nebr. /p 53/ He built a sod house. "The grass on the prairie was largely what is known as black root or 'nigger wool'. /sic/" /p 54/ Later worked on construction gang as a cook. /p 55/ Worked on construction for 3 yrs. Saved his money, eventually amounting to $1,600. Loaned money to a man who did not pay it back. "I felt pretty blue over this...."

/p 56/ Had homestead of 640 acres; borrowed money from a banker to buy a yoke of oxen and a plow; raised grain, a good garden, rabbits & grouse plentiful. "In ten years I had the debt paid off and had a few head of horses and a cow, and had all the ground broken...." /p 57/ "I lived alone, saved, worked hard, lived as cheaply as I could,..." Leased out land; travelled over US, Cuba, Mexico; Married March 19, 1922.

Robt Anderson's Rules, Lessons of Life (From Green Co)

Robt Ball Anderson, from slavery to affluence, 1927

p 58/ A slave at the age of twenty, penniless at the age of forty-five, I am a rich man today, at least rich enough for my own needs. I have traveled in almost every state in the Union, and in Cuba and Mexico, and may take a few more trips before my time comes.

I belong to the black race and am not ashamed of it. I have seen considerable trouble and hard times, but there was always a consolation in thinking that it was not as bad as it might have been, I have had some mighty good times, and have enjoyed life immensely. I have found that happiness and enjoyment is where we make it, and there is a heap of satisfaction in knowing that I did my best. I have worked hard with honest and earnest intent, and feel that my labors have been rewarded. I have always tried to be fair and honest in my dealings with others and have always tried to give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay.
Then the auctioneer called for Isaac and I was led out, the auctioneer saying, "Time is precious, gentle men, I must sell them all before night; how much do I hear for this nigger?" We were instructed beforehand that we must answer all questions put to us by "Yes, sir," and "No, sir." I was asked if I had ever been whipped, or sick, or had had the toothache, and similar questions to all of which I answered. He then cried for bids. The first bid was four hundred dollars. This was gradually raised until I was struck off for seven hundred dollars, and sold to William Madinglay, who came forward and said: "Come along with me, boy, you belong to me," I said to him: "Let me go and see my mother." He answered me crossly: "Come along with me, I will train you without your mother's help." I was taken to one side and chained to a post as though I had been a horse. I remained hitched to this post till late in the afternoon.

The next one sold was Ambrose. I could not see him, but I could hear the auctioneer crying for bids and my little four year old brother was sold for five hundred dollars to William Murphy.

The next to be set up was my mother and our little baby boy Eddie. To the cry for bids no one responded for some time and it looked for awhile that they were to escape being sold. But someone called out: "Put them up separately." Then the cry was: "How much do I hear for the woman without the baby?" The first bid was eight hundred dollars, and this was gradually raised till she was sold for eleven hundred dollars.

The next sale was of Eddie, my little brother whom we all loved so much, he was sold for two hundred dollars, to one John Hunter. Thus, in a very short time, our happy family was scattered, without even the privilege of saying "Good by" to each other, and never again to be seen, at least so far as I was concerned.

William Madinglay's farm was located on the Beech Fork River. He had a wife, one child, and Peter, a slave. Isaac was introduced as "...one of the Yeager niggers we saw advertised for sale at auction." Thier meals mostly mush and milk." Peter wore only "... a long tow shirt, a cloth cap and no shoes." Peter was instructed to show Isaac how to do his chores. One of Isaac's jobs was to carry water from the well. Isaac liked the Mistress best, and she taught him to wash and to iron. When Isaac cried, he was told that his master would soon buy his mother and the others of his family. Isaac remembered: "Had it not been for the hope of again seeing my mother and brothers, I would gladly have laid down to die." Isaac worked long hours, helping with sowing, planting, hoeing, cultivation, etc. When hired out to his master's brother, James Madinglay, Jan 1854, Isaac found him to be "...the meanest kind of a slave holder." Isaac saw slaves whipped "severely." Isaac ran home to Wm Madinglay's home and learned from his owner that he had sold to another brother, John Madinglay, who lived on the Beech Fork R, about 6 miles away.
The harvesting was finally all done and the first day of January, 1853, had arrived. The first of January was the time when local sales and hiring took place. Myself, Jim and Peter were among those to be hired out and we were taken to Bardstown for this purpose. Our services for the years were sold at auction. Jim was sold for $150, Peter for $125 and I was sold for $100. The cook, Anna, was taken along and sold outright to the slave dealers, and that was the last we knew of her. Peter and Jim were hired by one Miller, a farmer on the Columbia river, and I was hired to one Yates, a store keeper in Hart county. His store was near the Mammoth cave, around which at that time was a wilderness. His family consisted of himself, his wife, two sons, a woman slave and myself. My work was to do the chores about the house and run on errands to the store, which was about a mile distant. I had a fairly easy time here, my hardest work being to carry water from the cave to the house, the distance being about a mile. I had a yoke which laid across my shoulders, at each end were hooks so I could carry two pails at once. To get the water I had to enter the cave and descend about thirty feet. I was always afraid when I entered the cave because people told all manner of stories about it, saying that there were all kinds of devils and animals living in there who just delighted in catching colored people and killing them.

I managed, so far as I could, to go to the cave when the sun was shining bright so that I could see my way clearly to run if a devil appeared. The two sons of the Master were very mischievous, and when they learned how afraid I was they would go each Sunday and build a fire inside the cave and then send me for water. When I entered the cave and saw the fire I was sure it was the devil, and would run screaming at the top of my voice much to their amusement. They would then go back with me and enter the cave, by which time the fire would be out, and they would then accuse me of lying about seeing the devil. This occurred so often that Master became suspicious. He asked why it was the devils only appeared on Sundays. This I could not explain. He concluded to investigate for himself, and the next Sunday went with me and caught the boys building the fire, and that ended the stories of devils being in the cave and I had no more trouble. I remained at this place till Christmas, when we were given a week's holiday, and on the first of January, 1854, I was sent to my Master's brother, his name was James Madinglay.
ISAAC JOHNSON DESCRIBES LIFE AT JOHN MADINGLAY’S FARM ON BEECH FORK R.

isaac johnson, slavery days in old ky, 1901

p 21/ Isaac was taken to John Madinglay’s home on the Beech Fork R, 6 mi from his former home with Wm Madinglay, the next day. John soon sent a slave girl there whom he had won in a poker game. Soon Isaac realized, as slaves began to arrive in numbers, that his new owner had a "stock farm." In April John Madinglay arrived home, brings twenty slaves, raising his total to 30 slaves. He owned 1000 acres of uncleared land. "He raised the usual farm products and when these did not require attention we were set to work clearing the land. He had agents out in the country buying slaves and forwarding them to the farm, and soon there were one hundred and twenty slaves on the farm. After harvesting, the surplus negroes were sent to the Southern markets at Grand Gulf, Jackson and Vicksburg...." The "time of the removal was kept secret from the slaves...." /p 22/ When they did move out, the women & children unable to walk were put in wagons. In 1857 fifteen slaves were left at the farm to do the winter work, shelling corn, making liquor, taking grain to the mill, etc. /p 24/ Says during 1857 his owner gathered about 200 slaves at the farm. During the fall about 170 were marched off to the southern market, via Bardstown, then Louisville to a boat. While the master was on the trip south, his youthful new wife (age 17, master was 60) conducted classes teaching some of the younger slaves to read. Master returned very angry. /p 25/ After this episode, care of the slaves was returned to Rosa, herself a slave.

ISAAC JOHNSON TELLS THE STORY OF BOB, THE CANADIAN, A SLAVE ON BEECH FORK R FARM 1858; ESCAPE ATTEMPT

isaac johnson, slavery days in old ky, 1901

p 26/ When the fall 1857 slaves were taken to market, Bob, "who had come from Canada," was one of the 5 brought back. Bob "... was an engineer and had hired on the steamer Louisville at Cincinnati, Ohio, for the round trip. When they reached New Orleans the cargo was sold, and just as the boat was ready to return, the sheriff came aboard and all negroes found who were not owned by a Whiteman /sic/ were taken to the city jail, advertised for three months as runaway slaves, and ... sold...." John Madinglay bought Bob. /p 27/ Bob fell in love with Rosa, and "... laid before her all his plans to escape." During the next flooding of the Beech Fork R. Bob and Rosa would escape. Isaac Johnson was to go along. /p 28/ At the appointed time, Bob and Rosa did not show up. Isaac started out on the river in a skiff alone. "I continued down stream till about seven o'clock in the evening. I was halted during the day three different times by men on the shore who had guns and shot at me." They shot at him, causing him to row harder. Bob was hungry, and eventually stopped at thinking he would acquire food at a Negro cabin, but two men and dogs appeared. He ran for a swamp. He evaded them for 2 hrs. /p 29/ Isaac gave up. They put him in a locked room. The next morning he "ran for the swamp" with "dogs on my track." /p 30/ Later that afternoon he made it to the river and followed it until 4 PM. He swam to the other side of the river. He attempted to make a raft, discovered before he was finished. Isaac attempted to hide in the water behind a stump: "I sank in the water, leaving only my nose and moth above." The water was black and he hid. The 5 men and dogs searched the bank. Discovered Isaac eventually; he surrendered. /p 31/ Isaac was taken to the nearest depot, and his
ISAAC JOHNSON TELLS OF BOB THE CANADIAN; 1858 ATTEMPTED ESCAPE FROM BEECH FORK RIVER FARM

isaac johnson, slavery days in old ky, 1901

/p 31 cont'd/ owner came after him. Isaac, back home, was taken to the "... punishment room or shanty, where I saw Bob lying on a few boards, his throat cut and he was slowly dying in great misery. Bob had been badly mistreated, tortured, etc. In 5 days Bob died. /p 32/ Isaac suspected Rosa of having betrayed Bob's plan of escape. Isaac reasoned why Rosa might have done such a dastardly deed: (1) the white blood in her veins, (2) she was blinded by love for her master, (3) perhaps she though it might one day bring her freedom, /p 33/ (4) perhaps she betrayed Bob to save herself. /p 33/ Master said he cut his own throat. /p 34/ Isaac prepared for a whipping, when his mistress precluded the whipping after exacting a promise that Isaac would not run away again & would obey her and work in the garden. /p 35/ On 2 occasions Rosa slipped Isaac in to see Bob before he died. Bob hoped to kill his owner before he died.

BLACKS LEARN OF C W; ISAAC'S FIRST ESCAPE, BUT TO CONFED LINES; FLED HOME (1861)

isaac johnson, slavery days in old ky, 1901

It was then freely talked among the slaves that we would soon all be free. Next, the Yankee soldiers began to appear in the state and I concluded, "Now is the time to make a break for liberty."

I heard there were troops within two miles and on the following Sunday I started. But I soon found I had made a mistake, as the troops proved to be Confederates from our own state. I was arrested and put into the guard house. The guard house was a large tent with a guard stationed in front. A severe storm came that night and blew down the tent which caused quite a confusion, during which I gave the guard the slip and ran for home which I reached without my absence having been discovered.
ISAAC JOHNSON'S ESCAPE TO MICHIGAN TROOP LINES (FROM BEECH FORK R) 6904-A

isaac johnson, slavery days in old ky, 1901

Age 18

After we got to Detroit, I could look across and see that happy land of Canada, to me a Canaan, of which I had heard so much, for which I had yearned, and of which I had dreamed sleeping and awake. I never step my feet upon Canadian soil, even to this day, without a feeling of love and respect for its people, and God bless you! instinctively comes to my thoughts. I told the captain I thought I should go to Canada where I was sure to be free from all masters. He wished me to stay and return with him to the army. I told him, "No! I shall never return unless I can go as a soldier."

On the way to the Kansas border, I was told to make himself a blood hound to hunt runaway negroes and then said he would give him just fifteen minutes to get outside of his lines, and your Master started without asking any more questions."

The captain then called me into his tent, gave me a revolver and twenty rounds of cartridges saying: "Take these and protect yourself, that is all we have to protect ourselves and if any man comes to demand your liberty, shoot him as you would a dog, if you don't, you ought to be a slave."

Oh what a feeling of manhood came to me with those words. I felt myself a man, every inch of me. It was my second taste for freedom, the hiring for wages being the first. I took the revolver and cartridges and made up my mind to follow directions if I should be molested and that I would deserve my freedom. I remained with Captain Smith till his term had expired. He and many of his regiment re-enlisted, they were given a furlough and I accompanied him home to Detroit.
ISAAC JOHNSON JOINED FED ARMY IN MICHIGAN

ISAAC JOHNSON RETURNS TO OLD KY FARM ON BEECH FORK R. AFTER C W

isaac johnson, slavery days in old ky, 1901

p 38/ While on leave with the Captain Smith that he had worked for in the army, now on leave in Michigan (Detroit), Isaac enlisted in the Fed. army.

He then informed me they were getting up a colored regiment in that city at that time, and if I desired to fight for myself and my race I had better enlist with that regiment, and I did so in short order. I accordingly enlisted in Company A., 102nd United States Colored troops and I remained with them till the war was over.

p 39/ war was over. After the close of the war I had a strong desire to return to the old Kentucky home to see my old Master and to learn what I could of my own people. I think I also had a desire to see Master in the broken condition I imagined the war must have left him. I started and reached the old stock farm at last where I had seen so much misery. I went to the house and found master was in bed, paralyzed. He had not been out of his bed for six months. I said to myself: "The Lord has answered my prayer and allowed me to live and see him punished who so cruelly tortured and murdered my friend Bob."

Master was apparently glad to see me. He said I was the first to leave him and the first to return. With the old time Southern hospitality he sent to the cellar for something to drink and I was made welcome to the best in the house. I could not help but notice the change. There were two ex-Confederates in the room who did not look upon me very kindly, if I read them aright. Master offered me good wages if I would only return and remain while he lived. I think, perhaps, I may have given him, from prudential motives, some hopes that I would do so. But, I knew him too well to think of it seriously. I found Rosa, who had married one of the Draper colored people across the river. The Drapers were Catholics and were always good to their slaves, never selling one to the slave traders. She was a happy woman in her new relations and her husband was industrious and prosperous. I could not learn anything of my own people, but I saw my father's brothers, who told me some of the things herein related. They had never heard from my father after he caused us to be sold.
Master never left his bed. With all my negro blood and all that I have passed through, I would rather be in my black skin than in his or my father's. Think of being obliged to associate with men of their stamp, say nothing about being their slaves, and the mere thought is repulsive. A man who could sell his own children or who would uphold a system that enabled him to do so—the thought is a horror. My people, for I call only the colored people mine, suffered for centuries, and the only wonder to me is that so many have survived, that they are as intelligent as they are, and as forgiving as they have shown themselves to be.

A race with such natural characteristics comes nearer to the teachings of the great Master than any people of whom I have learned. The manner in which they have used their freedom and treated their former masters appears to me they must have indelibly stamped in their natures the Lord's teachings, whenin He says: "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that you may be the children of your Father who is in heaven."

To be worthy to be counted one who lives up to the above is any desire, notwithstanding all I have experienced.

In order that my relatives may know where to find me, in case this little pamphlet should fall into their hands, I give my Post Office address:

ISAAC JOHNSON,
21 Main Street, Ogdensburg,
St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

Ross Webb, Ky in Recon Era, 1979

p 38/ "Palmer's chief subordinate, James S. Brisban, later claimed that this 'policy of Negro enlistment and hasty marriage' ultimately 'bankrupted slavery in Kentucky.'"
In an effort to provide wider employment opportunities for Negro freedmen, General Palmer issued on May 11, 1865, Order 32, which permitted provost marshals to issue military passes to unemployed blacks and their families. These “Palmer passes” not only permitted Negroes to move about at will, but to leave the state should they so desire. This, of course, was aimed specifically at nullifying the old slave code of Kentucky which prohibited the physical movement of blacks. Negroes commonly referred to these passes as “free papers,” which to a great extent they were. In fact, the freedom spirit was so strong that in anticipation that a general emancipation would be announced on July 4, 1865, thousands of slaves left their homes and sought refuge at federal camps (such as Camp Nelson) across the state. At the Fourth of July celebration held at Louisville, General Palmer addressed a group of some 20,000 blacks who received him enthusiastically. While there was some confusion as to whether he said “You are free” or “You are substantially free,” Palmer urged them to work hard, to insist upon being paid wages, and to help themselves by educating their children. A few weeks later, Palmer further facilitated the mobility of Negroes by issuing Order 49, which expanded Order 32. This permitted military officers, for reasons of overcrowding, to issue “free passes” to blacks—thus relieving their camps of an excess Negro population. By November, a well-satisfied Palmer estimated that over 10,000 Kentucky slaves had crossed the Ohio River to freedom.

But Palmer’s efforts on behalf of the blacks abruptly ceased when martial law was ended in Kentucky on October 12, 1865. Striking out at “the petty tyrant,” as Palmer’s opposition referred to him, railroads forbade transportation to “slaves” without the specific written permission of their owners, and suits were instituted in the state courts which declared the Congressional Act of March 1865 (which freed the families of Negro soldiers) unconstitutional. Four civil suits were begun against Palmer personally, but were dismissed. Despite these attempts to frustrate his work, the general was pleased with the results of his efforts. Writing his wife, he claimed that slavery was virtually ended in Kentucky.

In actuality, about 65,000 slaves formerly owned by disloyal whites in the state already had been freed, and under the Congressional Act of March 1865 another 28,818 Negro soldiers together with their wives and children (totaling about 75,000) had secured their freedom. The military estimated that approximately 65,000 men, women, and children remained slaves in Kentucky after March 1865. It would be difficult to estimate how many of these 65,000 had been shepherded to freedom by Palmer’s tactics, but it was enough to cause a major crisis in Kentucky’s agricultural labor supply.
Encouraged by the ease of securing "Palmer passes," thousands of blacks uprooted their families and began moving to the towns and cities. Here they became prisoners and victims of their environment, for they came in such numbers that they flooded the labor market. Caught in the mesh of sudden growth, the cities developed immense problems related to the need for more housing, better sanitation and health care, and expanded education facilities. This migration to the city declined sharply by 1870 when blacks realized that the city was not the gateway to opportunity they had expected. Poverty and debt-slavery existed in the city as they had on the farm. Illustrative of conditions in the city was a report in the Louisville Daily Courier in January 1866 which stated that disparity and starvation were rife among the city's Negro population. "These poor creatures," the paper stated, "are huddled, like so many cattle, in every alley of the city. They occupy outhouses and cellars, and subsist—if they manage to subsist at all—after the most precarious fashion." With resentment against whites rising, the number of crimes by blacks increased sharply.

"Upon learning of the plight of Kentucky's black population, General Howard issued instructions to the assistant commissioner for Tennessee, Major General Clinton B. Fisk, to extend the protection of the Freedmen's Bureau to Negroes residing in Kentucky."
F B APPOINTS "CITIZEN AGENTS" IN COUNTIES TO HELP BLACKS

r webb, ky in recon era, 1979

"Citizen agents" were appointed in each county with authority to collect fifty cents for each registered labor contract and such costs as the civil law permitted in cases adjudicated by them. However, because of undue difficulties and the great responsibility that they had, these agents were eventually paid a salary ranging from fifty to a hundred dollars per month. Their job proved thankless since they received very little help from local authorities and were often subjected to threats of violence themselves.

JEFF C DAVIS APPOINTED ASST COMM FOR KY JUNE 1866: NEW DISTs

r webb, ky in recon era, 1979

Meanwhile, during the spring and summer of 1866, commissioner Howard created two new assistant commissioners: one for Kentucky and one for Maryland. Major General Jeff C. Davis was appointed assistant commissioner for Kentucky on June 13, 1866. Davis was a native of Indiana and had succeeded General Palmer as military commandant of Kentucky in March 1866. His appointment as assistant commissioner evoked a strong reaction from Kentuckians who believed he would bring undue military pressures to bear upon the state.

Davis proved to be a good administrator, however. At his direction the state was now divided into five districts:

Lexington, with responsibility for eastern counties; Louisville, with responsibility for the counties contiguous to Jefferson County; Northwestern, including those counties west of the Cumberland, with headquarters at Paducah; Southern, including the southcentral region, with headquarters at Bowling Green; and Central, comprising some fifteen counties in the center of the state and without a general headquarters. There were in all forty-six officials of the bureau, twenty-five of whom were civilians.
Rev. T. K. Noble had been Chaplain of the 128th U.S. Colored troops; in Ky became supt of schs.

"While all of the bureau's offices were closed as of Jan 1, 1869, Negro veterans' claims continued to be processed at Louisville until June 1872. In addition, the bureau's educational work continued through the summer of 1870, when the superintendents of education were finally withdrawn."
The third branch of the bank to be established was at Louisville, the first two being at Washington and Norfolk. Opened in August 1865, the Louisville branch was fortunate in having a succession of able cashiers in the persons of Dr. William H. Goddard, Colonel L. A. Porter, H. H. Burkholder, and Horace Morris. Goddard, Porter, and Burkholder were white, but Morris was a black. Born and raised in Louisville, Morris was free before the war and had worked on the Underground Railroad. After the war his excellent reputation had resulted in his being named to a number of advisory boards, not least of which was the Louisville branch of the Freedman's Savings Bank.

In 1866-1867 the bulk of depositors in the Louisville branch were returning black soldiers, most of whom did not reside in the city. That was to change, however. By 1873 about 95 percent of the depositors lived in Louisville and virtually none of the new depositors had ever seen military service. These new depositors included artisans, laborers, and domestics, which indicates that the black was achieving some measure of economic independence in Kentucky.

In 1867 the Louisville cashier reported that over $92,500 had been withdrawn from the bank for the purchase of homesteads, mechanical and business improvements, seeds and implements, as well as for educational expenses. Lamenting the fact that so little money had been expended for land, Horace Morris believed that the amount would have been greater if white landowners had been willing to sell land to the freedmen.

The Louisville branch had one of the finest and most influential advisory boards of any of the banks. As of January 1866, Louisville's board consisted of seventeen Negroes and seven whites. They evaluated the work of the cashier, recommending the resignation of the Louisville dentist, Dr. Goddard, because he could not devote full time to the work of the bank, and nominating a replacement. In 1870 President Alvord reported that the advisory board at Louisville was a "very intelligent Committee." Under the chairmanship of Bland Ballard, president of the Kentucky National Bank, the bank made significant advances, and when the Louisville branch was examined in 1874, its finances were found to be in good order.

When the branch at Louisville was founded, plans for a branch at Lexington had already been developed. Since Lexington was a center of a former slave area and continued to have a sizable Negro population, every effort was made to establish a branch of the Freedman's Savings Bank in that city. Alvord claimed that there were approximately 12,000 blacks in the Lexington area who were among the most pros-
persons in the South, owning homes and real estate valued at $250,000. However, it was not until November 1870 that the Lexington branch was established. The bank’s first cashier, J. G. Hamilton, however, was too involved with his school-teaching to pay proper attention to the bank’s business. When he attempted to resign the cashierhip, the advisory board urged him to continue in this capacity since they believed that there was a very close tie between banking and education. Lacking the ability to closely supervise loans, Hamilton was suspect because of several very questionable practices at the Lexington branch.

The Panic of 1873 had a detrimental effect upon the Freedman’s Savings Bank, resulting in great numbers of depositors withdrawing their savings in the face of economic adversity. In response, the trustees in 1873–1874 made every effort to reduce expenses by closing weaker branches and firing high-salaried cashiers. A scapegoat being needed, a move to unseat Alvord from the presidency succeeded and the highly popular and well-known Frederick Douglass was elected president in March 1874. While Douglass had been a trustee since 1871, he had only occasionally attended the board’s meetings and was relatively ignorant of the bank’s condition when elected president. At his insistence, black cashiers were hired in an effort to restore the confidence of freedmen in the bank. However, continued exposures by the public press together

with President Douglass’s inability to restore public confidence in the organization resulted in the official closure of the bank on July 2, 1874.

The losses suffered by the freedmen were nearly ruinous. While their accounts were not large, ranging in Kentucky between $5 and $825, the bank’s failure meant an end of what little had been put aside from soldiers’ bounties and hard-earned wages. Not only did the closure discourage saving, but it resulted in a deep and long-lasting distrust of all banks by blacks, for they believed that the bank had been federally sponsored and therefore was “perfectly safe.” It was not until 1881 that depositors received anything in the way of a dividend from the remaining resources of the bank. In all, four dividends were paid. Efforts were made in the 1890s and early 1900s to have the federal government reimburse the depositors for their losses, but despite persuasive arguments, Congress remained unmoved.

Governor Leslie again called the matter to the attention of the General Assembly in December 1873. Since the Negroes were “struggling so earnestly and with a measure of success to educate their children,” Leslie strongly urged the legislature not to ignore their demand any longer. The General Assembly finally accepted its responsibility and required that the annual revenue tax on each $100 of taxable property of Negroes together with other sources of revenue generated by blacks—the capitation tax of $1 on each male over the age of twenty-one; taxes on dogs, deeds, and lawsuits; and fines, penalties, and forfeitures involving Negroes—would be set aside for the support of Negro schools. The schools were to be managed by Negro trustees, and the law specifically prevented blacks from attending white schools and whites from attending Negro schools. The superintendent of public instruction was directed to implement the act. Negro schools in Kentucky, however, were never of the quality of white schools, primarily because of the low support base for Negro education. While higher education was available to the Negro at Berea College and at Simmons University in Louisville, not until 1886 did the legislature provide for the training of Negro teachers by creating the “Kentucky Normal School for Colored Persons” (now Kentucky State University), which opened in Frankfort the following year.

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Webb lists Charles Morris of Lexington as a lawyer in Ky by 1872.

In talking about secret and benevolent societies in Ky, Webb says: "One of the first such societies in Kentucky was the Order of the True Reformer. Under its sponsorship the first state-chartered Negro bank opened its doors at Richmond in the spring of 1889. This order also established the first industrial insurance company to be operated by Negroes—the Southern Aid and Insurance Company."
"Please tell Absilom Woodfork that I cannot as a friend recommend him yet to come out here until I have seen farther and that I would advise him not to make preparations to come until I write to him again."

have perhaps been informed previous to this intelligence concerning the large number of Kentuckians besides those of your family of blacks who embarked with me, some of whom have fallen victims to the African fever, but we who survive are doing very well. I am aware that some persons have falsely concerning us, and have given woful accounts of Liberia. If such intelligence have been given it is entirely wrong. Liberia is unquestionably the happiest territory for the black man that could be selected on the globe. We enjoy liberty here in a degree which it is impossible in the order of things for the Negro to enjoy [in] any other Country. Here is the place the Whence the man of Color, especially a black colour, originated. Here he should terminate if possible. The Beneficent displays of Almighty providence are so visible in Africa for the perpetual benefit of the black man that [no] intelligent Negro, I am persuaded, could take a view of them without feeling in the language of the Bible, that "His tender mercies are over all his works." Africa is like all other countries in one respect [respect]. It has for its inhabitants those who are wise and those who are foolish, they that be indolent and dishonest, Consequently poor, hungry and naked. On the contrary, it has those who are industrious, economical and enterprising and as a natural & necessary consequence they are wealthy, useful, & happy.
Jacob Harris, writing to N. M. Gordon, a minister, written from Monrovia, Liberia, July 4, 1848, Gordon in Ky. "This Country I believe to be the Colored man's home. Why should we not be Contented?"

The needs of the colored people were continually increasing and demanding additional help. Elder Henry Adams, the President of the State Convention of Colored Baptists, appeared before the body and said, "We are suffering very much from the want of a more enlightened ministry for our churches"; and for "the want of competent teachers for our schools—both the day and Sunday schools." Out of the meagre income of State Missions, the Executive Board was giving all the help possible to the colored Baptists in their distressing needs. A resolution was adopted looking to the establishing of an institute in Louisville for the training of their preachers.
The effort to organize in Louisville a school of Theology for training of the colored Baptist Ministry had failed. Elder Henry Adams, Moderator of the newly organized General Association of Colored Baptists, addressed the Association. He seems to have been discouraged in the failure to make provision for the better training of the colored ministry. He said, "Another year has passed away and nothing has been done in the way of the education of the colored ministry for our churches. Neither has there been any missionary labor performed among the colored churches of the State."

The problem of evangelizing the colored people was constantly before the Association for solution. The following was finally adopted: "We recommend the propriety of abandoning the idea or plan of evangelizing the colored people but suggest another more feasible work—that of aid and cooperation, wherever, and whenever, our colored brethren may request it. We believe they are better qualified to accomplish this work than we are; yet we feel it a duty to help them, whenever called upon".
The first negro Baptist Church ever organized in Kentucky was located in Lexington, now known as the First Colored Baptist Church of that city on Short and Dewees Streets. The church was constituted by Peter Durett, known as Brother Captain, who was born of slave parents in Caroline County, Virginia, in 1733. He obtained hope in Christ at the age of twenty-five, was baptized and received into a white church near his home. He began to exhort from house to house. The man, who owned the wife of Brother Captain, decided to emigrate to Kentucky, and desiring not to separate the wife from her husband, traded another slave for Brother Captain, and brought them together to the new country. Shortly after Captain came to Lexington, a Mr. John Maxwell, a white man, gave him a building site, and helped him to erect a cabin upon it, where he lived and held services.

A number of colored people professed conversion and desired Brother Captain to baptize them, which he declined to do at first, since he had not been ordained. The records show that he went before the South Kentucky Association of Separate Baptists with fifty of his converts and applied for ordination. But “the fathers and brethren, after having taken the matter into consideration, did not think 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.” (Whether Brother Captain understood that the hand of Christian affection meant ordination and right to baptize is a disputed question). However, after this he baptized a number of converts and gathered them into a church in Lexington about 1801. The matter was again before the South Kentucky Association in 1801, which was the last session of that body before it dissolved. The following decision was given:

“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.”

It is not known whether Brother Captain was ever formally ordained, but he continued to watch over the church, which greatly prospered during his ministry, increasing to more than three hundred members. Having become a free man, Brother Captain and his wife hired themselves out through the years for their support. He died in his cabin near Lexington in 1823 at the age of ninety years.

London Ferrill was the second pastor of the church. This remarkable man was born a slave in Virginia, in 1789, and at the age of twenty was converted and baptized. Later, he began to exhort in public and soon became a popular preacher. About fifty persons professed conversion under his preaching, and were baptized by a white preacher. His master, perceiving his ability, resolved to give him an education, but died before he was permitted to accomplish his purpose.

Ferrill then having his freedom, moved with his wife to Kentucky and settled near Lexington. At that time Old Captain had become so feeble, that the church desired Elder Ferrill to become its pastor, but he declined to accept, “as the organization was not in fellowship with the Baptist Denomination” and because Brother Captain was still living. But the church, desiring to have Ferrill as pastor and member, applied to the First Baptist Church in Lexington to be received as a branch of that congregation. But the Lexington church, before receiving the colored church as a branch, decided to send the following queries to the Elkhorn Association: “First, Can persons baptized on a profession of faith by an administrator not ordained, be received into our churches under any circumstances whatever, without being again baptized? Second, Is it admissible by the Association to admit for any of their Ministers of the gospel?”
A committee, consisting of Jeremiah Vardeman, James Fishback, John Edwards, Edmund Waller, and Jacob Creath, was appointed by the Association to consider the queries and to report to the next Association. The committee then reported "that it is not regular to receive such members" thus baptized, and that there is "no reason why free men of colour may not be ordained ministers of the Gospel, the Gospel qualifications being possessed by them." According to the ruling of the Association on the second query, London Ferrill was regularly ordained to the ministry by the First Baptist Church of Lexington. Notwithstanding the irregular baptism administered by Old Captain, a compromise was affected by which the colored congregation, having been constituted upon a written covenant, July 1822, was admitted into fellowship by the Lexington First Church.4

Elder London Ferrill officially became pastor of the colored church in 1823, which was received into the Elkhorn Association as the First Baptist Church, Lexington, Colored, in 1824. Elder Ferrill served the church as pastor thirty-two years, during which time it increased from 280 to 1820 members. When the terrible scourge of cholera visited Lexington in 1823, when as many as sixty were dying in a day, "London Ferrill was the only preacher, white or colored, that remained in the city to administer to the sick and bury the dead. He officiated at both colored and white funerals."5

This faithful and venerable pastor died October 12, 1854. Dr. J. H. Spencer says: "The funeral procession, which followed his corpse to its burial, was said to be the largest that ever passed through the streets of Lexington, except that which attended the remains of Henry Clay." Elder Frederick Braxton was third pastor, and served from 1854 to 1862.

The church had increased to 2223 members in 1861. This first colored church in Kentucky has had a long prosperous history. There have been only twelve pastors, including the first, Brother Captain. No Negro church in Kentucky has had greater influence. Thousands have been brought to Christ through her ministry. The First Church, Lexington, is the only church in the state, that has given two Presidents to Simmons University in Louisville — Dr. W. J. Simmons, the first President, and Dr. C. H. Parrish, the sixth. This church has owned property in Lexington since 1815. The present property (1948), "being located just one-half block from the surveyed center of the City of Lexington" is appraised at $100,000.6
Rev. Henry Adams, a highly educated colored freedman, from Georgia, born December 17, 1802, was called to the pastorate, and in 1834 under his leadership, the church purchased a property at Fifth and York Streets, where it worshipped for a number of years. When the First Christian Church, Louisville, moved to Fourth and Walnut Streets in 1844, it left vacant a one story building on Fifth Street between Walnut and Chestnut Streets, which was purchased by Elder Adams and his congregation for five thousand dollars. The church moved to the new location the following year. Later a “beautiful auditorium, a marvel of architectural achievement” was added. Rev. H. Adams, the first pastor was active for thirty-three years in promoting the work of the church. He took great interest in the welfare of the Baptists of his own race, when they were freed from slavery, by aiding them in forming churches and associations. In the first twenty years of his pastorate he baptized over thirteen hundred people. He died November 3, 1873 at the age of seventy-one years. A tablet to his memory was placed in the Fifth Street Church-house, where he had spent his entire ministry.

Rev. Andrew Heath was the second pastor of this historic church and served from 1872 to 1886, fourteen years. He was succeeded by Elder John H. Franks, whose pastorate covered a period of fifty years.

This great Fifth Street Church has had an unique history, in having had only four pastors during more than a century of its existence and these pastors having been chosen from the membership of the local congregation. The first school for Negroes in Louisville was established in the basement of this church building during the pastorate of Henry Adams. This church has been identified with all the movements for the uplift of the colored people in Louisville and beyond. In 1949 the church moved to 1901 West Jefferson Street.
The first colored Baptist church in extreme West Kentucky was constituted in Paducah in 1855, known now as the Washington Street Baptist Church. The First Baptist Church in Paducah constituted in 1840 was composed of both white and colored members. Strong opposition arose among the white members against the negro slaves worshipping in the church. It, therefore, became necessary to grant letters of dismission to all the colored members to find their own place of worship. This "despondent group" obtained a small building on Washington Street, and constituted a church on the first Sunday in February, 1855, called the Washington Street Baptist Church of Paducah. Four deacons were ordained, and Rev. George Brent, a white minister, served them as the first pastor. Also Brother T. H. Branham, a white man, was their first clerk, and acted as their spiritual advisor. Because Rev. George Brent championed the cause of the Negro church, his stand for their cause was resented and "he was forced to leave the city."

In 1858, Rev. George W. Dupee, a distinguished colored minister, was called to the pastorate of the church, and served thirty-eight years. He was born of slave parents, in Gallatin County, Kentucky, in 1826, but was reared in Franklin and Woodford Counties. He was converted and baptized in the South Elkhorn Creek, August, 1842 into the Buck Run Church, Franklin County, by Elder Peter Kenney. The young convert was licensed to preach in 1846, and in 1851 was ordained to the ministry by the hands of two prominent preachers, Dr. J. M. Frost, pastor at Georgetown, and President J. L. Reynolds, of Georgetown College. After his ordination, the young preacher became pastor of the colored church in Georgetown, which worshiped in the meeting house, formerly occupied by the white Baptists, who had erected a new building. On January 3, 1856 while still preaching in Georgetown, Elder Dupee was sold at auction at the Court House door. Dr. W. M. Pratt, pastor at Lexington and others bought him and permitted him to purchase his freedom.

During the long pastorate in Paducah, this noted colored preacher not only built up the Washington Street Church there, but during the time was pastor of fourteen other churches. He organized the colored churches at Paris, Covington, Cynthiana, Mayfield and churches at minor points.
District associations began to be formed of the colored churches soon after the close of the Civil War. The first Association in the state was organized in the Washington Street Baptist Church, Paducah, September 1867, known by the name "First." The body was constituted of messengers from the colored churches at Elkton, Franklin, Henderson, Mayfield and Paducah. Elder G. W. Dupee, the host pastor, was chosen Moderator, and continued to serve in that position for twenty-eight years. Eight other colored preachers went into the organization. In the session of 1869 the number of churches increased to twenty-two with 2228 members.

First Association continued to increase in the number of churches and extent of territory. In 1943 there were seventy-five churches and over twenty thousand members. The territory of the Association at that time extended from Mayfield on the west, to Henderson on its northern boundary, northeast to Greenville, and southeast to Guthrie, Kentucky, in its southern boundary. First Association is the third largest supporter of the program of the General Association of Colored Baptists.

The Liberty Association of colored Baptists was organized at Horse Cave, August 21, 1868, with Rev. Peter Murrell, the first Moderator. He served until 1903 with the exception of two years. Peter Murrell was born a slave, and was converted at an early age, united with the white Baptist church at Glasgow, and was ordained to the ministry by that church in 1847. Rev. N. G. Terry (white) assisted Rev. Murrell in organizing the First Church, Glasgow in 1867. In 1941 there were thirty colored churches in the Association with 2480 members and church property valued at $48,700.

The Central District Association of colored Baptists was constituted in July 1869 in the Clay Street Baptist Church, Shelbyville, Kentucky, of twenty churches, having about seventeen pastors. The South District Association of colored Baptists was constituted in Harrodsburg, April 1869. Rev. C. Clark was the first Moderator. A. Barry wrote the first circular letter. This Association has met regularly since its organization without missing a session. The pioneer leaders in the Association have all "passed to the great beyond" and the present leaders are young men, but are "standing firm for the doctrine of Christ and the faith of the fathers." Many other associations of colored churches were constituted at a later date.

The first general State meeting of colored Baptists was constituted "shortly after the slaves were freed." Messengers from twelve churches, met in the Fifth Street Church, Louisville, on Wednesday before the third Sunday in August, 1865, and organized the State Convention of Colored Baptists in Kentucky. Rev. Henry Adams, pastor of the host church, was elected President and Vincent Helm, Green Street Church, Louisville, Vice President. Rev. E. E. Hansbrough was chosen Secretary, and Brother Peter Smith, Frankfort, Treasurer. The important action of this first meeting was the appointing of a committee to look after establishing a school. The committee on membership reported about 5000 members of the churches. The most of the time of the session, was taken up in adopting a constitution and in a general discussion of the work.

The second session of the Convention was held in Frankfort, August 1866. The report of work done by the one missionary, Rev. R. Martin was submitted. The report showed he had collected $22.98, and after his expenses of $13.60 was paid, the Convention allowed him the balance of $9.38 on his salary. One of the interesting features of this session was an address by Rev. S. F. Thompson, the Corresponding Secretary of the General Association of White Baptists. In response to this address to "the
The session of the Convention in 1867 was held in Lexington with the First Baptist Church, colored. The following new churches were enrolled: Versailles, Fourth Street, Louisville, Cynthiana, New Castle, Keene, Bridgeport, Shelbyville, and Harrodsburg. The committee on locating a Baptist school reported that a property known as Hill Property in Frankfort could be purchased for $2000. The plan adopted for raising the money to pay for the property was “for all pastors to lay the matter before their churches, and ask all the members to pledge five cents monthly for this purpose.”

The session of the Convention of 1868 was held at the Fifth Street Church in Louisville. The first statistical report was made, which gave the number of churches, twenty-seven, and the membership, 6,260. The trustees appointed for the new school to be established, were given power to locate the school on the Hill Property in Frankfort “unless other property seemed more favorable.”

The State Convention was discontinued in 1869 at the meeting at Lexington, and the General Association of Colored Baptists in Kentucky was formed August 3, 1869, with messengers from fifty-five churches, aggregating 12,620 members. Rev. Henry Adams, who had been President of the Convention from its beginning in 1865, was chosen Moderator. Rev. S. P. Thompson, Corresponding Secretary of the General Association, and Rev. W. M. Pratt were visitors at this first session 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 was growing among the leaders of the Association. The vote was taken on locating the school, which resulted in 24 votes for Frankfort, and 25 for Louisville. There was also a movement to establish a Religious paper. The motion prevailed to organize a Sunday School Convention, which was called to meet in Georgetown. The missionary, Rev. R. Jones, labored five months, traveled 5285 miles, baptized fifty candidates, organized three churches, collected $885.65, paid all his salary and expenses, and turned over $169.41 to the Association.

In the session of 1870 in the Washington Street Church in Paducah, a resolution was adopted warning the churches against imposters in the ministry and “requesting churches not to receive ministers in their pulpits who had not come with proper credentials.” It was decided to hold an Annual Ministers’ Meeting to convene on Tuesday before the opening of the General Association.
The Association met at Danville in 1871, and Rev. G. W. Dupee, pastor in Paducah, was elected Moderator, and was reelected eleven times in succession. The records state that at this meeting "Rev. S. L. Helm, one of the white Baptist pastors of the State, was a welcome visitor, and took great interest in the proceedings." During the year 1872, the Colored Baptists suffered a great loss in the death of Rev. Henry Adams, their trusted leader for over forty years. He died on November 3, at the age of seventy years. In the session of 1875, the announcement was made concerning the publication of the first Baptist paper among the colored Baptists of Kentucky. This paper was called the Baptist Herald and was being published in Paducah and edited by Rev. G. W. Dupee, pastor of the Washington Street Church. The first number of this paper had appeared on November 10, 1875. Editor Dupee "spent much money and great labor to make the paper interesting. Its columns contained articles from the ablest colored ministers and brethren of Kentucky and adjacent states." The paper was endorsed by the Association in 1876, and recommended to the pastors and churches. About 1879 the name was changed to American Baptist, which continued to be the organ of the General Association of Colored Baptists, and according to an official report the circulation was above 4000 in 1948.11

The plan to establish a college for the colored Baptists was continued with unabated zeal until the effort was crowned with success at the meeting of the General Association, August 1879, in Lexington. The Hill property in Frankfort was sold on May 3 for $2,000 and later the Zane property in Louisville was purchased for $13,800 and the deed was made

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Dr. Simmons, the new president, was born of slave parents in Charleston, South Carolina, June 28, 1849. His parents moved to Philadelphia while he was young. These being days of slavery "they were compelled to remain in hiding." Young Simmons was converted in 1867 and united with a white Baptist church in New Jersey. When he announced his call to the ministry, white friends joined in and paid his schooling for three years. The New Jersey Education Society aided him to attend Madison University in New York, where he graduated in 1868. The following September, he entered Rochester University, but on account of his eyes, he had to desist from study. In 1871, he entered Howard University, Washington, D. C., and graduated in 1873 with the A.B. degree.

In the second session of the Normal and Theological Institute, under leadership of President Simmons, one hundred and eleven students were enrolled. The American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York appropriated $1500 on the payment of the teachers' salaries for 1881, and increased this appropriation to $2000 in 1882. In the meantime 140 students were enrolled. In 1884 the Charter was amended and the Institution took the name of State University. Through the solicitation of President Simmons, Mr. John D. Rockefeller made a gift of $500 for special improvements.
Because of declining health Dr. Simmons retired from the University before the meeting of the General Association of Colored Baptists at Henderson in August 1890. At the session, the announcement was made of his serious illness, and long, continued prayers were offered for his recovery. He died August 30 following the adjournment of the Association. His body lay in State in the University until the time of his funeral in the Fifth Street Baptist Church. The name of the Institution was changed from State University to Simmons University in his memory, and Dr. James Henry Garnett became President in late 1890 and served four years.

BASIC FACTS ABOUT KY'S HEMP CROP

p 3/ Ky. pioneers carried hemp seeds to Ky. "... the first crop in Kentucky" grew on Archibald McNeill's "... plantation on Clark's creek near the present town of Danville." in 1775. "At length, about 1780, hemp as a crop began to assume real importance in Kentucky and during the decade ending in 1790 as much as 1,200 pounds were frequently grown to the acre." Filson, in Discovery, ... Kentucke, in 1784, reported that "Hemp is produced in abundance." "One year after he established, in Lexington, The Kentucke Gazette, first newspaper of the West--in the autumn of 1788--John Bradford offered to take hemp in payment for subscriptions to his journal." The Ky Legis passed a law in 1792 "providing for the inspection of hemp and tobacco...."
Late in August or early in September, the horse-back traveler, again threading his way along the windin g woodland roads of the Blue Grass, would have seen on these same farmsteads and plantations, groups of stalwart chong-hued slaves with their overseers, cutting with short-handled knives or hooks and stacking the tall, slender, leafy stalks of the strangely interesting new crop—now revealed as hemp. When the late wind-swept, swirling heaps of oak and beech, hickory and sycamore leaves foretold the coming of early winter rains and frost and light falls of snow—back into the fields went the strongest and most virile of “old Masa’s children,” This time with forks in hand they might have been seen spreading the dry fluted stalks of the hemp over the fields of graying brown, to soften by dew and rain and frost—a primitive process long known as

“dew setting,” or setting, that frees the much desired lint or fibre from the resin which holds it to the woody portions of the stalk. Some times—but only occasionally—the stalks were immersed in some nearby pond or small stream to soften, and when in either case the fine fibre had become loosened and freed from the stalks, the “breaking season” was at hand.

Who is there in Kentucky whose ancestry and family tradition goes back through the generations which have come and gone since those early picturesque days, when Isaac Shelby, James Garrard, Christopher Greenup and Charles Scott were Governors of the Commonwealth, that cannot recall and thrill with the recollection of the days of “hemp breaking.” Down through the fields, in dry weather, the sturdy, good natured laborers, singing together their songs of indolence in colorful talk and banter, spread out, taking their hand shoulders and wooden brakes with them from shock to shock. Day after day they worked, monotonously, from early morning to dark, throwing the heavy lever of the hemp brake, tossing the worthless “hords” or “shives” to one side into growing piles, and carefully folding and tying the fibre in long flaxen bundles to be drawn from the fields by oxen or mules in low wagons at the end of the day, and stored in some dry part of the barn.

And then at dusk, those never-to-be-forgotten scenes during the ringing of the “shives.” A fleeting figure, vague, half seen, like some ghost or apparition appearing and disappearing in the gathering shadows, carrying the lighted brand from pile to pile. In a

Throughout the Blue Grass region and extending to Covington and Newport, on the Ohio, in the north, and Louisville in the west, plants sprang up with great rapidity for fabricating the product of Kentucky’s hemp fields. The bend looms of the pioneers, such as that of Ave McGivney at Harrod, weaver a roach Indee out of hemp and other fibres, such as flax, for the clothing of laborers, including slaves, came to make use of a constantly diminishing fraction of Kentucky’s crop. At the turn of the century, several rope walks were flourishing in Lexington, Frankfort, George-
town and other central Kentucky towns. The Reverend Elijah Craig’s original rope walk, established in 1789, at Georgetown, and the first in Kentucky, had lost all of its early distinction in the forward surge of the hemp industry. In

In 1859 there were 28 “rope walks” in Kentucky. The state led the nation in the “manufacture of cordage.”
As time went on, nothing, absolutely nothing, it then seemed, could stop Kentucky hemp. In the 1840's every farm, almost, in the rich agricultural region radiating about Lexington grew hemp in greater or lesser quantity. Several counties, Woodford, Fayette, Mason and Scott produced annually over 1,000 tons each, and the state, as a whole, east over 10,000 tons. Long since acknowledged as the outstanding cash crop of the country, hemp actually founded many a fortune and built many a stately manor house. For the growing hemp industry depended on slave labor at home to grow and break the crop. It also depended on slave labor in the South to grow cotton to be bound by Ky hemp products. "With the firing of Sumpter's guns in 1861, ruin stalked unopposed through Kentucky's hemp fields, and the industry, mortally wounded fell, stabbed in its vitals by the loss of its grand outlet -- the cotton market of the South." "Spindles and looms and rope walks immediately became idle in Kentucky, and hemp in thousands of tons rotted and was burned in the fields as marching thousands..." trooped over it.
ACTIVITIES OF UNION BENEVOLENT SOCIETY OF LEX 1843-77; APPEAL FOR MORE AID, 1877

Const & by-laws of Col People's Union Benevolent Society of Lex, 1877

Const & by-laws of Col People's Union Benevolent Society of Lex, 1877

Beloved People of Lexington.

Thirty-four years ago our society was organized by such men as:


Many of these good brethren are still alive and worthy and active members of the community. Of the usefulness of our society, little need be said. For a quarter of a century you have seen its operations every day among you. Thousands upon thousands of dollars, have been collected and disbursed to the needy.

We have clothed the naked, fed the hungry, relieved the grief stricken, and brought joy and gladness to hundreds of destitute homes. During the past year alone nearly two thousand dollars have been expended to help the afflicted, and we still have some hundreds of dollars in our treasury, as an assurance against future want. But for the benevolent societies, God only knows what would have become of our people during the past terrible winter. Oh! it was joy unexpected to see the bright fire burn and flash in the destitute hearth of the widow, to feed the orphan, and clothe their shivering limbs.

LOU. V. JESSE,
Secretary.

GEO. SCROGGIN,
President.
undated newspaper clipping in const & by-laws of col people's Union Benevolent Society of lex, 1877

Title of newspaper clipping: "Articles of Incorporation of the Grand Lodge of the Union Benevolent Society." Apparently formed as Chapter 56 of the U B S. Leaders were A. C. Banks, S. P. Bell, Jackson Momen, Alex Thompson and Moses Mosely. Purpose: to help needy brethren, provide burial for members, help support surviving members of the family, etc.

Be it known that under the authority granted by the state of Kentucky, A. C. Banks, S. P. Bell, Jackson Momen, Alex Thompson and Moses Mosely, their associates and successors, have this day formed a benevolent body corporate and enter into the following articles of incorporation, and as such body corporate, to have perpetual succession, to be used and be by the name of Union Benevolent Society of Lexington, Kentucky, and to do all acts and things usual and necessary to preserve the rights and privileges of a body corporate, and to transact any and all business for the public welfare, and to do all other things usual and necessary to the preservation of the rights of the said corporation.

1. The corporation shall have the right to make and receive contributions from all persons, and to accept gifts, bequests and subscriptions.

2. The corporation shall have the right to retain the moneys contributed or given for the purposes of the corporation, and to apply the same to the purposes of the corporation as may be determined by the board of directors.

3. The corporation shall have the right to exercise all the powers and privileges granted by law to corporations of like character.

4. The corporation shall have the right to acquire, hold, and dispose of property, real or personal, for the purposes of the corporation.

5. The corporation shall have the right to make and receive contributions from all persons, and to accept gifts, bequests and subscriptions.

6. The corporation shall have the right to retain the moneys contributed or given for the purposes of the corporation, and to apply the same to the purposes of the corporation as may be determined by the board of directors.

7. The corporation shall have the right to exercise all the powers and privileges granted by law to corporations of like character.

8. The corporation shall have the right to acquire, hold, and dispose of property, real or personal, for the purposes of the corporation.

The articles of incorporation shall be in force for seven years from and after the date hereof, and shall be subject to amendment from time to time, as may be necessary for the public welfare.

STATE OF KENTUCKY

On the 8th day of December, 1851, before me, John W. Breathitt, Clerk of the Christian County Court, there appeared A. C. Banks, S. P. Bell, Jackson Momen, Alex Thompson and Moses Mosely, all of the aforesaid State, who, being by me duly sworn, deposed that they are the subscribers and incorporators of the aforesaid corporation, and that they are the persons to whom the same may be addressed.

In witness whereof, I, John W. Breathitt, Clerk of the Christian County Court, have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of office, this 8th day of December, 1851.

J. W. Breathitt

CHRISTIAN COUNTY

BRIEF HIST OF BLACK METHODISTS IN RELATION TO WHITE METHODISTS 6941

David Morris Jordan, Sr., "The Lexington Conference and Negro Migration," n.d. memographed article

In 1866, while the Kentucky Conference of the Methodist church was in session in Covington, the conference "... received on trial some of its newly emancipated local preachers, organized them into a 'Colored Mission District', and appointed them to a chain of Negro churches across the state." The presiding elder was a white man, Robert G. Gardiner (for Col Miss Dist). Since the time he was a chaplain during the C.W. Gardiner had a deep interest in the religious conversion of blacks.

The most black churches, the article says, were in the northeastern part of the state with Asbury church the largest black church in Lexington. At the same conference a 2d districts, "Bowling Green District," was established, headed by Hanson Tolbot, "... the Negro presiding elder in any white conference." But, "... the Bowling Green District was discontinued at the next session..."

In 1869 the conference created 2 districts for blacks (1) "Northeastern District" "centered around Asbury Church, Lexington with H. H. Lytle as presiding elder; and the "Southwestern District" centered around Jackson Street Church (now R. E. Jones Temple) Louisville, with Hanson Tolbot as presiding elder. Both Lytle and Hanson/Tolbot were Negroes, being the first to serve in this capacity in any white or mixed conference in Methodism." But the blacks wanted to be separate, to control their own destiny. The Kentucky Conference /p 4/ in 1869 created a new conference of 17 black preachers, under the presidency of Bishop Levi Scott and called it the "Lexington Conference." "Its first session, being the first session of any Negro Methodist Conference in the West, was held in Jackson Street Church (now R. E. Jones Temple) Louisville, February 1870, under the presidency of Bishop Edward Thomson."
The first reference to a Negro Methodist congregation with a regular conference member as pastor is made to Lexington in 1844 when the church split over the slavery issue. The general minutes show that a Rev. Moses M. Henkle (white) was appointed to the Lexington charge for white people, and a Rev. George B. Poage (white) was appointed as his assistant to be pastor for the Negro congregation of 835 members. At that time 40,000 whites, 10,000 blacks in conference. In Louisville in 1835 blacks outnumbered whites 4 to 1, there being only 1 Methodist Church in the city to that time. To remedy the situation 3 churches were carved out of the church. "Fourth Street"—101 whites and 483 blacks; "Brook Street"—170 whites; and "Eighth Street"—105 whites. Total 376 whites and 483 blacks. Fourth Street was the original church. Says the 3-church division transferred most blacks to Brook St.Ch. Eventually "... the Negro members were organized into a separate Methodist church under the guidance of the old Brook Street Methodist Episcopal Church. It is said that a piece of ground was given them on Jackson Street between Jefferson and Green where, within a few years, laboring with utmost loyalty, devotion and sacrifice they completed the stately old Jackson Street church...." Since relocated and renamed R.E. Jones Temple.

DEMOCRATS OPPOSE EQUALIZING SCHOOL BUDGETS (Apr 1882)

The Daily Louisville Commercial, April 12, 1882, p. 1

"OPPOSING THE SCHOOLS.
THE BOURBONS IN THE LEGISLATURE OBSTRUCT COLORED EDUCATION.
Mr. Breathitt's Resolution Providing Committee to Prepare a Fair Law Refused a Hearing: Congressional Calculations.
Special to The Commercial.
FRANKFORT, April 11. - The action of the Democrats yesterday in defeating the Breathitt school bill was freely commented on today by everybody. It was the talk of the town. The Republicans hoped, for the good of the State, that the Democrats would overcome their blind hatred of the negro enough to vote for the bill. It was of course expecting much of them, but they thought they would make some sacrifice of their unrelenting animosity toward a race whom they were so used to oppressing. But they were counting against their host. If there was one thing more than another, which brands the Democrats of this Legislature donkey, it is their vote on this bill. They knew the present law to be unconstitutional. They knew they were voting against the decision of the Supreme Court. They knew the common school system would go to pieces if the changes proposed be not made and made immediately; and yet, because they could not forget their past relation to the blacks, could not forget that they were once their lords and their masters; could not forget that they had whipped them, they determined to let the Constitution of the United States go to the dogs.
Their vote today confirmed their position. It showed that they were determined to maintain it at all costs. They will set their faces as a flint against all that looks towards the betterment of the negroes. They will resort to any means to keep them ignorant. They are afraid to educate them.
The effect of their folly on the common school system will according to the best informed men here be ruinous. The decision of Judge Baxter settles that. What, then, will be the immediate effect on the State? How will it affect the August election? How will it affect the November election? Can anybody doubt that it will cost ten thousand votes to the Bourbons? Everything seems to be playing into Colonel Jacob's hand. If this Legislature would only sit a moment longer it would elect Jacob by 50,000 majority.

A BOMBSHELL FOR BOURBONISM.

Hardly had the House been called to order this morning when Mr. Breathitt startled the Bourbons by offering the following resolution:

WHEREAS: It is the opinion of many good citizens of the Commonwealth that it is the duty of the State to furnish common school educational facilities for the education of all the children between the ages of six and twenty years living within its borders; and whereas, the present system of common schools in this Commonwealth is inadequate to accomplish this object, and is sadly deficient in many particulars and whereas, our present system of common schools is grossly unequal and unjust in its provisions for the education of the children of a large class of the citizens of this Commonwealth, who are in the main industrious laborers of the State; and whereas, it is the duty of the State to provide more especially for the education of the children of the poor of the State than of any other class, in order that they may properly understand and appreciate the high and responsible duties of freemen, and the power and influence of the elective franchise in shaping the destiny of a free country; and whereas, it is believed by many that as a measure of economy the State should undertake, by sufficient provisions, the education of the masses in the common English branches first, because the material prosperity and wealth of the State would thereby be increased through skilled and intelligent labor in the various industries of the State, and second, because as the masses become educated, pauperism and crime will be diminished, and in many instances health and prosperity would be where disease and poverty now exist as a burden upon the community and, whereas, it is the opinion of many of the good citizens of this Commonwealth, that the present common school system is in conflict with the recent amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the acts of Congress in pursuance thereof.

First-- Because 50,725 colored voters and taxpayers of this State, and their families, are denied the equal protection and benefits under the laws.
Second-- Because there is an inequality in the taxation imposed upon this class of citizens.
Third-- Because there is an unjust discrimination made against this class of citizens in reference to the ages between which they may attend school, and also as the length of the school session: and

WHEREAS, Section 1 of article 2 of the Constitution of the State provides for the establishment of "a system of common schools," and appropriates for that purpose in the aggregate the sum of $1,400,500, the dividends and interest upon which amounts annually to the sum of $80,000; and, whereas, the act of 1884, which establishes a system of common schools for white children exclusively, appropriates this sum of $80,000 annually to the education of the white children of the State, and denies to the colored children any benefit under said constitutional provision; and whereas, it is the opinion of the citizens of this Commonwealth that the application
of said constitutional fund made by the act of 1884 is unjust, illiberal and without a notion of law, and opposed to the best interest of this Commonwealth; and whereas, there are very grave doubts touching the constitutional rights of this State to establish two separate and distinct systems of taxation collected of two separate and distinct classes of citizens, and whose rights under either system are determined by race or color; and, whereas, it is held by the courts that if the colored citizen is allowed an equal pro rata of the school fund by the laws of the State that no injustice is done him by providing separate schools for his education from the schools kept for the white children; therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the Speaker appoint a committee of three members of this House, whose duty it shall be to prepare a bill to provide for the equal distribution of the common school funds of this State among all the children of school age in the State without regard to race or color. And that they provide in said bill for such an increase of the present rate of taxation for school purposes as will prevent any decrease in the present per capita paid for the education of the white children of the State. And Said committee shall report said bill to this House on the 18th day of April, 1882, or sooner if practicable.

Dr. Luten moved that it be referred to the Committee on Education. FIGHTING OFF THE QUESTION.

Mr. Breathitt demanded the yeas and nays, and when his name was called he began to speak.

He was stopped by the Speaker, who called the attention of the House to the fact that the special order, the Superior Court bill, was the special order for that hour.

Mr. Breathitt, with delicious irony, was just going on to say that it had been reported abroad that the Kentucky Legislature was putting itself in opposition to the Constitution of the United States in this school bill. Of course this was a base slander on the Legislature, as he felt sure they would not vote for a system which is in direct conflict with the highest law of the land.

The Democrats were beginning to wince under this new method of attack, and the special order came up just in time.

A motion was made to postpone the special order, and it was lost by a tie vote of 30 to 30. There was nothing else to be done. The Bourbons had expressed themselves again, and even more emphatically than yesterday, as opposed to any bill which looks to the betterment of the colored people.

Mr. Jackson moved to reconsider the vote, but the House refused to do so by a vote of 39 to 31.

THE ROLL OF HONOR.

The vote stood as follows:

To suspend special order and give resolution a chance:

THE BLACK LIST
against considering the resolution: Owens, Allnutt, Bailley, Beale, Beard, Berry, Bowling, Carroll, Craig, Derrickman, T. J. Duncan, J. R. Duncan, T. J. Elmore, Elliston, Hanks, Harding, Herbst, Hull, Jackson, Kehbe, Lee, May, McElroy, Meriwether, Milburn, Moreman, Offutt, Phelps, Pieratt, Price, Read, Sanders, Shaw, Stone, Stuart, Taber, Thompson, Truesdell and Williams, Total--39.

This, of course, defeated the bill temporarily, and the Superior Court bill was taken up.

"Last night our servant woman left while we were asleep, & we found the kitchen in the morning & empty, & wife Mary, & myself went to work to get breakfast. About two weeks before our cook Lucinda rec'd a letter from Camp Nelson sent by some white man for her Husband Henry, stating that she was free, & to either hire herself to me, or to some body else in town, or to come there, when provision was made for them. She sent the letter for me to read, I went into the Kitchen to talk to her about the subject, & told her she could leave us or stay just as she pleased. I offered to give her $2 per week if she would stay, & that she might have four days in the week to work for herself. She said she had rather stay with us, that we had always used her well, & that she was satisfied she could not do as well any where else as with us. I told her, I would be glad for her to stay if she felt contented & would do as she always did, & not to be mourning (?) about to consult with the free negroes. I suppose however she was persuaded to leave. I found the Kitchen cleaned up, the bread, & ready for baking & kindling at hand to start a fire. I hope she & her daughter will do well - they have been faithful servants & I believe it would have been better for their interest to have staid with us."
Their servants had run off:
"10th - Last week had rich experience in house keeping. I got up, made fires, put on tea Kettle & wife done the Cooking - got along very well, only wife worried, hurt her fingers, etc. We had applications every day & some days half a dozen per day of free negroes to work for us. If they were run away's we did not entertain any propositions but sent them off in modesty (?) We tried two, but both worthless & dismissed them. This is a new order of things & It will take some time to adapt our selves to the change."

"To day went in morning to Camp Nelson to obtain information respecting Ed & Haggle two negroes of on what I am found them with & Col Ledwick office to see certificates. Some 4 or 5000 negroes are congregated there. I am bringing for the I found the road lined with them going. While I was It is now the time of Harvest & Negroes are leaving here & I fear the grain will not be harvested."
What They Are Doing to Elevate and Educate Themselves and What is Being Done For Them

Their Excellent Schools and Churches and Their Savings Bank, with Some Surprising Statistics Concerning It.

Their Leading Men--Praiseworthy Exertions which Should be Seconded.

THE CHANGES OF ELEVEN YEARS.

Eleven years of freedom has fallen thus far to the lot of the colored race, eleven years of to them blessed liberty from the hands of thraldom after so many long years of bondage. Who, but the colored people, can estimate the value of this priceless boon, granted to them through the instrumentality of a bloody strife between brother and brother. There is not perhaps a single individual in this broad country who would, even if it were in his power, relegate the African race back to serfdom. In the eleven years which have passed since the issuance of the emancipation proclamation much has been accomplished for the advancement of four millions of former slaves, politically, morally, and intellectually. They have been made the full equal of the white man before the law, invested with all his franchises and almost all his social privileges. The question naturally arises, have they been able, by sufficient development of mind and morals, to use all these rights, thrust upon them, with becoming fitness and dignity. Thoroughly ignorant in everything, when first set free, they could not of course wear the privileges granted them with the equanimity and trustworthiness of a white man. It takes long years to dissipate ignorance among so many people, and, although much has been done, and much is still being done, to make the negro an enlightened and an intelligent being, appreciating fully the glorious attributes of mankind, having an inward longing and thirst for nobler aspirations, soaring high into the field of intelligent ambition, all this can only gradually be accomplished. As there are many intervening years between childhood and manhood, so there were, and still are, years before the colored man can, from his former ignorance, reach the general sphere of mankind's usefulness and activity. As has been said, however, much has already been accomplished for the advancement and the more intelligent portion of the colored race are laboring earnestly, manfully, and with gratifying success, to raise their brothers to a higher level in the human grade.

Towards the attainment of this object many are devoting their lives, and the unprejudiced white man can only bid them God speed. In Louisville there is no exception to this rule. The black man is doing his utmost to place himself on a better scale of intelligence, and a very marked progress can be discerned in their education, morality and active industry, although idleness and crime amongst them is still very great. The colored population of this city has been variously estimated from 20,000 to 25,000, probably the latter is nearer to the actual number. This population has been increased from year to year by a large number of colored men coming from the country and hoping to better themselves in this city, but many of whom have proved an incubus rather than a benefit to the community by their idleness and evil disposition. Within the last few years, however, great
strides have been made by our colored people in all directions, and many of them have earned large sums of money, which has been carefully put aside.

THE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

of the colored race in this city have been gradually extended since the year 1870. Before that time, however, the Board of School Trustees had taken no steps whatever to educate the colored children, and what little education they did receive was in private schools or schools connected with their churches. The education thus received was, naturally, of a very inferior kind. The public mind had been around upon the subject in the year 1870, and prejudice so far gave way that at a meeting of the School Board held September 22, 1870, the following report was offered and adopted:

To the Board of Trustees:

Gentlemen--Your Committee on Colored Schools respectfully report, to the best of information they have been able to get, the amount of city school taxes paid and to be paid by the people of African race in this city, for the years 1866-67-68-69-70, is $3,659 32, which, together with $729 53, due the colored people from the State, amounting altogether to $4,388 85, we recommend shall be placed to the credit of the colored school fund. We recommend further, that, on the 1st of October two schools for the colored people be opened—one in the Centre-street African Methodist church, and the other in the Fifth street African Baptist church, and as soon thereafter as a suitable place can be obtained, another school shall be opened, making three in all; that in each of these three schools three teachers shall be employed, one who shall be principal, at a salary of $40 per month, one other at $30, and the other at $25 per month, and that toward defraying the expenses of these schools for this school year, $3,500 be appropriated.

This was a small beginning, but it was a good beginning, and each year succeeding this has opened more schools for the colored people. On the 4th of September, 1871, the three schools established in colored churches were consolidated into one, and the building on the corner of Fourteenth and Broadway, suitable for a school, was used in their stead. The school could not accommodate all the scholars, and in the succeeding year of 1872 another school was established on the corner of Chestnut and Campbell streets, for the children of the East End. There was

A MARKED IMPROVEMENT

in the condition of the colored schools after their consolidation and removal to the excellent building on the corner of Broadway and Fourteenth. The scholars were better graded and classified than before, and the rooms they occupied were large, well lighted and ventilated, and consequently their progress in every respect was more satisfactory. The inconvenient location of the building compelled many persons, living in the Eastern portion of the city, and whose children were unable to travel the great distance, to keep them at home or sent them to private schools, and hence the establishment of an additional school in the Eastern portion of the city.
SEPARATE BUILDINGS ERECTED

It was almost impossible to obtain suitable rented buildings, and Superintendent Tingley in his report of 1872 recommended the erection of buildings of sufficient capacity. The President of the Board of Trustees in his annual report of 1872 aroused the affection of the Board by the following excellent remarks upon the education of the colored children.

I would call your attention to the subject of the colored schools in our city, the consideration of which has already occupied your minds to some extent. The fund appropriated for the purpose of carrying on these schools is entirely inadequate, and much injury is hence sustained by this class of citizens. In the early years of their freedom it is eminently expedient that every facility should be given them for the improvement of their intellectual condition. The longer this is deferred the more difficulty will be met in inducing them to realize and accept its advantages. Much trouble is already experienced on account of their general ignorance, and unless active and persistent efforts are made for their mutual improvement, the next generation will be little if any better qualified to exercise properly the rights of freemen. It is a matter in which we are materially interested, and it becomes us to grapple with and endeavor to remove the obstacles in the way of their education. Upon examination it is found that good progress has been made by them within the last year. They manifest a laudable desire for improvement, and when we consider the difficulties under which they labor, we are encouraged to assist in alleviating their troubles as far as possible. Funds have been supplied from your general revenue toward the maintainance of these schools, but this assistance has been insufficient to supply their needs. It seems but reasonable that the tax upon property owned by this class should be appropriated for a time at least to their benefit. This plan, however, has been seriously objected to on the ground that it might be considered class legislation, and not in keeping with the fundamental principles of our State constitution. An additional levy of two (2) cents for school purposes would give us ample means to place them on the same footing as our other schools— as is being done in St. Louis, this city having expended some $60,000 in the past two years on her colored schools. It is therefore recommended that your body take this important question under advisement and endeavor to suggest some plan that will relieve them, thereby removing from yourselves a burden that is becoming embarrassing.

In the year 1871-72 the number of pupils enrolled in the schools was 633, the number remaining at the end of the year 304. Eight teachers were employed, at a cost of $2,490 96, and the total expenses of the school were $2,744 96. In the year 1872-73 the number enrolled was increased to 1,012 by the establishment of an additional school, and three more teachers were employed. The cost of maintaining the schools this year was $4,150 10. During the last year the handsome CENTRAL COLORED SCHOOL was erected on the corner of Sixth and Kentucky, the total cost being $32,000. This is probably the finest colored school in the country, and
DEVELOPMENTS AMONG BLACKS IN LOU: SUMMARY 1874

Lou Courier Journal, June 28, 1874, p 3.

is as well ventilated, well lighted and well arranged as any of the other schools in the city. It will easily accommodate 600 pupils. The Board also at the beginning of this year rented a house in Portland for the colored children of that vicinity, making four schools in all for the colored children. The attendance has increased about 2,000 or 2,500 during the past year, and next year the increase will doubtless be greater still. The Board is now erecting a suitable building on Jackson and Breckinridge to take the place of the present rented building in the East End, and the money has been put aside for the erection of a building next year in the West End, to take the place of the rented building on Fourteenth and Broadway. The colored schools will now compare favorably with those used for the white children in the city. It is, indeed, very gratifying to the friends of the colored people to see the avidity with which the opportunities afforded by the establishment of these schools are seized. Learning to appreciate the great, the supreme importance of education, they avail themselves of this provision for their interests with the utmost eagerness. The patience with which our colored people awaited the slow process of procuring for them educational facilities is worthy of all praise and the intelligence, self-denial and perseverance with which they are seeking to improve their minds and add to their scholarship, will no doubt bring their reward in the future.

THE COST OF MAINTAINING the colored schools at present is about $3,500, two-thirds of which is supplied from the taxes of the white people. The colored people now have every facility for common school education, the same text-books being used, and the same rules being observed as in the white schools. Connected with these schools is a Board of Colored Visitors, consisting of some of our best colored citizens, and appointed by the Board of Trustees. This Board looks to the interests of those schools, and is composed of the following members: Horace Morris, Marshall Woodson, Napoleon Bonaparte, Andrew Bibb, James Meriweather, General Brown, General Taylor, (?) Rogers, Wm. Stewart, Madison (?), General Thomas and W. H. Gibson. The committee made the following annual report:

To the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools

Gentlemen—The members of the Board of Visitors desire, through the Committee on Colored Public Schools, to return their sincere thanks for the uniform courtesy and consideration shown them, and the earnest, hearty co-operation extended in all measures advocated for the advancement of the colored school interests.

 Permit us to say that we are not unmindful of the powerful 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, under the circumstances, we had reason to expect. In view of all the facts, with grateful hearts we return to you, in 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 succeeded our efforts for the education of the colored youth.

By order of Board of Visitors.

Horrace Morris, Sec.
THE FREEDMEN'S SAVINGS BANK

One of the interesting institutions of the colored people in this city
is the Freemen's Savings Bank, and we give some account of its workings
since its organization, and the great amount of good it has accomplished
can be easily seen.

The Freedmen's Savings Bank was established by Congress in 1865 for
the encouragement of savings by the colored people. Some of the most dis­
interested philanthropists in the United States were the incorporators,
among whom were Peter Cooper, William Cullan Bryant, A. A. Low, Gerritt
Smith, S. B. Chittenden, William Claffin, George Whipple, Levi Coffin and
others.

The branch in this city was organized in September, 1865, with Hon.
Bland Ballard as chairman of the advisory board and Col. Wm. H. Sidell
as secretary. Dr. Wm. H. Goddard was the first cashier. The members of the
board were Edgar Needham, Rev. J. H. Heywood, Washington Spreadling, Rev.
Henry Adams, Rev. Richard Smith, J. Merriwether, W. Talbot, L. W. Minor,
Morris, and others.

That the bank was of great benefit, of ( ) to the colored
people at that time, and now, there can be no question. The war had just
closed, and large numbers of colored soldiers were being paid off, and the
country was swarming with sharpers ready to swindle them out of their money.
The bank stepped in and stood between them and this class of people. Agents
were sent to the localities where they were being paid off, their money re­
ceived on deposit, a certificate given for it, and transferred without cost
or risk to the depositor to whatever point designated. Thousands of dollars
were thus handled for the soldiers, and the first instance of lack to the
depositor is to be yet reported.

The first report of the business of the company was made March, 1865,
when there was reported as the depositors at the Louisville branch ( )
to March, 1867, ( ) March, 1868, $55,568 50; 1869, $59,573 23; 1870,
( ), 1871, $106,494 25; March, 1874, $135,683 53.

As we have before stated, the first cashier was Dr. Wm. H. Goddard, who
resigned shortly after, in 1868, we believe, because he could not give the
business his whole time. Col. S. A. Porter was the next cashier, who, re­
signed to take a position in the regular army. The next was Mr. H. H.
Burkholder, who lost his life in the collision of the States and America,
December, 1868. The present cashier, Horace Morris, one of our leading
colored men, succeeded Mr. Barkholder. The number of depositors has steadily
increased from 709 at the time the present cashier took charge, up to 2,959
on the first of the present month, an increase of 2,250 during his office.
The bank received deposits as low as five cents, the object being to encourage
the people to deposit their money. Several who began by small deposits now
have respectable balances. Some fifty or more persons have bought comfortable
little homes, saving every dollar through the bank.

THE EFFECT OF SAVING

upon the colored people is quite marked; those who before they commenced
having by something for the future, were indifferent, careless as to home
comforts, personal appearance, and standing in the community, have since
risen higher and higher in their own estimation, deport themselves with more
manliness, are more particular about home and its adornments, and their standing in society, as their bank account increased. The women, as a general fact, are the steadiest, or most regular depositors, many of them having established it as a rule to deposit something every week, and rain or shine they are found going to the bank on time. During the panic last fall, to the credit of the colored people be it said they did not get up and run on their bank, but having confidence in the cashier, only drew as their wants demanded.

THE RECENT CHANGES

Under the original charter, all the money was sent to the East for investment, but the amendments passed by Congress this present month provides that from now out the investments shall be made in our own city, and that all the money now invested in the East belonging to this branch here shall be collected as soon as possible and invested here. The amendments give general satisfaction to all the friends of the bank, for they remove the only objectionable feature that was in the old charter, i.e., that the money was sent out of the community. The money is to be loaned on real estate and Government securities, which will give the industrious of the colored people a chance to buy little homes and to thus get ahead in the world.

The Government has done everything that can be done to make the bank perfectly safe and the money of the depositors absolutely secure, and we are satisfied that its future for good is greater than in the past.

The total number of deposits has been............... $29,083
The total amount of deposits has been................ $1,421,389 43

The decrease in the present year is owing to the panic of last fall.

WEALTHY COLORED MEN

The colored people last year paid a city tax of $40,363 94. At the close of the war there were probably about one dozen colored tax payers in the city of Louisville, but they have increased each year, until the number reached 463 last year. The following are those who pay over $100 worth of taxes:

Armstead Buckner......................... $108 64
Dobney Page.............................. 188 81
Marshal Woodson........................
Palsey Blue..............................
Matthew Lewis (est)......................
John Morris and wife...................
Matthew Rankin.........................
Lucy Spradling..........................
Louise Spradling....................... 187 37
Willie Spradling.......................
DEVELOPMENTS AMONG BLACKS IN LOU: SUMMARY 1874

lou courier journal, june 28, 1874, p 3.

Dave Straws (est) 
Mary Garrison 
W. Spradling 
Jerry King

By calculation, the smallest of these tax payers, Matthew Rankin, owns $15,834.50 worth of real estate; the largest, Dave Straws (est), (?) worth of real estate, and the rest between these two figures.

THE CHURCHES—BAPTIST

The colored people are very enthusiastic in their religious convictions, and religion is uppermost in the minds of many of them. Their churches are scattered all over the city and its suburbs. The Baptist and the Methodist churches are the most wealthy and influential. The Fifth-street Baptist church is the oldest colored church in the city, and now perhaps the largest. Its organization dates back from 1830. The late pastor, Henry Adams, was pastor of the church for thirty-five years, and was a good man in every sense of the term. Its present pastor is Rev. S. Heath. The membership numbers 1,200 persons. It is considered the most popular church in the city, doubtless from having one of the best choirs, under the direction of Madison Minnis, in the city, white or black. A flourishing Sunday school is attached to the church. The church is situated on Fifth, between Walnut and Chestnut streets.

The Green-street Baptist church, near Preston street, under the guidance of Rev. Daniel Gaddy, has about 1,000 members, with a Sabbath-school in flourishing condition, and is also a very popular colored church.

THE METHODISTS

have four different branches—the Colored M. E. Church of America, the Zion M. E. Church, the African M. E. Church, and the Colored M. E. Church South. Each has its chapels and churches. The Center-street M. E. Church of America is the leading church of its branch, and one of the oldest churches in the city. It has no pastor at present, but the presiding elder, G. W. Jackson, has charge of it. It has a membership of about 345, and is in a prosperous condition.

Quinn’s and Ashbury chapels are the leading churches of the colored M. E. branch. Quinn’s chapel was organized in 1846 in a stable on Main street by a few free blacks. They have had the present church, on Walnut, near Ninth, most of this time. It has had a great many difficulties, having been formerly looked upon as an abolition church. Their members have only increased since the war. It has been under the administration of some very able ministers, ex-Senator Revels having been its pastor at one time. Rev.
J. W. Asbury is its pastor at the present time. The congregation is an unusually intelligent one, and has also a good choir attached to it.

Asbury Chapel, on Ninth, near Walnut, seceded from the white churches in 1849, and was then situated on Fourth and Green. It has a regular college of its own for the education of the colored ministry, and has produced some very talented colored ministers. The church is laboring under a heavy debt at present on account of alterations in their building, and their minister, Rev. J. Mitchell, is now engaged in canvassing for assistance.

Zion church is located on Fifteenth, near Walnut, and is now in a flourishing condition.

Jackson street M. H. Church, South, under the Rev. Marcus McCooper, is progressing finely.

PRESBYTERIAN

There is but one colored Presbyterian church, which is situated on Green, near Ninth, under the charge of Rev. J. B. Riley, a graduate of a Canada college, and a man of fine ability. This church was organized about two years ago, and has about thirty or forty members.

EPISCOPAL, CATHOLIC AND CHRISTIAN

There is only one Episcopal church also, built on Madison near Tenth, by the liberality of Rev. Dr. Norton, at a cost of $10,000. Dr. Norton also pays a teacher to take charge of a day school constructed with the church and built a ( ? ) for that purpose. This church organized in 1879 and has now thirty members.

There is also one Catholic church, which was built mainly through the exertions of the distinguished Rev. J. Lancaster Spalding who was its first pastor. It is now under the charge of Rev. Father Vignerot, and is in a flourishing condition.

There is one colored Christian church on Hancock near Green, in charge of Rev. J. B. Smith. As a whole, the church organization of the colored people in this city is very large, and the churches are always crowded with a devotional, religious class of people.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS

There is undoubtedly a propensity among a large class of the black race to idleness and ( ? ). This comes from their crowding into the cities, where the supply of work is not equal to the demand, and consequently a very great number have nothing to live upon, a fact which results to much vice and immorality. There are two distinct classes of colored people—the ignorant and low class of negroes who infest the alleys, crowd into rooms where one would suppose it impossible for human beings to exist, and the respectable class, who are laboring zealously to lift up from their degradation and shame the first class. During the last four years the increase in the colored population has been very large, and of course crime among them has increased to some extent. The ratio of criminals to inhabitants is greater among the blacks than among the whites, but we are glad to say that this large ratio of crime is now gradually decreasing, until, it is to be hoped, it will occupy its proper level. The following are the criminal statistics of the colored people for the past four years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>January</th>
<th>February</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>173</td>
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<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>1873</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
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DEVELOPMENTS AMONG BLACKS IN LOU: SUMMARY 1874

PROMINENT COLORED MEN

Geo. Brown and Dan Clemmons, of the firm of George and Dan famous as excellent restaurateurs of the city, are both prominent men among the 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. (? ) Bazel, 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. Marshal Woodson, one of the wealthiest, is also one of the best known colored citizens of this city. (? ) 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 Douglass 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.

SECRET SOCIETIES

There are about fifteen hundred Odd Fellows in the five colored lodges in this city, and their procession on the 10th inst. presented a very creditable appearance, indeed. The Masons have three lodges and one chapter, with a membership of about four hundred, and of their last parade and picnic the same compliment as above is justly paid. At the Odd Fellows entertainment in the Exposition building on the 10th inst. there were some three thousand colored people present, yet not the slightest exhibition of disorder was manifested, and the same may be said of the Masons picnic at Villa Park last Wednesday.

The colored population of Louisville is a large one. It is important in relation to its size, and the efforts of the leading colored men to educate and elevate their race, and to redeem their brothers who are steeped in ignorance and vice is deserving of great credit, and should meet with every assistance possible from the white people of this city. We are convinced...
that it is the disposition of the latter to aid the colored people in every way possible, and of this nothing is a better proof than the educational facilities which have been afforded them.

GENERAL REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF BLACKS IN LOU JUNE 1887

The Louisville Courier-Journal, June 19, 1887, p 7

THE COLORED PEOPLE

Bank Porters Organize--A Compliment to Aged Cary Logan

Palestine Commandery Election--St. John's Day Celebrations High School Alumni--The Odd Fellows--General News

The colored porters of the different banking houses of the city met yesterday at the Louisville Clearing house, and effected a permanent organization. Theodore Hawkins was elected President and Daniel Hamilton Secretary. The former is porter at the Second National Bank, and the latter at the Louisville City National Bank.

A pleasant feature of the meeting was the presentation of a fine cane to Cary Logan, the aged porter at the Louisville Clearing-house. He is seventy-five years of age, and has been faithfully at work at the Clearing-house for forty-five years past. During this time he has lost but two days, and has never committed a blunder. The presentation speech was made by William Kinslow. Other short speeches were also made by Benjamin Ferguson and Maj. Clinton McClarty.

PALESTINE COMMANDERY ELECTION

The following officers of Palestine Commandery, No. 15, K. T., for the ensuing year were elected Thursday night:

H. R. Smith, E. C.; James Merrifield, Generalissimo; L. A. Duncan, Captain General; J. W. Burges, Prelate; Joseph Ray, S. W.; John Meriman, J. W.; Silas Colbert, Treasurer; Jefferson Coleman, Recorder; Milton Graham,
ST. JOHN'S DAY CELEBRATIONS

There will be two Masonic picnics next Friday, one at Seminary Park by the Masonic lodges under the jurisdiction of Kentucky, and the other at Inwood Park, under the jurisdiction of Ohio.

The Masons of Ohio will celebrate St. John's day under the auspices of Parham 26, Southern Gross 39, and Mt. Olive 34, by a grand parade and picnic. A contest drill between Mt. Calvary 12, K. T., and Palestine 15, K. T. Commanders will take place at 4 o'clock P.M. Grand display of fireworks at night.

HIGH SCHOOL ALUMNI

The High School Alumni of the colored public schools held their annual entertainment and reception to the graduation class of '87, Wednesday evening, at the Odd Fellows' Hall. The following was the programme of exercises:

Address by the President......Miss Rachel C. Davis
Vocal solo....................Mrs. S. Gertrude Hutchison
Historical Sketch of the Alumni Society..................Mr. William H. Perry, ex-President
Vocal solo.....................Mr. Wm. H. Goodall
Humorous Reading..................Mr. John T. Bell
Instrumental duet..............Misses Arena and Spratt Brown
Recitation.........................Miss Lucretta M. Gibson

RALLY AT QUINN'S CHAPEL

The grand rally at Quinn's chapel to-day promises to be a meeting of interest. At 3 o'clock the Rev. William H. Hargrave will deliver an especial address. At 8 o'clock P.M. Prof. John M. Maxwell will deliver a discourse upon the Psalms of David. The choir, under the direction of Prof. William H. Gibson, will give a grand concert, assisted by the choir from the A. M. E. church of New Albany.

A FEAST OF SONG

On Monday, June 27, a feast of song entertainment will be given at the Twelfth-street church under the auspices of the Ladies' Progressive Society. The closing feature of the programme will be a "Martha Washington Tea,"
The Louisville Courier-Journal, June 19, 1887, p 7.

ON ITS TRAVELS

The State University Quartet, of Louisville, now traveling in the interest of the school, rendered an excellent programme in the chapel of the Colored Christian College at New Castle Friday, June 17, as follows:

Chant--The Lord's Prayer.
Choir--"O! Italia."
Solo--"Dream Faces". Miss L. E. Wood
Declamation--"Spartacus". Wm. Balay
Jubilee Song--"Wide River". Quartet
Declamation--"The Black Regiment". Miss L. E. Wood
Choir--"Tyrol Land". Quartet
Recitation--From Armetus Ward. T. C. Williams
Quartet--"Sweet and Low". The Quartet
Bass Solo--"The Old Turnkey". C. F. Sneed

Mrs. William H. Steward, pianist

Comic Quartet. The Quartet
Concluding remarks by the President of State University.

The Quartet will visit the following places: Bloomfield, Shelbyville, Simpsonville, Eminence, New Castle, Frankfort, Lawrenceburg, Lexington, Georgetown, Cynthiana, Paris, Maysville.
KY BLACKS RECRUITED INTO COVINGTON JUNE 1864

The Louisville Daily Journal, June 3, 1864, p 3

"Negroes are coming into Covington, 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."

PROTEST OF BLACK RECRUITING IN PADUCAH AREA FEB 1864

The Louisville Daily Journal, Feb 1, 1864, p 1, To the Editor of the Louisville Journal, Paducah, Jan 26, 1864, unsigned.

Said that Richard Cunningham had arrived in Paducah "bringing a commission from the War Department to recruit a regiment for this district of 1,200 negroes." Has already enlisted a large number. Promising them $300 bounty, and freedom for their families.
Runkle gave a speech on May 10, 1869 at Lebanon, Ky, and May 12 at Danville. He commented on a peculiar activity regarding the radicals.

"A peculiar feature of these meetings is this. All the good radical friends of the colored people do not attend such meetings and strange to say all the whites that attend are not Radicals. You may say this is politics and out of place in our official report, but I have only to reply that when I see a man who is willing to lay aside his prejudice and come up and do right I will do him the justice to give him the credit for it."

Runkle held a meeting in Lexington May 26, 1869, and the local blacks subscribed between three & four hundred dollars to buy a lot for a school. Runkle held an Educational Convention in Lexington, July 14, 15, 16, 1869. "The Convention proved satisfactorily that the colored man knows how to transact business and demonstrated that these are colored men whose oratorical powers compare favorably with any of the white race, and Kentucky, who boasts of her orators, has seldom had within her borders men who could speak more sensibly and more effectively than Peter Clark or John M. Langston."

"These men took the true ground that the colored man's progress depends upon himself and himself alone, and if these speeches could be repeated all over the state of Kentucky it would be productive of much good." Rev. John H. Heywood (white) & Joshua Speed (white) contributed greatly to the success of the Convention. Heywood was present at the preliminary meetings, and only missed the other meetings because of sickness. Speed got half fare arrangements for blacks to travel to convention on the Lou, Lex, & Cincin RRs.
Says the bank is a "great Educational Institution."

"The National Freedmens Savings and Trust Co. Bank has been in operation in this city since Sept. 1865. The first office was opened in Gen'l J. M. Palmer's Head Quarters where it remained some months - business improving fast the 'Advisory Board' was forced to seek a more eligible location and removed to Jefferson St bet 3 and 4 sts north side. Here the people began to feel such a deep interest in the Bank that it again became necessary to seek better quarters and it was removed across the street (about 12 years ago) in a far better building than any previously occupied. The Bank was opened with Dr. K. H. Goddard as Cashier a gentleman then in the employ of the Government in the Depository of this city. He was compelled to resign in consequence of the increase of business and the demand that the bank should be kept open longer in the day (It was kept open only 2 hours per day when first opened.) +

"Col. S. A. Porter succeeded Dr. Goddard as Cashier and was in every respect an acceptable officer. He lost his good right arm in battling the hosts of treason he resigned to accept a position in the regular army Under his management the Bank steadily gained in the confidence of the people, and it was with sincere regret that they saw him lay down the pen for the Sword. H. H. Burkholder was the successor of Col. Porter and under his management the Bank became a fixed fact, a decided success. The prejudice that had existed in the minds of the people was to a great extent removed and the prospects of the Bank assumed a brighter appearance than at anytime before. Mr. Burkholder lost his life in the terrible collision and conflagration of the mail line Steamers America and United States last December and Horace Morris was elected Cashier in his place. /1868/ Since then the Bank has been removed from its location on Jefferson St to Walnut and third Sts under the Bureau. The appearance of things have materially changed and it is as neat and inviting as any in the City, and is rapidly marching onward towards first class proportions. To day there is more money on deposit by $30,000.00 than was ever in any purely Savings Bank in the State of Ky. The Colored people take a deeper interest in it at this time than at any period since its organization and recognize it as going hand in hand with the educational department of the Bureau. +

"Since it has been under the Bureau, a far more pleasant location than it heretofore occupied, and more Bank like in appearance, the success is astonishing. The total number of Depositors is in the neighborhood of 950. The total amount due Depositors nearly $100,000.00. Total amount deposited over $564,780.91. +

"With the election of Mr. Morris Cashier and the visit of Col. D. L. Eaton Actuary (?) a new era dawned upon the Bank. It is now located in elegant rooms handsomely fitted up and is just what I have long wanted it to be, in all its appointments equal to any Bank in the City. The Bank has rendered me great service in finding claimants for Bounty identifying and paying them. This has also resulted in good to the soldier as he has been thereby induced to deposit and save a considerable amount of his money. +

"Mr. Morris the Cashier is a gentleman who is a credit to himself and his people, and I predict that the Bank under his management will be an unqualified success."
ben p runkle, major us army & disbursing officer in ky, dated sept 19, 1870, in covington, to rev j w alvord, gen supt of ed, fb in washington. Jan 1870--94 schools, 8,644 scholars; June 30, 1870--180 schools; 8,557 scholars. THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES: Free baptist Mission--took 25 schools under its control in sept 1869 and has done well. The American Miss. Assn--supports 30 schools. It will also support 3 high schools left to its charge: Berea College, Ely Normal in Lou, the new high sch just finished in Lexington. Another State Educational Convention held August 16, 17, 1870. Largely attended. "I left the m anagement entirely to the people themselves and they managed it well."

FUGITIVES NOT TO BE RETURNED OWNERS IN SOUTH (Mar 1862)

General Orders No. 27, War Dept. Adj General's Office, Washington, March 21, 1862, in NIMS, roll 1, frame 0480, M-858

This Act of Congress was "An Act to make an additional Article of War."
"All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service." Approved March 13, 1862 (L. Thomas was Adj Gen)
Jos C. G. Kennedy, Supt Census office of the Dept of Interior, dated Feb 11, 1863 from Washington, to J. P. Usher, Sec of Interior, presumably in Washington, in NIMS, roll 2, frame 0037, M-858

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White males between 18 &amp; 45</th>
<th>Free black males between 18 &amp; 45</th>
<th>Slave males between 18 &amp; 45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>180,589</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>40,285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SPECIAL ORDER ON RECRUITING OF BLACK TROOPS (May 22, 1863)

General Orders No 143, War Dept, Adj Gen's Office, Washington, May 22, 1863, in NIMS, roll 2, frame 0209, M-858

I. A bureau was established for organizing Colored Troops.
II. Three or more officers to be designated to supervise organization of colored troops in the northern and western states.
III. Boards convened to examine applicants for commissions to command colored troops.
IV. "No person shall be allowed to recruit for colored troops except specially authorized by the War Department;..."
VI. "Colored troops may be accepted by companies, to be afterwards consolidated in battalions and regiments by the Adjutant General. The regiments will be numbered seriatim, in the order in which they are raised, the numbers to be determined by the Adjutant General. They will be designated: '------- Regiment of U. S. Colored Troops.'"
BLACKS RECRUITED IN COLUMBUS AREA (Sept 1863)

C.H. Adams, Col 2d Tenn Arty, A.D., from Columbus, Ky, dated Sept 28, 1863, to Brig Gen J.P. Hawkins, location not given, in NIMS, roll 2, frame 0584, M-858

Adams says that he had 600 black troops, all of whom he considered to be a "fine body of men" and expected 200 more recruits soon.

REPORT ON RECRUITING OF BLACKS THROUGH KY MAR 14, 1864


Says circulars announcing recruiting of blacks have been disseminated. Capt Hall of 1st Dist, reports having been recruiting blacks for past 2 months. Whites are very hostile to recruiting blacks. His dist /west of Tenn. R/ is part of Tenn. Department. No report from the 2d Dist from Capt. Gussom, the Pro. Mar. 3d Dist: Capt Hobson reports he will be unable to enroll the no. of blacks required in the time allowed. Hostility has caused officers to not "undertake the work." In 1st sub-dist, Warren Co, difficult to get enrolling officer, in 2d Sub-dist, Logan Co, 3 enrolling officers declined to enroll blacks. In 3d sub-dist, Todd Co, 2 have declined. In 6th sub-dist, Hart Co, one declined, etc. 4th Dist: Capt Fidler says enrolling officers are at work in Shelby, Meade, Anderson cos, but no report from other counties of dist. /0136/ Force will be required to enroll in the area. 5th Dist: no progress in enrollment made. 6th Dist: Capt. Berry says enrolling officers appointed for all counties, excepting Trimble & part of Kenton. 7th Dist: Capt T.H. Moore says difficult getting enrolling officers, but enrolling has begun in Bourbon, Jessamine, Fayette, Scott Cos. 8th & 9th Dists: no reports. "All the Provost Marshals speak of the necessity for military force...."
BLACKS WANTING TO ENLIST IN COVINGTON AREA MAR 1864
in covington, dated Mar 15, 1864
capt & provost marsh, 6th dist/ky, G. W. Berry, to Maj W. H. Sidell in
in lou, found in NIMS, roll 3, frame 0144, M-858

Berry tells Sidell that while there is opposition to the enrollment of
blacks in his area, "... my Deputies, inform me that the blacks are
anxious to enlist, and are willing and want to enlist at once. Inquiries
are constantly made of me by persons who wish to know whether they are
authorized to recruit negroes who are willing to enlist."

SLAVE OWNERS IN OWENSBORO WANT TO KNOW IF THEY CAN ENLIST THEIR
SLAVES

Capt & prov Mar, 2d dist ky, in owensboro, dated mar 16, 1864, to
Maj w h sidell in lou, in NIMS, roll 3, frame 0145, M-858

Grissom reports that "... applications have been made to me by the
owners of slaves to enlist them into the military service of the U.S.
Please give me instructions as to my duty in these cases."
BLACKS OFFERED FOR ENLISTMENT BY OWNERS TO BE RECEIVED; NO CAMPS TO BE ESTABLISHED IN KY Apr 8, 1864

Maj gen commanding dist of ky, s g burbridge in lou, dated april 8, 1864, apparent answer to Mar 16, 1864 letter of Maj W.H.Sidell, in NIMS, roll 3, frame 0146, M-858 (From: Headquarters District Kentucky, Louisville, Ky., April 8, 1864)

"Respectfully returned with the recommendation that the Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General be authorized to receive as recruits into the U. S. Service colored persons offered as such by their owners, according to the terms of the law. That no camps of instruction be established in the District of Kentucky, but that the colored recruit as soon as enlisted and mustered be sent to Gallatin, Nashville, Clarksville, or some other point out of the State, ..."

BLACKS IN PADUCAH CAMP, NOT TO BE RETURNED TO OWNERS (July 1864)

1 thomas, adj gen in lou, dated july 25, 1864, to col s g hicks, command post at Paducah, in NIMS, frame 0432, roll 3, M-858

"The War Department decides that the Colored old men, women and children, in Camp at Paducah, are not to be returned to their owners, Colonel Barry will be released from arrest."
Col R.D. Mussey, of 100th U.S. colored troops, dated Lou, June 12, 1864, to Maj. C.W. Foster, in NIMS, frame 0893, roll 3, M-858

"Am informed that at Frankfort there were in the Fort three hundred negroes unarmed, for refuge. After Rebels had captured two (2) guns the negroes were allowed by Gov. Bramlette to fight with their fists and knives and recaptured the guns. Genl. Fry telegraphs Camp Nelson sixteen hundred (1600) negro recruits there. Very useful fortifying."

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BLACKS FIGHT GALANTLY AT THE SALT WORKS IN EASTERN KY OCT 1864

Thomson, adj gen in lex, dated Oct 10, 1864, to E.M. Stanton sec of war in Washington, in NIMS, frame 1097, roll 3, M-858

"General Burbridge speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry of the Fifth Colored Cavalry, they doing better service than any other Regiment. They charged the Rifle pits and carried them after two repulses, by the enemy, of our white troops. The principal loss fell on this Regiment, having four officers and one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded. Our entire loss was about three hundred and fifty - that of the enemy much greater. The fight on the Salt Works continued all day Sunday, the 2d inst. Breckenridge was there with four thousand - Williams, with twenty five hundred Cavalry. These with Echol's troops, made Eight thousand. Our force was four thousand, and as the attack had to be made on foot, but twenty five hundred could be brought into action. All the outworks were carried, but the main work being too strong, and supplied with Artillery, was not attacked, as the ammunition of our force had given out. One set of Salt Works was destroyed, but the other could not be reached."

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where are Salt Works

key on va
"October 2nd, we attacked the fortified position of the Saltville works with 4,200 effective men, consisting of cavalry and mounted infantry, with three sections of mountain howitzers, manned by detailed men from infantry regiments. The fight lasted until about 5 p.m., when we withdrew from the place, after considerable loss, and marched all night towards Kentucky. The 11th Kentucky Cavalry and 5th U.S. Colored Cavalry joined this expedition with General Burbridge for temporary service, but did not belong to this Division; they both fought well. The colored cavalry regiment was dismounted and behaved well for new troops, but suffered considerable loss. An official report has been made of the murdering of our colored soldiers who were wounded and made prisoners by the enemy."
On the 2nd of October the forces reached the vicinity of the Salt works and finding the enemy in force, preparations were made for battle. Colonel Ratliff's brigade was assigned to the left of the line and the brigade dismounted was disposed as follows: 5th U.S.Cav. on the left; 12th O.V.C. in the centre, and 11th Mich. Cav. on the right. The point to be attacked was the side of a high mountain, the rebels being posted about half way up behind rifle pits, made of logs and stones to the height of three feet. All being in readiness the brigade moved to the attack. The rebels opened upon them a terrific fire but the line pressed steadily forward up the steep side of the mountain until they found themselves within 50 yards of the enemy. Here Colonel Wade ordered his force to charge, and the negroes rushed upon the works with a yell and after a desperate struggle carried the entire line, killing and wounding a large number of the enemy and capturing some prisoners. There were four hundred black soldiers engaged in the battle, one hundred having been left behind, sick and with broken down horses on the march, and one hundred having been left in the Valley to hold horses. Of this fight I can only say that men could not have behaved more bravely. I have seen White troops fight in twenty-seven battles, and I never saw any fight better. At dusk the Colored Troops were withdrawn from the enemies works, which they had held for over two hours with scarcely a round of ammunition in their cartridge boxes.
Major General Burbridge, with his command, has just returned from a most successful expedition. Five hundred negroes accompanied his command and Gillem. A Battalion of the sixth Colored Cavalry, three-hundred strong, attacked and whipped Duke's Brigade, of three hundred and fifty, the last remnant of Morgan's force. The rebels were driven half a mile, with a loss on their side of thirty men killed and wounded. They were on the crest of a hill at Marion, and the negroes charged over open ground and did not fire a gun until within thirty yards of the rebels. This is the first time that any of these men were under fire.

ATROCITIES AGAINST BLACKS DESIRING TO JOIN FED ARMY BY KY WHITES

May 1864

White recruits are scarce. I may remark in this connection that efforts have been made in several of my subdistricts to suppress enlistments by intimidating Negroes. In several counties colored men desiring to enlist have been severely handled. Two were lately caught in Marion County, and their left ears cut off. Ex-Colo Frank Wolford has not by his seditious speeches, encouraged enlistments, nor aided in suppressing /sic/ the excitement that is to be expected from such enlistments. I may say, in general terms, that the Board of Enrollment would be in danger from citizens but for the presence of U.S. soldiers.

Regarding arrests: "The two men engaged in cutting off the Negroes ears, above mentioned, were arrested promptly by Lieut. Horton. Co. B, 23d. V.R. Corps, under my orders. They have been forwarded to Louisville and proper charges preferred against them. Four men in Lebanon engaged in whipping fifteen Negroes sometime since were arrested but afterwards discharged, after the case had been reported. I have used every effort to suppress lawlessness, while I have attempted to act with proper discretion."
RECRUITING OF BLACKS IN BOWLING GREEN AREA Aug 1864

Capt & pro mar 3d dist, A.G. Hobson in Bowling Green, Aug 4, 1864 to brig gen & pro mar general J. B. Fry in Washington, in NIMS, Roll 3, M-858

/Frame 0458/ "Volunteer Enlistments of colored persons. In the last ten days sixty-eight have been recruited & mustered into the service, making a total of three hundred one during the month. In this branch of service, it may be considered successful; no outspoken opposition is manifested by citizens, they looking upon it as inevitable." Says few whites enroll, apparently believing enough blacks will enroll to fill the quotas. "I beg to suggest that the enlistment of Negroes can be as readily made for three years as for one or two. I find no difficulty in mustering them in for that length of time; when it shall have become difficult to enlist them for three years, it will then be the better policy to offer two, then one."

WIVES & CHILDREN OF BLACK SOLDIERS FREED

Capt & A A A G J. P. Watson in hdq in Louisville, March 12, 1865, issuing General Orders No. 10, by Command of Maj Gen Palmer, found in NIMS, frame 0089, roll 4, M-858

"The General commanding announces to the colored men of Kentucky that by an act of Congress passed on the 3d day of March, 1865, the wives and children of all colored men who have heretofore enlisted, or who may hereafter enlist, in the military service of the Government, are made free." "To colored men not in the army it offers an opportunity to coin freedom for themselves and posterity." Says this will be enforced by military authority.
1 thomas, adj gen, from louisville, apr 25, 1865, to brig gen E.D. Townsend, asst adj gen in washington, in NIMS, Roll 4, M-858

Regiments of black troops in process of organization:
- 72d Regt at Covington, col A. Duncan, 408 men
- 119th regt at Camp Nelson, col C.G. Bartlett, 453
- 120th regt Henderson, Lieut Col Glenn, 422
- 121st regt Maysville, Col H.A. McCaleb, 307
- 125th regt Louisville, Col Armstrong, 740
- 6th regt Cavalry, Covington, Brig Gen J.F. Wade, 695
- 13th regt Heavy Artiller, Smithland, Col J.F. Foster, 691

"Since the passage of the Act freeing the wives and children of Colored Soldiers, recruiting has been better, and some of the Regiments in this State will soon be completed. The 125th in about two weeks."

BLACK REGIMENTS TO BE FILLED TO MAXIMUM, APR 1865 ORDER

w h sidell, brevet col, in Lou, Apr 29, 1865, telegram to Col T. M. Vincent, asst adj gen in washington, in NIMS, frame 0126, roll 4, M-858

"By letter of eighteenth April from E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, to General Palmer, negro recruiting in this State to fill up negro regiments to maximum was ordered to be continued, any previous order to the contrary notwithstanding."
"IV. Recruiting for Colored Troops having ceased, the incomplete regiments in Kentucky will be consolidated as follows: The Organization of the 6th U.S. Colored Cavalry; 13th U.S. Colored Artillery (Heavy); 119th and 125th U.S. Colored Infantry, will be retained. Those of the 72nd, 120th and 121st U.S. Colored Infantry are hereby discontinued. The enlisted men of the last named three regiments will be assigned as follows: To the 6th U.S. Colored Cavalry, 300 men. To the 119th U.S. Colored Infantry, 200 men. To the 125th U.S. Colored Infantry, 100 men, and the remainder to the 13th U.S. Colored Artillery (Heavy). The officers of three regiments the organizations of which are thus discontinued, will be assigned to vacancies existing in the regiments of Colored Troops now serving in Kentucky."
BLACK TROOPS REPRIMANDED FOR ENTERING HOUSES, ETC IN MUNFORDVILLE

May 23, 1865

col commd post, N. S. Andrews at Munford, May 23, 1865, "To the Enlisted Men of the 2nd Battalion 12th U.S. Colored Artillery (Heavy),"
in NIMS, roll 4, M-858

"The odium attached to officers of colored troops, and by their gentlemanly deportment, have so far overcome the prejudice existing against them, that the community are beginning not only to respect them, but you, and as soldiers and as freemen, you should do everything in your power to uphold your officers in their endeavors to elevate you; you are no longer slaves but soldiers, and men, and as such must conduct yourselves orderly and gentlemanly, be vigilant and truthful, and nobly earn the freedom which has been offered you; you receive the same pay and are on the same footing as white soldiers, and your term of service is the same as theirs, yet in addition to your pay you obtain the greatest boon of life; your own freedom and that of your families. While as your commanding officer, I shall bestow the praise you merit; I shall as certainly punish the refractory and disobedient."

KY LEGIS OBJECTS TO PRESENCE OF BLACK TROOPS IN STATE JUNE 1865

Resolution of the General Assembly of Kentucky, Approved June 3, 1865, in NIMS, roll 4, M-858 (taken from Acts of Gen Assem, 1865, p 166)

"Denounces presence of blacks troops in Ky.; says they have committed "... many outrages upon the lives and property of many citizens;..." etc. "... their presence is a source of great irritation...." Requests that all black troops be removed from the state."
Report of Commission for Kentucky Appointed Oct. 17, 1866, in NIMS, roll 4, M-858

Commission appointed Oct 17, 1866, reported 2,473 claims; 174 awards; 2,299 not acted upon; total awards $51,800; Seven claims returned to Commission (apparently for reconsideration); Claims Commission discontinued April 10, 1867.

HIST OF RECRUITING BLACKS IN 2D DIST.

capt & prov mar 2d dist of ky J. R. Grissom in hdq in Owensboro, dated June 1, 1865, to brig gen james b fry, pro mar gen US in washington.

Reporting on "History and Operations" 2d dist:

"The Enrollment of Colored Persons held to service was attended with many difficulties throughout the entire District. It was extremely difficult to obtain services of suitable persons to act as Enrolling Officers, and in many cases after commencing the work they gave it up on account of personal abuse, insults and threats of personal violence made by citizens and Owners. In many cases the Owners positively refuse to give a list of their slaves for enrollment and in other falsely denied owning any Negroes. These difficulties were overcome in a measure by seeking the desired information from the Negroes themselves but this was very imperfect and defective on account of their general ignorance. Enrolling Officers were directed to canvass their Sub-Districts and enroll by visiting in person or from information obtained from reliable persons.

"Volunteers. In Recruiting White Volunteers the experience of this Office is very limited as the few who have enlisted came forward and presented themselves and were mustered into old organizations of their own selection. Since the order authorizing the enlistment of Persons of African Descent was issued about one thousand and six hundred (1600) recruits of this class have been enlisted and mustered into the U.S. Service at this office. Had a sufficient force for protection been given at the proper time the number of recruits would have reached at least five thousand (5000).

"In the early stages of Negro Recruiting many obstacles were encountered owing to the opposition and threats of violence made by Owners and Citizens nevertheless a great degree of enthusiasm was manifested by the Negroes on
HIST OF RECRUITING BLACKS IN 2D DIST.

Capt & Prov Mar 2d Dist of Ky J. R. Grissom in Hdq in Owensboro, Dated June 1, 1865, to Brig Gen James B. Fry, Pro Mar Gen US in Washington,

Enlisting and Mustering. The Enlistment of Colored Recruits were made by the Deputies for the most part and I established an invariable rule that all Colored volunteers (if slaves) should bear their Owner's Surname at the date of Enlistment. The reason for this was that in this State slaves have no lawful patronymie and among themselves they have as many as four different names. And as it always happens in States where men are held to service by sale and purchase they change Owners and at the same time their names. In view of these facts I have followed the above rule that the History and Identity of the enlisted and mustered man might be more readily ascertained both by the Government and Claimant.

Since the enactment of the Law affecting the Status of the Negro, and making him subject to Enrollment and Draft this Office has had but few supporters among the Owners of Slaves who making loud professions of Loyalty and Unionism could not Stand the test when they were personally affected by the Loss of Negroes. As a mass they condemned the U.S. authorities in violent and bitter terms. Owing to this general disaffection among the real or pretended Union Citizens the Rebel Citizens taking advantage of this encouraged Armed Bodies of the Enemy to come into the District and the Counties adjacent, who made war on the few uncompromising friends of the Government by robbing and in some instances murdering them.

HIST OF RECRUITING OF BLACK TROOPS 4TH DIST THRU June 1865.


A complete history of the operations of the office of the Provost Marshal of the Fourth District of Ky. from its commencement up to the 1st day of June 1865."

The amendment to the original enrolment act. approved February 24th 1864, requiring the enrolment of colored persons was received with great disfavor in Ky. Armed resistance was threatened; politicians and rebel sympathisers appealed to an excited populace to resist the law, and high officials consulted about the propriety of retaining Ky. troops, then in the state on veteran furlough, to aid in suppressing all attempts at its execution. He had trouble getting enrollment officers; officers resigned, etc. He had "... to visit many sub-districts and give personal attention in each to the matter. A company of soldiers from the 37th Ky. Mounted Infantry was sent me to assist enrolling clerks in the execution of their duties."

The History of Colored Volunteer Recruiting.

"The enrolment of colored persons under the act amending enrolment Act approved February 24th 1864 had just been finished, when Brig. Genl. Burbridge, then in command of the Dist. of Ky., issued Genl. Order No. 34 /I'm not sure about this Gen Ord Number/ Hd. Qrs. Dist. Ky., Series 1864 authorizing the recruiting of free negroes and of slaves at the 'request' of their owners. This order was more vehemently opposed, if possible, than the law authorizing the enrolment of colored persons. Provost Marshals and their deputies were constantly denounced; the people were aroused by the seditious speeches of such men as Wolford and Lt. Gov. Jacob, and those men who showed favors to the executors of the law were banished.
HIST OF RECRUITING OF BLACK TROOPS 4TH DIST THRU JUNE 1865


The President was denounced as a 'tyrant' the Government as a 'tyranny', and Prov. Mars. as the 'petty instruments in the hands of a despot'. Of course, as was foreseen, slave holders refused to give their slaves permission to enlist in the Army. These slaves, however, flocked to my Hd. Qrs. begged to be recruited, and returned to their masters to be met with torrents of abuse, and the merciless lash. On the 10th day of May 1864 seventeen colored men from Green Co. Ky. presented themselves at my Hd. Qrs. for enlistment. They were kindly received, furnished with Passes home, and with notes to their owners asking that the negroes be permitted to enlist. A mob of young men of Lebanon followed these black men from town, seized them and whipped them most unmercifully with cow-hides. Further than this they declared that 'negro enlistments should not take place in Lebannon'. Upon my arrest them I was threatened with a mob. +

About this same time a colored man presented himself to a Deputy Prov. Mar. in Adair Co. to be enlisted. He was seized by the young men of the place, tied to a tree and subjected to the most unmerciful beating. +

A colored man while en-route to my Head Quarters in order to enlist was seized in Taylor Co. bady whipped, and consigned to jail as a runaway. +

Negro men were chased and killed in Nelson Co. for attempting to enlist. +

In Green Co. violent speeches were made, the Dept. Prov. Mar. threatened, and negroes knocked down when they spoke of enlisting. +

HIST OF RECRUITING OF BLACK TROOPS 4TH DIST THRU JUNE 1865

HIST OF RECRUITING OF BLACK TROOPS 4TH DIST THRU JUNE 1865


...were killed in Nelson Co. for leaving their masters with the intention of volunteering. About this time Ex-Col. Wolford and Lt. Gov. R. T. Jacob visited the southern part of Ky. for the purpose of making speeches.

"These speeches were simply seditious, and so infuriated the people that the Board of Enrolment could not have remained in Lebanon but for the presence of Federal bayonets.

"The 13th Ky. Cavalry was ordered to Lebanon about the 7th of June 1864. Many of the members of this regiment had been particularly active in preventing colored enlistments in Adair Co. and its Colonel had been under arrest for permitting an enrolling officer to run from his camp in Cumberland Co. Ky. When it arrived in Lebanon it announced that 'negroes should not be enlisted'. A negro man was forced from my camp for recruits in my absence from my office, and upon attempting to escape the guard over him, was shot at. Maj. Hurt, Lt. Cunningham, Lt. Shipman, and others of this regiment denounced me, threatened to retake the negro man from camp with their regiment, and were so violent in their demonstrations that I ordered Lt. Merton Comdg. Co. B 23, V.R.C., then on duty at my Hd. Qrs. to prepare to protect the recruits. An attempt was made in the afternoon of the 19th of June to assassinate me by shooting at me from a hotel window. Disaffected citizens secretly gave aid and assistance to this seditious and badly disciplined regiment. Negroes did not dare to present themselves in the town of Lebanon and of course all recruiting ceased, during the time this regt was stationed at my Hd. Qrs.

"My experience in this connection was the experience of all of my employees. Every possible indignity was offered them, while the members of the Board of Enrolment were constantly insulted. It is fortunate for me that I can say that not one of the employees of this office refused or failed to do his duty when so thoroughly tried.

"The treatment of the slaves in Ky. during the summer of 1864, the indignities offered the executors of the law of the land; the denunciations of the President and the machinations of slave holders for the benefit of treason during the same time, admirably exemplified the barbarities of slavery.

"This resume of the History of Recruiting would be imperfect did I fail to do justice to the energetic and admirable Prov. Mar. Genl. of Ky., Bvt, Col. W. M. Siddell U.S.A. Under his immediate supervision a most perfect enrolment of colored persons was completed in a remarkably short time. When it became proper to begin the enrolment of colored troops, he arranged a most admirable and fortunate plan for the execution of this law in Ky. His energy gave to the Army thousands of able bodied men, while his discretion prevented a dangerous out break in opposition to the law in the state."
The Board of Enrollment, aided by their Deputy Provost Marshals and Enrolling and other officers, proceeded without any particular obstacle or opposition in the performance of their duties, the people of the State conforming to the terms of the law. It is true that the enrollment had been confined to the whites, but as soon as I entered on my duty I began to receive many communications asking if the negroes of Kentucky were to be considered as part of the 'National forces', these being in the words of the law composed of all able bodied male citizens, &c. +

These communications were referred to the Provost Marshal General, and I was aware that others had been addressed directly to him and to other officers of the Government in Washington. I answer I was informed that free negroes should be enrolled but not slaves, but it appearing that the enrollment had made such progress that a separate canvass would be necessary and as the number of free blacks was insignificant, the separate enrolment was deferred.+

"By the Act of 24 February 1864, amending the Act of 3d March 1863, colored persons, slave and free, as well as whites, were made to be included in the 'National forces' and were subject to enrolment and draft or received as Volunteers. On receipt of the law the enrolment was begun forthwith and prosecuted vigorously against serious obstacles. It was unpopular, and therefore several enrolling officers declined further service; and if some cases it was difficult to find others to do the work. It is true that amongst the loyal people there were many who were determined it should be done and approved the policy, but others, also classed with the loyal, were violently opposed to it, and these were sustained directly and indirectly, not only by the rebel sympathizers, but also by numerous timid men and trimmers altogether these were sufficient in numbers to constitute a large majority of the people of the State. By persistent and courageous effort, however, the work was finally done. It is not to be supposed that opposition by violence ever ceased, but it ceased to be directed solely against the enrolment of negroes, and at last merged into a general opposition to all Government measures and of any enrolment. The State was overrun by bands of armed partizans and guerrillas acting in the interests of the enemy, and their aggressive acts were general, though chiefly exhibited in cutting communications of the army in the front and in persistent resistance to the draft viz: preventing the enrolment, hindering the serving of notices after draft and impeding the coming of drafted men to report. There was no part of the State exempt from the presence of these partizans; they committed depredations close to this city, at one time capturing the Promost Marshal of this District and at another time took by violence an Officer's horses from his servant within the city and in broad day-light.+"

/frame 0168 cont'd/ chronic form; and this opposition continued without cessation, or even diminution, until the draft all over the U.S. was finally discontinued." Says 7 officers of his bureau were killed in this duty. Other attacked and injured. /frame 0169/ "Enlistment of Colored men in Kentucky. +

"After the passage of the law of 24 February 1864, which was received in General Orders No. 75 early in March, recruiting of negroes was begun in the contiguous free states and large numbers of Kentucky slaves absconded. The masters found themselves unable to restrain the movement and at last, loyal and doubtful, all began to desire their enlistment at home. I considered it proper, in view of the important public question involved in Kentucky, to correspond with the Pro. Mar. Genl. and forwarded with my endorsed opinion several communications received by me which were significant. The most important of these were referred from Washington to the Commanding General of the District, General Burbridge, for report on the whole subject. He invited me to join him in consultation and also another gentleman who was well informed, Dr. T.S. Bell, then Surgeon of a Board of Enrolment. After consultation, I offered to the General to write to him a letter embodying my views and the result of the consultation. He accepted and I wrote the letter which I presume was forwarded by him to Washington; for, immediately thereafter, Special Order War Dept. No 140 was issued which gave him 'general supervision of the U.S. laws for raising men in Kentucky' and directed me to regard any orders he might give me in the matter as sufficient. There was no especial mention made

W.H.SIDELL'S REPORT TO WASHINGTON ON RECRUITING BLACKS IN KY 6979-C


/frame 0169 cont'd/ of colored men in the order, but of course they were included. He then issued his General Orders, No. 34 of April 1864 which before issue he sent to me for revision. It embodied the matter of my letter to him above referred to, and went at once into operation, all enlistments and musters in being made by my officers. It has continued in operation ever since with such modifications as ex-/frame 0170/ perience developed to be expedient and right. The number of colored recruits obtained by volunteering as well as by drafting from the beginning up to 1st July proximo is 23,818 as is shown in detail on a table annexed.+

"Of course there has always been abundant objection and outcry from some quarters, but when it was found that negroes were good for substitutes, the objection to negro enlistments diminished materially even amongst those previously loudest in opposition /. On 20th June 1864, Grig. Gen. L. Thomas, Adjt. Genl. was in Kentucky and issued his Genl. Order No. 20 by which, in obedience to instructions from the War Department, slaves not entirely able bodied were to be received as recruits under certain conditions. The order also authorized several camps for the reception of colored recruits' which were regarded as rendezvous and subject to the rules applicable thereto. As this was simply authority for establishing these camps of rendezvous, it fell on the Commanding General to issue the proper orders under that authority, proclaiming them established and assigning officers, guards, &c., and with the further necessity of his exercising such supervision as would secure the proper performance of the duties required. In all this there was the
W. H. SIDELL'S REPORT TO WASHINGTON ON RECRUITING BLACKS IN KY 6979-D

bvt col w.h.sidell, act asst prov mar gen for ky (in Lou?) to brig gen jas b.fry, prov mar gen us, in washington "General report of the Actg. Asst. Pro. Mar. Gen. for Kentucky" in roll 4, NIMS, M-858

/frame 0170 cont'd/ same remissness as is spoken of above in regard to the camps of rendezvous of white recruits, and much evil resulted.+

"During the continuance of these irregularities there was an officer in General Burbridge's Office, either of his staff or assuming authority, who designated himself 'Superintendent of Organization of Colored troops'. /sic/ The only proper way in which organization could be superintended was to keep each rendezvous in good order and sees that the commandants did their duty, in other words to see to the proper execution of General Order War /frame 0171/ Department No. 243 of 1864 which gave minute directions as to forming organizations out of the individual men sent to the rendezvous; which directions were simple and effective if faithfully followed and reduced to the business of 'organizing', /sic/ to mere clerical work. Any other way of superintending organizations violated orders and was detrimental to the service; nevertheless such an attempt seems to have been made by some one in General Burbridge's office and the detrimental consequence has been conspicuous. I was much embarrassed by the effect of these irregularities on the work for which I was responsible and on the public interests, and made frequent complaints, as my correspondence shows: and in connection with this specific irregularity /sic/ complained of other injurious, unauthorized and illegal acts - such as directing appointees as officers of colored troops to fill their desired commands by forcing negroes against their will into military service, also recognizing the right of the master over slaves employed by government, also issuing orders which interfered with credits and quotas for the draft

W.H.SIDELL'S REPORT TO WASHINGTON ON RECRUITING BLACKS IN KY 6979-E

bvt col w.h.sidell, act asst prov mar gen for ky (in Lou?) to brig gen jas b.fry, prov mar gen us, in washington "General report of the Actg. Asst. Pro. Mar. Gen for Kentucky" in roll 4, NIMS, M-858

/frame 0171 cont'd/ &c. All this was materially injurious to the government and increased unnecessarily the cares of my office. I sought to have a check applied and recommended that the offender be ordered away but he was not ordered away and received promotion so that there was no remedy except such as might be had from my own watchfulness as the evils developed themselves."
Orders No. 29. Dated Dec. 15, 1864, Louisville, Ky., by L. Thomas, Adj General, in M-858

"Having ascertained that in many cases the families of Colored Soldiers are suffering for the want of proper shelter at the Camps of Rendezvous, causing many of the soldiers to complain that their families are not provided for, and preventing the enlistment of others, fearing that their wives and children will not be cared for during the winter, Major General Burbridge will see that the humane intention of the General Government respecting this people, as far as possible, may be carried out. Accordingly, at Camp Nelson, and such other points where this class of negroes are received, he will cause the erection of suitable buildings, on an economical scale, for their quarters, and otherwise provide for their comfort. He will assign suitable officers to have them specially in charge."

KY BLACK TROOPS IN SKIRMISH NEAR FT DONELSON OCT 11, 1864

Lt Col T R weaver of 119th Colored Infantry, dated Oct 12, 1864, at Ft Donelson, TN, to Brig Gen Meredith in Paducah, in Roll 3, M-858

/Frame 1115/ "I have the honor to report that on yesterday morning at 4 o'clock I left Pine Bluff, with a recruiting party of eighty-five (85) men of the 4th Colored Artillery (Heavy), and when near the house of Dr. Williams, within about five miles of this place, I discovered a force of rebel cavalry in our front, which I have since learned was composed of parts of three regiments, under command of Colonel Chenworth.+

"My advance commenced firing as soon as they discovered them, which threw them into some confusion. I immediately moved the main body forward a short distance to a slightly elevated position and formed line near the house of Mr. Sexton, where we were immediately attacked, the rebel cavalry charging up the hill in good style until within fifty yards of our line, when they were met by a volley which sent them back in confusion. They re-formed and charged again, but were again driven back. They then began moving a force on both flanks, at the same time keeping up a vigorous attack in front, when finding that we were being surrounded, I directed my men to occupy the log dwellings and out-houses of Mr. Sexton, which they succeeded in doing after driving the rebels away from them, but in doing so, Mr. Sexton, a peaceable citizen, was killed, my men supposing him to be one of the rebels as he attempted to escape. The rebels having dismounted their force, continued the attack on the houses, but were met by a well directed fire, which soon compelled them to withdraw into the woods. Finding it impossible to dislodge us, they attempted to send in a flag of truce, which was
It col t r weaver of 119 colored inf, dated oct 12, 1864, at ft donelson to brig gen meredith in Paducah, in roll 3, M-858

/frame 1115 cont'd/ instantly fired on, and although the act was a violation of the usages of civilized warfare, we believed we were justifiable in doing so, as we had no favors to ask or none to grant, and knowing the treatment which officers and men of colored regiments have generally received at their hands, we believe we will not be censured for firing on their flag of truce. The rebels shortly after disappeared, leaving their dead and severely wounded, in our possession. Shortly after we occupied the houses, I sent two men to Captain Flood, commanding at this post, for assistance, which arrived shortly after the rebels withdrew.

"Our thanks are due Captain Flood, his officers and men, for the promptness with which they came to our assistance. The rebels left Lieutenant-Colonel Soery, Captain Garth, and one enlisted man dead, three men mortally, and four severely wounded in our hands, and Dr. Williams informs me that they took at least seven wounded off with them. We have had four of their wounded brought in, the others will die."

"Our loss is Lieutenant Robert A. Johnson, Company 'I', 4th Colored Artillery (Heavy) and three enlisted men killed, and nine enlisted men wounded. The entire command lament the loss of Lieutenant Johnson, as he was a most excellent officer, and possessing the entire confidence of his men, our success must be attributed in a great measure to his exertions. As for the colored soldiers, they behaved nobly; there was not a single instance in which they did not surpass my expectations of them.

"We brought all our killed and wounded in with us. The wounded are in the hospital and are doing well."

MEDICAL RESEARCH ON BLACKS USED ON WHITES, DESPITE RHETORIC

T l savitt, 'use of blacks for med experiments in south,' xlviii, aug 1982

p 332/

"Interestingly, people generally assumed that information gained from observation of Negro bodies was applicable to Caucasians. Despite the political rhetoric then current in the Old South about a separate medicine for blacks and for whites, the research and teaching reflected, in fact, the opposite. Negroes did not seem to differ enough from Caucasians to exclude them from extensive use in southern medical schools and in research activities."
"When it came to obtaining Caucasian bodies for postmortem examinations, however, even 'gentlemen of intelligence' found ways to refuse physicians. For example, of twenty-four individual autopsies reported by white southern physicians in the Transylvania Journal of Medicine and the Associate Sciences (1828-1839) and the Transylvania Medical Journal (1849-1851) nineteen were performed on blacks and only five on whites, in a state where the white population far exceeded the black."

"The Kentucky House of Representatives seriously considered ... but/ rejected by the narrow margin of seven votes a bill 'to authorize and require the Judges of the different Circuit Courts of this state to adjudge and award the corpses of negroes, executed by sentences of said judges, to the Faculties of the different chartered Colleges of this state, for dissection and experiment.'"
"Other examples can be offered of the white southern physician's bias toward the use of black subjects in medical experimentation. Dr. Ephraim McDowell of Danville, Kentucky, revered in American history as the first to perform successfully an ovariotomy (removal of an ovary), operated initially upon a white woman, Mrs. Jane Todd Crawford, in 1809. Little known is the fact that McDowell's subsequent four ovariotomies, during which he improved his technique, were all performed on black women—again, this in Kentucky, a state with a relatively small black population."

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**BIOG INFO ON CLINTON B. FISK**

G. R. Bentley, Hist of Freed Bureau, 1955

Clinton B. Fisk—"As a child he had lived in abolitionist homes, and in his teens he had conducted runaway slaves on the underground railroad through Michigan to the Detroit River and freedom. In later years he had become so active an abolitionist, but he had continued to despise slavery, and during the war he had become a prominent member of two freedmen's aid societies. As commanding general in Missouri he had tried to save the newly freed Negroes from the wrath of the notorious guerrilla, Jim Jackson, who Fisk firmly believed was urged by the late slave owners to "hang or shoot every negro he could find absent from the old plantations ...". Fisk was a prohibitionist and he could remember having sworn only twice in his life. In his appointment, however, as in Eaton's (D.C.), Howard stretched his authority a little, for Kentucky had not been one of the Confederate states, and only they were supposed to have assistant commissioners."
"Of the specific indictments against the Bureau, two are most common: first, that its good intentions were seriously compromised in performance by a significantly large number of unsuitable, often corrupt, lesser officials; and secondly, that the Bureau was a partisan Radical Republican organization which degenerated into a mere political weapon used against Johnson and his supporters... other charges that evoke a considerable degree of credence are that Bureau officials, as Northerners with an inadequate understanding of the South, created distrust and hostility between Negroes and whites; that the Bureau demoralized the freedmen by a lavish issuance of rations... ."

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**Pickard, Kidnapped & Ransomed, 1941 (1856)**

p 17/ They were about 6 and 8. They miss their mother after playing one day. /p 18/ They hear a wagon approach. "...a tall dark man" says he will take them to find their mother. /p 19/ They rode a long time; put on board a boat for an unremembered period of time "... until they reached Versailles, Kentucky." Mr. Kincaid (the man who picked them up) placed them in a wagon "with a colored woman and her child, and conveyed them to Lexington." Kincaid took them to the home of John Fisher (a mason by trade) and apparently sold them to Fisher, telling them it was their home. Fisher paid $150 for Peter and $155 for Levin. They overheard that they had been stolen from "... Philadelphia in a free State." /p 20/ At age 9 Levin went to work in Fisher's brick yard, slept on floor in mistress' room. /p 25/ At age 9 Peter went to work in the brick yard as an "off-bearer." "Three thousand brick a day was the task for two boys; if you didn't make your limit, the punishment was "standing in the wheelbarrow." /p 27/ When Peter was 12 Fisher sold the brick yard, and Mr. Nat Gist of Lex bought Peter & Levin for $450 each. /p 28/ Peter became a favorite of Gist (who lived on Dutch St in Lex). /p 29/ Peter punished by "bucking." Peter visited a "Sabbath School in Lexington, for the instruction of such slaves as might be permitted by their masters to learn." /p 30/ Peter did not have a pass. Managed to go several weeks without a pass by feigning he forgot, etc. "... in these four Sundays, learned the alphabet, and could spell a few words...." /p 32/ Said worked 4 summers in brick yard.
"Now take off your shirt, you rascal, and cross your hands."
The boy obeyed; and his master, after tying his hands together, drew them down over his knees, where he confined them by means of a stick thrust under his knees. He then beat him with a cowhide. first on one side, and then on the other, till his drunken rage was appeased. "There, you black cuss," cried he, when he had finished, "I mean to make a good nigger of you, and there's no way to do it, only by showing you who's master."

This method of confining a Negro for punishment is called "bucking" him, and it is much practised in slave-land. The culprit is frequently left in the "buck" several hours—sometimes, indeed, all night—and, in such cases, the protracted straining of the muscles causes intense pain.

After 4 summers in the brick yard; Peter & Levin went to work as "tobacconists." (Peter had worked one winter as a waiter.) The worked for Mr. George Norton. 30 men & boys worked in Norton's factory; 3 men were white who did the skilled work that they thought blacks could not do. The whites also "acted as spies and informers." Peter & Levin could work nights & week-ends to earn extra money, with the hope of buying their freedom someday. They knew of a few cases where blacks who attempted to buy their freedom were cheated out of their money. Peter got into trouble with Mr. Norton. Peter whipped Peter. Peter crept into a narrow place between the wall and equipment. Eventually retrieved with difficulty; whipped unmercifully. Peter's owner, Gist, very mad that Peter had been so abused. After their time expired, their owner did not force them to return to the tobacco factory.
PETER AND LEVIN SEPARATED 1817

pickard, kidnapped & ransomed, 1941 (1856)

p 42/ In the fall of 1817 two nephews of his owner, Mr. Gist, decided to go to Alabama to farm. They took 6 of Mr. Gist's slaves, including old Frank & his wife Peggy, /p 43/ their two children, and Levin were chosen to go also. /p 44/ The sad farewell: "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." After Levin's departure, Peter was sent by his owner to take Levin's place as waiter for Mr. John D. Young. /p 45/ While working for Mr. Young, Peter spent "many hours at Mr. Clay's" where he got to know Clay's servants.

DEATH OF PETER & LEVIN'S MASTER 1818

pickard, kidnapped & ransomed, 1941 (1856)

p 49/ Master Nat Gist sent Peter, in 1818 (April) to work for his brother, William Gist, on a plantation. Master Andrew Gist returned from Ala & said everyone was well. When Andrew returned to Ala he took Allison, Peter's last friend, with him. Master Nat's health failed. /p 51/ Master Nat died.
OLD SLAVE WOMAN REFUSED TO GO TO ALABAMA TO LIVE (from Lex)

After Master Nat Gist died, in Lex, old slave, Aunt Mary, was to be taken to Ala. Her husband, Sam, was soon to be set free by his owner. Mary was fully determined that 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 like him--a heap better than old Massa; but as to leaving 'Kaintucky,' and going away to the South, she couldn't."

"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."

DAVIESS CO BLACKS PETITION US CONG FOR RELIEF FROM KY LAWS 1867

Petition from Kentucky Negroes

To the honorable Senate & House of Representatives of the United States:

We, the undersigned, colored citizens of Daviess county, Kentucky, knowing the high regard Kentucky holds for the Constitution of the United States; as a majority of at least forty thousand of her citizens have proclaimed in platforms and creeds that they wish, in every particular, to be governed by that sacred instrument, the Constitution of the United States; as we would not have our native State (by mistaken legislation, we suppose) violate that sacred instrument and impose upon one portion of citizens a greater amount of taxes for a specified purpose than on another portion, living in and citizens of the same locality, for no other reason than that our skins are dark.

An act of the Kentucky legislature approved March 9, 1867, provides that there shall be, in addition to the capitation tax of two dollars already levied, an additional tax of two dollars ($2). The white citizens are taxed two dollars under the same head. Again, the act above alluded to reads that the trustees of each common school district may cause a school to be taught for the education of Negro and mulatto children. Now, the word "may" leaves it optional with the trustees whether they will have the school taught or not; and we presume that all persons who are acquainted with Kentucky propensities will at once come to the conclusion that the trustees will say that "Negroe schools" are calculated to breed strife and unfit the mind of the
freedman to perform that domestic duty so indispensable to the citizens of Kentucky. Again, [the law] says: "The sheriff may notify any person indebted to a Negro or mulatto, and stop from the money due the said Negro or mulatto the amount of his taxes" &c. &c. Now, without any notification whatever, the sheriff of the county will call on the man for whom we are working and draw from our wages the amount of this tax. We ask, is this in accordance with any principle of free government, to not even ask us for our taxes, but garnishee our money in the hands of our employers? And, again, we have no idea that one dollar of this money will ever benefit the persons from whom it is collected, or their children of color.

These oppressive laws are made without our help, and we are rendered powerless. Will our great and only friend, the Congress of the United States, look to this matter?


BLACK JOCKEY WINNERS OF KY DERBY

Since OLIVER LEWIS made history by riding Aristides to the winner's circle in the first Kentucky Derby in 1875, fourteen other winners have crossed the finishing line under the guidance of black jockeys.

The second Derby winner was WILLIAM WALKER who won with Baden Baden in 1877. Walker was one of the best known jockeys of his day. He won his first race at Jerome Park in 1871. After winning the big race at Churchill Downs in 1877, he was presented $50 by Colonel Lewis Clark, President of the Jockey Club which created Churchill Downs) for being the best behaved jockey on the grounds. While this would hardly amount to a tip today, it was "big money" during the 1870s.

Every year during his career, Walker, a recognized authority on the blood-line of horses, would attend the yearling sale at Saratoga Springs, New York, and counsel wealthy horsemen on their purchases of thoroughbreds. He boasted that he never missed a Derby during his entire career in the horse business.

There was not another black Derby winner until 1880 when Jockey ISAAC LEWIS captured the crown astride Fonso.

In 1882, Jockey BABE HURD piloted Apollo across the finishing line ahead of the pack. It was only two years later, in 1884, that the famous ISAAC MURPHY first received attention with his winning run on Buchanan.

ERSKIN HENDERSON won the Derby with Joe Cotton in 1885.

ISAAC LEWIS was again Derby winner in 1887 when he steered Montrose into first place. It was three years later when Isaac Murphy clocked the two consecutive history-making victories by winning with Riley in 1890 and with Kingman in 1891.
Isaac Murphy won his first Kentucky Derby in 1884 on a horse named Buchanan, and his consecutive "double" on Riley in 1890 and on Kingham in 1891. These three Derby wins stood as a record for nearly 60 years. In addition to his three wins at Churchill Downs, Murphy's record shows that he had one "place" and two "shows." Beside his Kentucky Derby victories, Isaac Burns Murphy won the Derby at Kentucky Oaks, one at St. Louis, and the Clark Stakes. He won four of the first five American Derbies at Chicago which was considered more prestigious than the Kentucky Derby at that time. One July 4, 1876, he rode all winners in a four-race card at Detroit. Between 1888 and 1891, he won five Latonia Derbies at Covington, Kentucky. During his career as a jockey, Murphy garnered a record of 628 racing wins out of 1,412 starts, a 44 percent victory.

Historians differ on the date and place of Murphy's birth. One recorded that he was born in Woodford County, Kentucky, near Midway, in 1860. Another claims that he was born in Fayette County, Kentucky, in 1858. Wherever or whenever he was born, said one sportsman, it is generally agreed that "he was born in that section of Kentucky that has produced some of the world's finest horse flesh, and he was born in an era when Negro trainers and jockeys were as traditional to horse racing as the familiar strains of 'Boots and Saddles.'"

Young Murphy began his career at the age of 14 in a stable owned by James Williams. Ten years later he had become the most famous jockey in early American turf history.

He rode his first Kentucky Derby in 1884. His riding career lasted 16 years. During that time, he was one of the top money makers. His purses ranged from $7,500 to $10,000 a year. His total earnings over a 10-year period was estimated at $250,000. In 1892, at the age of 31, Murphy gave up riding to become a trainer for J. S. Sellers, a noted Kentucky turfman. He died four years later in 1896 and was buried in an unmarked grave in Lexington. In 1956, sixty years after his death, Isaac Murphy was elected to the Jockeys Hall of Fame at Saratoga, New York, by a nationwide vote of sportswriters and broadcasters. He was the first of his race to be officially enshrined in the turfdom hallowed "Hall of Fame," in recognition of the skilled horsemanship and heroic splendor which he brought to the fascinating sport of American horse racing.\(^{29}\)

1833 KY LAW ON IMPORTING SLAVES INTO STATE

**Chap. 223.—AN ACT to amend the law prohibiting the importation of slaves into this state.**

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That each and every person or persons who shall hereafter import into this state any slave or slaves, or who shall sell or buy, or contract for the sale or purchase, for a longer term than one year, of the service of any such slave or slaves, knowing the same to have been imported as aforesaid, be, she, or they, so offending, shall forfeit

and pay six hundred dollars for each slave so import-
ed, sold, or bought, or whose service has been so con-
tacted for, recoverable by indictment of a grand jury, or an action of debt, in the name of the Common-wealth of Kentucky, in any circuit court of the county

where the offender or offenders may be found: Pro-
vided, however, That nothing here contained shall be
construed, to authorize a recovery of the aforesaid pen-
alty from any emigrant or emigrants to this state, for,
or on account of, his, her, or their having brought with
them any person or persons deemed slaves by the laws
of any one of the United States, if such emigrant or
emigrants shall, within sixty days after his, her, or
their arrival into this state, have taken, before some
justice of the peace, the following oath or affirmation,

**P 259**

1833. How recovered.

Not to apply to emigrants.

Provided they take an oath.

Provided they take an oath.

Indictment—how found.

With it: I, —, do solemnly swear, (or affirm), that
my removal to the state of Kentucky was with inten-
tion of becoming a citizen thereof, and that I have
brought with me, no slave or slaves with intention of
selling them, so help me God. And shall also, with-
in thirty days after taking such oath, have had the
same recorded in the office of the clerk of the county
court, of the county in which the oath or affirmation
was taken. Nor shall any thing herein contained an-
thorise a recovery of the penalty aforesaid against any
person or persons, for, or on account of, his, her, or
their having imported into this state, any slave or
slaves, provided he, she or they, prove on the trial, to
the satisfaction of the jury, that he, she, or they were
travellers or sojourners, making only a transient stay
in this state, and brought such slave or slaves for the
purpose of necessary attendance, and with the inten-
tion of again carrying them out of the state.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That this act shall not
be construed to extend to any person or persons who
are residents of this state, and who derives title to such
slave or slaves by will, descent, distribution, or mar-
rriage, or gift in consideration of marriage.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That for a violation of
any of the provisions of this act, an indictment may
be found on the information of any one of the grand
jury, or on the information of any other credible wit-
ness, and no prosecutor shall be necessary.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the du-
ty of the attorneys for the commonwealth now in
office, at their first court after the passage of this act,
and every other attorney for the commonwealth who
may be hereafter commissioned, at the time of taking
the oath of office, to take a solemn oath that they will
faithfully prosecute all offenders against this act with­
in their knowledge, or of which they may be infor­med, and who may be found within their respective dis­tricts: and in each case of conviction, the prosecut­ing
attorney shall be entitled to a fee of twenty per cent.
out of the amount collected, and the balance shall be
paid into the public treasury, and set apart as a fund,
to be under the direction of the Governor, and such
other or others as the Legislature may appoint, for
colonizing the free persons of color on the coast of
Africa.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That it shall not be
construed an importation, within the meaning of this
act, for the owner or owners, after he, she, or they
may have hired their slave or slaves to any person or
persons out of this state, to bring such slave or slaves
to this state, if such owner or owners be citizens of
this state, and have in their possession in this state
such slave or slaves at the time of the hire.

Prosecutions
may be con­

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful
for any justice of the peace of this commonwealth,
when information on oath shall be given him, that any
person or persons have violated this act, to issue his
warrant directed to the sheriff, constable, or to some
named individual, and cause such person or persons
to be apprehended and brought before him or some
justice of the peace; and the justice before whom such
person or persons shall be brought, shall hold an en­
quiry into the truth of the charge, and hear the evi­
dence that either party may produce: and if it shall
appear to such justice, that such person or persons are
guilty of a violation of this act, he shall cause the
person or persons, so adjudged guilty by him, to be re­
cognized in the sum of six hundred dollars, with one
or more good security or securities, conditioned to ap­
pear at the next circuit court for the county and an­
swer the charge, and their failure to give such recog­
nization, to commit such person or persons to the jail
of the county until the recognizance be given; and the
justice shall also recognize the witnesses to appear at
the same court and testify against such person or per­
s, and not to depart without the leave of the court.

Sec. 7. Be it further enacted, That any action or pro­
secution, which shall be brought for a violation of any
of the provisions of this act, may be commenced at any

time within five years from the commission of the of­
fence, or the accrual of the cause of action, and not
after.

Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the
duty of each of the circuit judges in this common­
wealth, to give this act in charge to every grand jury
emanated in the courts which they preside; also,
to cause to be brought, before the grand jury, to give
evidence, any and every person who may be thought
by the court or attorney for the commonwealth to
have any knowledge of a violation of this act, so much
of each and every act or acts of the General Assem­
big, as comes within the purview of this act, shall be;
and the same is hereby repealed.
The Green Street colored Baptist church, below Preston, was the scene last night of the most uproarious turmoil ever witnessed in a church in this city. The congregation was engaged in the discussion of church matters and Charles Magruder became so offensive in his remarks that Elder Gaddy took umbrage and called on the members to expel the riotous brother. On this question the vote was almost unanimous in favor of expulsion. "After the result was announced," said a pious sister, "Brother Magruder rise up and said he wanted Brother Gaddy's heart's blood and made a rush for the pulpit, followed by five or six accomplices." +

"The fun then began in earnest and amid the cries of "Murder! Police!" the greatest confusion prevailed. A number of the sisters formed a body guard around Brother Gaddy and protected him from his assailants, and when the police arrived the confusion became worse. There was a regular congregational scattering, but the police captured James Porter, James Fry, Jacob Stourt and Baumister Fountaine and others and hustled them to the lock-up. Magruder, who caused the rumpus, escaped, and in a short time appeared at the station-house and went on the bonds of his comrades without being identified. It was a jolly row and a jolly time is anticipated over in the City Court today.  

Elder D. A. Gaddy, one of the most prominent divines in the city, and nearly the whole congregation of his church, were up in the City Court yesterday morning. Some nights ago Gaddy demanded that certain officers of the church should acknowledge that they had stated falsely when they charged him with feloniously appropriating church funds to his own use. Upon their refusal he was about to pronounce them expelled when a big row followed. He had eleven arrested on the charge of disorderly conduct. +

"The case attracted great attention among the colored people, and the court-room was crowded. Maj. Kenney, Maj. Lawson and N.R. Harper appeared for Elder Gaddy, or the prosecution, and the defense was represented by J. T. O'Neil, Reuben Buckley and Sam Bernard. A very large number of witnesses were examined, and it was past 6 o'clock before the testimony was finished. +

"H. C. Huston, Secretary of the church, stated that several officers of the congregation had charged Bro. Gaddy with appropriating church funds to his own use. A committee exonerated the pastor, but when the officers were called upon by a church meeting to make acknowledgments or be expelled they refused, and the fight ensued. He denied that he had seduced one of the sisters. +

"Other witnesses were introduced and the general drift of their testimony was that the row was a very dangerous one for Bro. Gaddy indeed. All that saved him was the determined action of the sisters, who pulled him out of the room by the coat tail." +
It being too late to argue the cases yesterday, Judge Thompson set Monday afternoon at 2 o'clock for the speeches, of which two will be made on each side.†

"Gaddy, the principal figure in the row, is a colored man of really unusual talents. He was formerly a slave and owned by a Mr. Gaddy, who lived in Hart county. He learned to read while young and come to Louisville soon after the war. His superior education and intelligence soon gave him great influence among his race, and he has been one of their leaders for many years."
ESCAPED SLAVE SENDS LETTER TO MASTER FROM FRANKFORT; POSTMARK LED TO HER CAPTURE 1851; FRANKFORT, KY


"A Fugitive Slave Case in Frankfort.--Some time last Christmas a colored girl who belonged to Mr. J. Sharp, of Bowling Green, had been hired Mr. Prewitt, in Frankfort, suddenly disappeared. It was thought that she had made her way to Canada, as no trace of her could be found. A few weeks since, however, a letter was received in Frankfort, purporting to have been written by the girl from Canada, stating that she had reached that place in safety. As no particular locality was designated on the letter, suspicion was aroused, and the premises of a barber in Frankfort (a free man) were closely watched. A few days since a strange colored chap was observed in the yard of the barber, who was pursued and caught, after a chase of a few minutes. Upon an investigation it turned out that the fugitive was Mr. Sharp's long-lost woman, who was dressed in male apparel, and had been secreted by the barber since Christmas. She was taken home to her master, and the unlucky barber lodged in jail.--Louisville Courier."

FREE BLACKS SENT BY KY COL SOC TO INSPECT LIBERIA (1832,1834)

chas ray bennett, 'all things to all people; the am col soc in ky, 1829-1860,' phd disser, uk, 1980

p 99/ In 1834 the Ky Soc sent Joseph Jones, a free black, "to examine the Colony of Liberia. The Board of Managers of that Society questioned Jones upon his return and received a favorable report." Jones reported a problem with fever, but in general the comment in Society records of Jones' analysis presented Liberia was highly favorable. "Jones accompanied the state agent on a tour of Kentucky and according to R. S. Finley the results were greatly favorable." Jones also brought back many letters from emigrants to their friends. Some complained of the way the colony was managed.

"Occasionally, local societies would send a free Negro at their expense to visit Liberia and report the condition of the colony and the advantages and disadvantages of removal to Africa. In 1832 the Fayette County Colonization Society sent Jeremiah Semple, described as a respectable and intelligent resident of Louisville." The Soc apparently thought a favorable report from a black would help their cause.
"Most free Negroes declined the invitation to depart their birthplace. Instead they suggested that true humanitarians should help them secure a rightful place in American society and feel like 'a possible man.'"
p 552/ Rev. Paul H. Kennedy, born Elizabethtown. "During the early part of the Rebellion the Union soldiers appeared near his home, and he expressed the desire to be free. The soldiers concealed him in a wagon, but he was afterward returned to his master. Soon after he set out on foot, and walked to Louisville, and enlisted in the 109th Regiment of Colored Troops. He declares that the walk from slavery to freedom, although a long one, was a pleasant trip." Became minister, entered Roger Williams University in Nashville after 1876. Thirst for education.

"Boyle.--The Fair of the Colored People last Friday and Saturday at the Boyle County Association Grounds, was only very successful, but reflects great credit upon the efficient board of officers. The best of behavior prevailed throughout the exhibition. Good stock was shown, and the contest in each ring was interesting and lively. After paying all expenses, over $100 was left in the treasury, which was donated for the benefit of the First Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of this place.--Danville Tribune."
"The Colored Men's Fair at the State Capital.+

"The colored people of Franklin county have entered into a worthy enterprise. They are now fast preparing for their agricultural mechanical, and stock fair, which comes off the 22d, 23d, 24th and 25th, in Brown's Bottom, one mile northeast of the city.+

"All persons are invited to bring their stock, as there are liberal inducements offered. They offer $1,000 in premiums. Space(?) will be rented at a reasonable rate, or they will sell the exclusive right of ground to any one individual, reserving the right to prevent the sale of any spirituous liquors, or letting gambling, &c on the ground. Arrangements are also being made to situate strangers visiting the fair.+

"Their bills have been circulated over the State in order that people may see their offers. Any person having stock, or any thing else, and no ring found for them additional rings will be made up for them by applying to the President, who will be found at his office at any hour between 9 a m and 6 o'clock p m. +

"The officers of the association are: B. Burton, president; N.B. Greenup, vice president; Henry Samuel, treasurer; H. H. Trumble, secretary. Board of directors are: R. H. Higdon, Henry Lynn, George Washington, Walter Lewis and Ostrand Forrest. They pledge themselves that the best of order shall prevail. There will be officers upon the ground to arrest any one violating the rules of the company."

Charles D. Drake of St. Louis delivered a speech before "The Louisville Emancipation Convention" which met Feb 22d, 1864. I see no evidence in the speech that blacks were there. It looks like a general abolitionist-anti-slavery type convention. He talked about "The Future of Kentucky," "Slavery's Relation To The Nation," "The President's Emancipation Proclamation," etc.
The American Baptist Home Mission Society (Jubilee Vol, 1883)

p 85/ "Twelve years ago, in the State of Kentucky, the Colored People organized a General Association, with the idea of establishing a school. On account of poverty and many other things they were unable to put this into practical operation until 1879. In 1879 they raised for themselves $1,800 to further this object. In 1880 they raised only $1,200; but under the inspiration which this Society gave them, by extending assistance to them, last year we raised altogether over $3,000;..."

/p 86/ Originally bought property in Frankfort /p 87/ and held it until 1879 when it was sold. Reason: they "... bought the property at a place so high up that it would have taken nearly $10,000 to build a road to it;..."

1807 LETTER TO FORMER KY MISTRESS

Letter from "Gooley" to "Dear Mistress" dated Port Royal, Nov 30, 1807, in Duke M. Goodbey papers, 1781-1930, reel 1, M-620, sp col, margaret I king lib, uk

"Dear Mistress,+

"Port Royal Nov. 30th, 1807 +

"I take this opportunity of writing you a few lines, which I hope may find you well as they have me enjoying good health at present. I have heard that Mr. Bhoon is Likely to loose all his Negroes as I have heard he Has been Sued for them and I assure you it has given me much uneasiness you will therefore be good enough to write me by the first opportunity Respecting it. I Likewise heard you were going to be married again. is that true. if it is I Hope it is to one of your Liking. I have furthermore heard you have lost some of your Small Negroes by death. do when you write inform me which of them are dead. I have to inform you that I have had one child since I saw you. his name is Jasshua. you will please to tell my Sister Clary not to Let my poor children Suffer. & tell her She must allso write me & inform me how She & my children and I have heard it reported that Master Wm Boon is very much dissatisfied in your Country. I wou'd give anything he was back again. Remember me to Ducky & Humphrey & there /sic/ family. I shall be very glad to see you again. Wm Miller is now on the brink of death. & is a bout to Sell 40 of his Negroes and it likely Joshua may be one. I wou'd wish to Stay with Him as long as possible as you must know its very bad to part man & wife. Mr. Miller has been very good to me & I am now living with his daughter Mrs. Gray. I shou'd be glad to no /sic/ what Sort of a life Clary leads. /begin p 2/ Tell Mr. Harry Launders. Miss Judith Launders is married to Mr. Tho. Stiff of Port Royal. be pleased to inform me how my little daughter Judith is & if She is now enjoying health. Who now at present only my best wishes to
1807 LETTER TO FORMER KY MISTRESS

Letter from "Gooley" to "Dear Mistress" dated Port Royal, Nov 30, 1807, in Duke M. Godbey papers, 1781-1930, reel 1, M-620, sp col, margaret I king lib, uk mss div mf

/all my friends & relations and Except /sic/ my warmest Love & friendship for your Self from Dear Mistress your most affectionate Servant." Gooley +

"P. S. Fanny Just as you left her & old Granny Judy goes a bout & that is all. She has life & that is all. Tell Hannah her Sister is married to Mr. Thomley. Tom remember me Jinny Maria & Matildy. Tell all of them to write me. Gooley"

BLACKS WORKING IN ASHLAND IRON FURNACES 1848

Daniel K Weis, "Reminiscences of Eastern Kentucky," m-544, sp col, m.i. king lib, uk, typescript of original articles which appeared in local newspapers.

"Many of the employees of the furnaces running at that time were colored men belonging to their masters in the counties of Bath, Montgomery and clark counties.+ (begin p. 17)"

"It was customary just prior to the holidays for the proprietors of the furnaces to close up for a week or two, and go down into those counties named to hire their help for the ensuing year. Many of the laborers at these furnaces were valuable on account of their skill and experience as furnace hands and entirely trustworty.+"

"The wages due to their masters was sent to the latter by their own men, all of them having more or less money paid them for extra work done by them during the year.+"

"It was the custom of the owners of their men, when hired, to provide in the contract of hiring that they should be paid for all extra work they should be required to do, consequently every man of them went home to enjoy the holidays with money of their own to spend as they pleased.+"

"Some time before the furnaces closed up for the holidays, there was a general understanding among the men, to meet on a certain day at a place appointed to march home in a body. I remember that a few days before Christmas in 1848 about one hundred or more of these men came marching into Grayson, singing their negro /sic/ songs, happy as lords, carrying their masters money in one pocket, and their own earning for extra work in another. They were well behaved and orderly under the leadership of 'Uncle Tom Conner' as he was called."
p 17/ Weis said that "Uncle Tom Conner" was the leader of the gang of blacks passing through Grayson, Ky, during the Christmas holidays 1848 on their way home to visit. Weis talked to Tom then, and again after the Civil War after Tom had fled to Ohio.

"My readers will pardon me if I give Tom a little more attention here. Tom was one of the most skillful founders in the country, and at hiring time it was the object of every furnace man to get Tom, if possible, consequently there was always competition among those gentlemen to get him.+

Tom belonged to Mr. Harry Conner, of Bath county, who never failed to have the contract for hiring set forth in plain terms that Tom was to be paid a fair price for all extra work he should do, consequently, Tom occupying a most responsible position as founder, /begin p 18/ always has a handsome sum due him for extra work, which, with his master's money he carried home to the old man, who was one of the best men of Bath county and always treated his servants kindly, and was loved by them.+

"On the occasion referred to when the men marched into Grayson, in a conversation with Tom I asked him if he would not like to be free; he replied no, and said 'what do I want to be free for, I have a good master who will take care of me if I get sick, he gives me plenty to eat and to wear, and I always have as much money as I want, I don't want to be free.' After that I never saw Tom until the close of the war when, in Flemingsburgh I went to the stage office to take the stage for Mt. Sterling. I found the

/p 18 cont'd/ front and middle seat occupied, the back seat was occupied solely by a respectable looking colored man. I took a seat beside him, but failed to recognize him. After going along for some time he commenced a conversation with one of the passengers in the seat before him, and from a remark made by him in regard to Bath county I recognized him and turning to him I said 'why Tom is this you? and reminded him of our conversation in Grayson, and asked him where he had been and where he was going. He replied 'I'm goin' back to God's country. Way back dar. When Mr. free Lincoln said all de niggers would be free, and so many of 'em started off from home, fool like I went too.'+

"I went over dar in Ohio and ? bal money wid me, and wen dem Ohio niggers heard I had some moeny dey thought I was a great man, dey was always perlite wen dey met me. Well it went on in dis way until I got out of money, and wen dey found dat out, dey had no more use for me, and looked on me as if I was jes a common nigger like demselves, so fater considerin de matter I jes picked up my duds and /begin p 19/ started for my ole home, en I'm jes goin' back to God's country, I'm goin' whar dars bacon.'"
"The Presidential election. A quiet election I found the Negroes at the polls & did not seem to give an inch doubtless urged on by low down white men. I could but feel indignant at this outrage. The Republicans have always resorted to desperate means to the election. I hope to God that they will again be defeated. The tendency of this infamous party is to get in power at all hazards. & then hold the reins of government by the money power & by & by there will be a time when capital and labor will come in conflict & the result will be the darkest history ever written in this great nation."

1854 WILL OF ARCHY BARCLAY, FREE BLACK, WARREN CO

In the name of God amen, I Archy Barclay a free man of color of the town of bowing, Warren County, Ky being of sound mind and memory but diseased in body and impressed with the uncertainty of life do make and publish this my last will and testament. First- I give my body to the dust and my spirit to God who gave it. Second- It is my will that all my just debts be paid. Third- After the payment of all my debts it is my will that all my estate both real and personal shall belong to and be enjoyed by my wife Hasty Barclay and my two children Martha and Solomon and at the death of my wife Hasty the property of every description is to belong to said two children Martha & Solomon their heirs and assigns forever. It is further my will that my Executor hereafter to be appointed shall have supervision and control over said property in order to its safety and preservation for my said children. I hereby appoint Samuel A. Barclay Executor of this my last will and testament. In testimony of all which I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 13th day of March 1853.

Witness
Sam'l Stubbins
C. B. Donaldson

State of Kentucky
Warren County Court Sct. October Term 1854
This last will and testament of Archy Barclay deceased was produced in Court and proved by the oaths of C. B. Donaldson and Sam'l Stubbins the subscribing witnesses thereto and ordered to be recorded which is recorded accordingly. Test. C. B. Blount
"Bound Girl Runaway $5 Reward.
"Caroline Shephers, is about 15 years old, a bright Mulatto, and has one wrist broken which causes her to hold her hand a little crooked. This girl is legally bound to me, and left my service without just cause, and I therefore warn all persons against laboring her, or giving her employment without my consent, as the law in such cases will be enforced. I also offer a reward of $5 for her return to me at my residence. +
"Ely Roberts,
Jordan Station,
Fulton county, Ky."

"Negro Lawyers--Thursday last, quite a sensation was created among the Lawyers of Louisville by examination that was made by Judges Stites and Bruce of two negroes, /sic/ George A. Griffith and N. R. Harper, who had made an application for license to practice law in the courts of Kentucky. Griffith is a native of Daviess Co., in this State, and is represented as a fluent and logical speaker. Harper hails originally from Detroit, Michigan, but has for some time resided in the vicinity of Louisville. These young men underwent a very rigid examination, answered every question propounded to them, and were granted license to practice their profession. Harper will practice in Louisville, and Griffith will open an office in Owensboro. Surely this is an age of progress. These are the first negroes /sic/ that ever entered the legal profession in Kentucky."
Breckinridge had 57 slaves in 1806. He was away from home often because of his position in the Senate of US and then as Atty Gen of US. "A trusted friend in whose judgment Breckinridge had confidence was selected to act as his agent in the more important matters which necessitated immediate attention. The main plantation was placed under the care of an overseer, while dependable white tenants lived on outlying parts of Breckinridge's holdings. Before his departures Breckinridge drew up lists of detailed instructions which reveal a great deal about the day-to-day operations of a Bluegrass plantation." These are the Oct 1806 instructions:

"You are to keep good authority among my negroes, & keep them close at home. They are not to leave my plantation without your leave. Visit their houses frequently at unseasonable Hours of the night, & punish all strange negroes that you find on my plantation after sunset, unless they are sent on business." "See that my Carpenters keep close at their work. I have left with them a memorandum in writing of what they are to do; which you can examine at your leisure. If they do not attend to their Business, punish them." (The carpenters were Jim & Geo)

"Have the wheels & axletree of a heavy strong ox cart made for me. Jim and George will make the tongue & body." "Such of the negroes /sic/ as choose to do it, had better while they are clearing, slave small logs enough to make cabbins for themselves. As I do not intend to let them live in the brick House, there will not probably be house room enough for them; and they do not like to be crowded together. However if they will be satisfied with what there are, I shall."

Harrison says that "Special instruction were also left for Jim and George, two skilled slave carpenters who were occasionally hired out at wages when work was lacking on the plantation:..." The directions for Jim & Geo drawn up Oct 18, 1806. They were: "The first thing after my departure which you are to do, is to finish the stable which you were to build adjoining the Corn House at the Quarter. Make the Stable the length of the Corn House, & you need not make any granary as I at first intended."

"You are then to get the shingles, Plank, Scantling and all the other Materials for a brick house which is to be 16 feet square." "You are then to get weatherboards enough to weatherboard the Kitchen & put it on." "See that there is no plank, window frames, or stuff of any kind whatsoever wanting, kiln dried to complete the wings of my House when I return. I dont wish you to do any thing on the Wings 'till my return; but I wish all the flooring plank & weatherboards planed /sic/, & everything of that sort which can be done made ready; I /sic/ as I /begin p 112/ intended to get Mr Cooper or some other good carpenter to assist you as soon as I return." "You are to cut down & saw up the cherry tree near the lane in front of the House. "In the spring plant handsome locust trees in the lane in the room of all that are dead. Plant them deep, & ram them well." "You are to make a Body for a new ox Cart, which the overseer is to procure." They were instructed to go Mr Jouitts' or Mr. Lightfoots' to get apple trees. "I desire you will be industrious & mind your Business. If you do not Mr Payne / overseer/ will punish you; for I have directed him to attend to you." "Your Mistress will give you an order on Mr McCours store for any plain Bits or nails you may want in my absence." Told wife to read t instructions for Jim & Geo before giving them to them. Also to give Jim & Ge money to pay for apple trees.
SLAVE HIRING, LEX, 1790s-1806-

1 h harrison, 'j breckinridge of ky, planter, speculator, businessman,'

fchq, 34, july 1960

p 211/ Breckinridge had a large number of slaves and could not use them all on his plantation, thus he hired some. "His solution was to extend the practice of hiring out slaves which he started in 1792 with the Negroes sent out a year in advance of his own arrival. Not only was he relieved of caring for them, but their services brought in a welcome addition to his income. Milly, a good housekeeper and cook, was considered to be worth $4.00 a month, Peggy brought £ 16. for the year, and Jim and George, the plantation carpenters, were hired for a dollar a day for brief periods when they could be spared. Several slaves were employed in Lexington factories or merchandising concerns. Peter January, one of the town's more prosperous merchants, returned a boy in September, 1800, when no work was available, but the next spring he agreed to employ six boys in his rope factory. Rental for each of the four largest was £ 10 a year; the two smallest boys were to work free of charge for a year, thereafter at the same rate as the others. During their four years in service the boys were to be well fed and clothed by January who was also obligated to pay taxes on them. Other Breckinridge slaves were employed in a sawmill, and a paper factory, and one man named Bill was apprenticed to a maker of tombstones. In 1801 when he was preparing to leave for Washington, Breckinridge listed nineteen slaves who were available for hire. The sums desired ranged from £ 15 for a prime hand to £ 6 for some of the women and boys. The total was £ 179, but it is doubtful if the whole number was disposed of as planned." /p 210/ Breckinridge had 57 slaves in 1806.

SLAVES PURCHASED IN VA TO COME TO KY ON THEIR OWN 1806

1 h harrison, 'j breckinridge of ky; planter, speculator, and businessman,'

fchq, 34, july 1960

p 210/ John Breckinridge purchased slaves from time to time; sometimes in Virginia: "One of his last purchases was an expert hostler named Johnny who cost $250. If no one could be found to escort Johnny from Virginia to Kentucky, he was to be given a pass and sent on the journey alone, Breckinridge ordered." /p 224, note 37: "John wrote Polly /Mrs. Breckinridge/ again on April 7 /1806/ that Johnny was on his way and should be placed in charge of the horses upon his arrival." Harrison said Johnny came alone with a pass.
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A JOCKEY'S LIFE

Isaac Murphy Tells How the Riders of Thoroughbreds Train Themselves.

Taking Off Flesh by Walking and Going to Bed Hungry Half the Time.

A First-Class Pig-Skin Artist Can Earn Ten Thousand Dollars a Year.

In a street-car en route to the Washington Park races the other day sat a beautiful octoroon girl perhaps 20 years of age, and with her were two women of a darker hue, who were evidently her companions. It was apparent from their conversation that they were well acquainted with the different horses that were to contest the day's races and also with some of the jockeys who were to ride them. The octoroon girl was the wife of Isaac Murphy, the young mulatto who stands today at the head of all American jockeys, and whose services as a rider are in constant demand at race meetings.

Arrived at the race track the woman took seats in the grand stand and it was not long before a bright-faced active young man galloped down the homestretch on the back of one of Ed Corrigan's thoroughbreds, giving the women a smile as he passed by, the salutation being returned by the pretty octoroon. The man on the horse was Isaac Murphy, and after he had warmed the animal up and was being weighed in for the opening race of the day a representative of The Tribune had an interesting talk with him concerning jockeys, their habits, earnings, mode of life, etc.

"Yes, I earn a good deal of money every season," said Murphy, "but I have to work hard for it, and I think I am deserving of all I get. A jockey, in order to be successful, must constantly subject himself to a rigorous course of training, and, although people who are not posted on such matters would hardly think it, the best riders in the country—men who earn from $5,000 to $10,000 every summer—frequently go to bed hungry every night for weeks."

"Why is that?"

"Well, it is this way: The scale of weights in this country is very light as compared with that in England, and so it is always the case that in England, that by the time a jockey becomes a man in years he has grown to such a size that his natural bodily weight is far above that which the racing rules prescribe shall be carried in all the more important events for 2 and 3 year old runners. Of course this scale of weights must be adhered to, and it is for this reason that every jockey is weighed before each race begins in order that none of them may be either over or under the weight which the rules fix for that particular event. In winter, for instance, my weight is about 135 pounds, yet during the racing season I must be prepared to ride at a moment's notice any race where but 110 pounds is allowed to be carried. This means that I have got to take off by artificial means about fifteen pounds of surplus flesh; and you can have no idea of how hard it is to do that, and then to keep my weight down to the proper figures."

SWEATING OFF SURPLUS FLESH

"How is this accomplished?"

"By sweating. In spite of all the care which can be taken as to what is eaten a jockey finds that he is constantly getting four or five pounds heavier than he should be, and this means that each morning of the day he is to ride a race he must get up early, put on a number
of sweaters, and over these place heavy clothes. Then come a stiff walk of four or five miles, the pace being fast enough so that perspiration will be freely induced; and by dint of plenty of hard walking and eating little or nothing during the fore part of the day he finds that by afternoon he is down to the proper weight and can ride. Of course this sort of life weakens a man. If it were only done for a week or so it would not make so much difference, but where one has to keep constantly reducing his flesh by artificial means from the 1st of May until the 1st of October it is a tremendous strain on the mental and nervous system as well as the physical. There is a constant feeling of weakness and sickness which never leaves one except during sleep.

HUNGRY JOCKEYS.

"What does a jockey eat during the racing season?"

"Well, I don't know other men manage, but I find that fruit is about the only thing I can eat without causing my weight to run up beyond proper limits. Of course there is not much strength in that sort of diet, and I have to supplement it with meat once in a while, but even then I can only have a small piece of very rare steak, and this with a little toast is quite a feast for a jockey who is in active training."

"So you are hungry a good deal of the time?"

"Yes," said Murphy, with a curious smile, as he looked up into the face of his questioner, the high cheek bones with the skin drawn tightly over them telling their own story of self-imposed starvation. "We don't know what it is to feel that we have eaten enough form the day the racing season begins until it is over. And then the work is hard and of a kind which makes a man want nourishing food. You get on the back of a big, active thoroughbred racehorse that is full of life and ambition, and sometimes is vicious besides, and you are expected to control him and ride him in such a manner that his best speed will be obtained for a long distance, and all the time you are actually weak for want of food."

TEN THOUSAND A YEAR

"You have been a successful jockey," said THE TRIBUNE man. "How long ago did you begin and what do you earn every year?"

"It was about ten years ago that I first began to have anything to do with racehorses," replied Murphy, "and at that time I was working for Jim Williams, the man who owns Joe Cotton, the winner of the Kentucky Derby this year. He had two other jockeys at the time, but somehow or other there was always a difficulty about it, and for a long time I was unable to show what I could do as a jockey. Of course I had ridden the horses in the exercise, but never in a race. The first mount I did get was a winning one, however, and from that time on I had pretty much all I could do."

"Yes, I am my own master so far as that is concerned except that Mr. Corrigan has the first call on my services. That means that whenever he has a horse in a race I am obliged to ride that animal if he want me to, and it is only when he has nothing starting that I could ride that it is possible for me to accept mounts from other people. Of course one stable can furnish starters for but a small minority of the races run all over the country, and so I get all the outside riding I want to do."

"What does Corrigan pay you for the first call on your services?"

"He gives me $4,000 a year, simply as a retainer, as that amount has nothing to do with what I am paid for riding the races. You know the racing rules provide that jockeys shall receive $10 for every losing race they ride and $35 for every winning one, so I can
JOCKEYSHIP A KNACK

The newspaper-man gazed admiringly on the trimly-built little negro who could speak so complacently about earning a thousand dollars in one afternoon, and proceeded to ask him some more questions. In reply to one of them Murphy said that there was no way of telling how horses should be ridden. Jockeyship was, in his opinion, a knack; and in this connection it may be said that Budd Dobie, who is probably the best driver of trotters in America, holds exactly the same opinion with regard to driving. He says that no amount of education in the sulky can make a good driver out of a man who has no genius for it to begin with.

As to his personal habits, Murphy said that he smoked once in a while, but never drank liquor in the racing season; but it is necessary at times to drink a glass of champagne, as that seems to act as a tonic to his empty stomach and to brace him up long enough to ride a race. During the winter months he stays at his home which is in Lexington, Ky., doing no work of any description. He said that he found the rest of several months absolutely necessary in order to enable him to store away strength for the coming racing season. Among American jockeys Murphy is looked up to as being without question at the head of his profession, and yet, with all the flattery to which he has been subjected he retains the modest, gentlemanly demeanor that characterized him a decade ago, when he first began making public appearances in the saddle. Among the colored jockeys with whom he associates at every meeting he is revered as well as respected, and his opinion as to the merits or demerits of any animal is accepted as final and conclusive by the circle of big-eyed dusky admirers who always surround him when he is at the track. Murphy has all the good qualities of a successful jockey without any of the numerous faults which usually appertain to that individual. He is a good judge of pace, is patient and gentle with horses, and no matter how large the stake for which he is riding he never for an instant loses his head, and it is this quality of being able to sit still on a horse while the other jockeys are racing their mounts to death that has enabled him to win dozens of races in which the animal he bestrode was thought to have no chance. To see Murphy ride a hard finish on a horse that is already tired is worth a long journey, and the title of "The Demon," which his admirers long ago applied to Fred Archer, the great English jockey, would fit Murphy just as well, for he can rouse and keep together a tired horse better than any other rider in America.
After finish of this kind the perspiration pours out of his black skin like water when he comes back to the weighing stand, the tremendous exertion causing him to tremble like a leaf, and when one sees him after such a race he does not wonder that Murphy's opinion of the man who framed the American racing rules which oblige him to ride at 110 pounds is not in all respects complimentary.

"A day's racing wears me out completely," he said, "and every night I am in bed by 9 o'clock frequently going to sleep before it is dark. I am tired out, weak, and half sick after riding three or four horses of an afternoon, and my only ambition then is to get to bed as soon as possible and stay there until morning."

"What do earn a year?"

"I don't exactly know," was the reply, "but I guess that last year I must have made close to $10,000, and I ought to do as well or better this season, because my retainer of $4,000 from Mr. Corrigan and the $1,000 that I got for winning the Derby here make half of last season's earnings assured already, and I should not wonder if I earned as much as $12,000 or $14,000 this summer. But I must weigh in for this race," and with a hurried injunction to a brother jockey to get his weights and saddle for him the "colored Archer" started for the weighing-room.

"Revenge for Rape. A Mob at Flemingsburg Hangs a Negro Brute to a Railroad Trestle. The Family of Two Other Rapists in the Jail Have Them Removed, And While Accompanying the Prisoners the Sister, Mother and Father Are Killed."

"A Negro Lynched. A Mob Overpowers the Jailer and Hangs his Prisoner."

"Flemingsburg, Ky. Sept 8.--Between 12 and 1 o'clock last night a mob of about 100 men broke into the jail and took out Charles Coleman, a negro, charged with attempting to ravish Miss Ella Sweeney Sunday night. He was hung on the railroad trestle a short distance west of town. The Coroner's verdict was, in substance, as above. The mob was very orderly, and there was no disturbance of any kind. The Lynchers demanded the keys of the jail, and on being refused broke down the door. They knew what they wanted, and they got through with their work as quietly as possible."

"Chas. Coleman criminally assaulted Mrs. Ringwood and Miss Nettie Sweeney, last Monday morning, near Bald Hill, this county. The mob was made up of friends of the young woman, who lived near Mayslick, Mason county. Coleman was 19 years old. The Jailer on the visit of the mob tried to disuade them by a long-winded speech, but a pistol was shoved in his face and a halt called on his oratory. He was then knocked down, blind folded and the keys taken; the outside doors were battered down with hammers and the mob was soon in the jail proper, which by that time was a veritable bedlam."

"The leaders quickly selected their victim, who was the only cool man in the building, and he told them, 'I know what you want. Don't you chumps make a botch of this.'" There were two other men, apparently white, in the jail at the time, both charged with rape. (The Pugh Brothers) They were not lynched, though there were later precautions against their being
J BRECKINRIDGE'S SLAVES HIRED OUT IN KY 1792 (arrived Ky May 17)

p 33/ "... the Breckinridge slaves were all hired out at prices pleasing to their owner and in situations not unpleasing to them, although there was some difficulty in placing two of the older ones. John and Gratly were hired out until the first of December for £ 5/10/0 each, while each of the young women who had no children brought £ 3 for the same period. Women and children were placed for 50 shillings, and two of the youths were hired out for 3 shillings per month. All the slaves were to be clothed by their employers, the garments for the men consisting of two strong shirts, a warm, stout coat and breeches, a good pair of shoes and stockings, all articles being due at the end of their service unless requested earlier by Colonel Russell. Breckinridge's income from slave rentals for 1792 was something over £ 30 despite the lateness of the season when the transactions were made. Payments were to be either in cash or cattle, the latter at the cash selling price."

SLAVE VALUE, PRICES, 1790s (John Breckinridge's farm)

The bulk of his working force consisted of slaves. When he moved to Kentucky he owned twenty-five slaves, thirteen of whom were over sixteen years of age. The total had increased to fifty-seven by 1806, and he was then one of the great slaveholders of the Bluegrass. While he occasionally purchased slaves with specific skills, there is no indication that he ever sold a Negro who belonged to him. Probably his largest purchase came in 1797 when he bought Shadrick, a man of about thirty-six years, his wife Hannah, and their three children, the oldest seven and the youngest eleven months. The price of £260 was discharged by transferring title to 260 acres of Jefferson County land. One of his last purchases was an expert hostler named Johnny who cost $250. If no one could be found to escort Johnny from Virginia to Kentucky he was to receive a pass and make the trip alone, Breckinridge ordered.
Since Breckinridge declined to sell surplus slaves, he faced the prospect of becoming slave poor within a few years after his westward move. His solution was to extend the practice of hiring out which he had used with the slaves sent to Lexington in 1792. Milly, a good housekeeper and cook, was considered to be worth $4 a month, Peggy brought $16 for the year, and Jim and George, the plantation carpenters, were hired for a dollar a day for brief periods when they could be spared. Several slaves were employed in the Lexington factories or merchandising concerns. Peter January, one of the more prosperous merchants in the town, returned a boy in September, 1800, when no work was available, but the next spring he agreed to employ six boys in his rope factory. Payment for each of the four largest was $10 a year; the two smallest boys were to serve free of charge for a year, thereafter at the same rate as the others. During their four years of service the boys were to be well fed and clothed by January, who was also obliged to pay taxes on them. Others were employed in a sawmill and a paper factory, and Bill was apprenticed to a maker of tombstones. In 1801 when he was preparing to leave for Washington Breckinridge listed nineteen slaves who were available for hire. The sums desired ranged from $15 for a prime hand to $6 for some of the women and boys. The total was $179, but it is doubtful if the whole number was disposed of as planned.

Breckinridge was a stern but just master who expected obedience but who was considerate of the welfare of his slaves. Part of his consideration may have resulted from economic factors, but he also appears to have been genuinely concerned with the human element within the prescribed framework of the institution of slavery. His overseers were ordered to maintain good authority and to keep their charges at home. No slave was allowed to leave the plantation without permission, and the overseers visited the quarters frequently at irregular hours to make sure the rule was obeyed and to punish any strange Negroes who were present after sundown without permission. Skilled slaves were given considerable discretion in their work, but they were warned to be industrious and to mind their business or they would be punished by the overseer.
Women were allowed three months for their periods of confinement before returning to work in the fields or at the big house. Slaves who were ill were treated as carefully as members of the family and by the same doctor if the services of a physician were required. Isaac was carried to the home of Breckinridge's sister so that she could try her skills on a swelling in his foot.

Remedies proved ineffective when a boy named Wilt lost his speech and fell into a coma which lasted three weeks. Dr. George Martin's bill came to £6.12, but his prescriptions of strengthening powders for the nerves, mixtures for the stomach, purgative pills, snake-root, cream-of-tartar, and blistering plasters forced Wilt to recover.

A venture more in keeping with his business character was his association in the Bourbon Iron Works Company. The difficulty and expense of importing weighty iron products presented enterprising persons with an opportunity to reap a neat profit by producing iron within the state. Anxious to promote the enterprise, the General Assembly provided a militia guard of thirty men to protect the Bourbon Works which was founded in 1791 on Slate Creek in what was to become Bath County. Among those who scented possibilities of profit were John Breckinridge, George Nicholas, and George Thompson. On March 6, 1794, organized as the "New Company," they joined the "Old Company" proprietors to form a new association. Each group owned eight shares in the undertaking, and each was required to submit a list of lands lying within three miles of the furnace which would be given to the common company. Construction of a forge and sawmill was pledged by the "New Company," with credit being given to it for the actual costs of construction. Pig iron produced and on hand was credited to the "Old Company" at £12 per ton. Joint ownership and operation was to commence with the completion of the forge. Each member had one vote, and a simple majority determined company policy.
The new members added strength and vitality to the enterprise. They immediately put pressure on Governor Shelby to secure more adequate protection for their undertaking,94 and they started gathering the land, workmen, and materials necessary to carry out their part of the agreement. Skilled workmen were especially difficult to obtain, and most of the work was performed by slaves. Supervisors pleaded for more hands until the proprietors finally resorted to advertising for able-bodied Negro men who were promised generous wages and good treatment.95 The number was never adequate, and in 1797 John C. Owings proposed that each shareholder be required to supply five slaves or sufficient cash to purchase that number.96 His suggestion was not adopted while Breckinridge was a member of the company.

COOKING, EATING DURING SLAVERY (Dan Bogie interview)

"Most of the cooking was in an oven in the yard, over the bed of coals. Baked possum and ground hog in the oven, stewed rabbits, fried fish and fried bacon called "streaked meat" all kinds of vegetables, boiled cabbage, pone corn bread, and sorghum molasses. Old folks would drink coffee, but chillun would drink milk, especially butter milk."
FORMER SLAVE TELLS OF LIFE AS SLAVE; WORKED AROUND HORSES

chas stewart, "life as slave" Harper's New Monthly Mag, lxix (June-Nov 1884)

p 730/ Taken down as told by Stewart, who can't read. Nothing altered throughout this acct. /p. 731/ He is about 84 or 85 yrs. old. Born in Va. /p 735/ Moved to Paris Kentucky, but didn't give year. Says in the spring and fall of the year "... I would take de horses 'bout fum place to place, en 'cordance wid marster's orders, and I was jes' as free an independent as any gen'l'eman en de land /p 736/ I had my helpers an' jockeys, grooms an' stablemen, under me, nobody was ower me, ..."

DUTIES OF SLAVE PATROLS 1852

Ky Revised Statutes, 1852

p. 520/

Appointment and duties of.

§ 1. County courts shall, once in each year, divide their respective counties into as many districts as the public peace and good order of society may require, and appoint, in each district, a company of patrols, to consist of one captain, and not exceeding three men, to continue in service twelve months, unless removed by the county court for neglect of duty, or improper conduct. None but discreet and sober men shall be appointed patrols; they shall take an oath, before a justice of the peace, faithfully, impartially, and diligently to perform the duties of patrols. But patrols shall have jurisdiction co-extensive with the whole county.

§ 2. The county court shall prescribe the number of hours, in each month, the said company shall be on duty, in their bounds.

§ 3. Patrols shall visit negro quarters, and all suspected places, and places of unlawful assemblies of slaves, within their respective precincts.

§ 4. A slave found at unlawful assemblies, or strolling from one plantation to another, or found in a town or city, without a written pass for the time, from his master or over-
§ 1. The county courts for counties bounded by the Ohio river, if they think proper, may, at any time, appoint for their respective counties a strong and active patrol, to consist of sober, discreet citizens, not to exceed thirty in any county, whose duty it shall be to guard and watch the places for crossing the river, and such other points and places as may be designated by the court; to notice the condition and situation of all water craft upon the Kentucky shore of the Ohio river; to report to the proper authority all delinquencies and violations of laws, by those having charge of or right to keep such water craft. Said patrol may also exercise the powers prescribed to patrols in the first article of this chapter. They shall have power to arrest, without warrant, any person found lurking about, with intention to afford assistance, by advice or otherwise, to any slave to escape from his master, or who may be lurking about for any harmful purpose to the community.
§ 2. Any free person arrested under the authority of the first section of this article, shall be taken before a justice of the peace, and if such person be not of good name and behavior, or if believed by the justice of the peace to be guilty of the offense described in said section, he shall give bail, in a reasonable sum, to appear at the next circuit court for said county, and answer to the charge of evil name, or evil behavior, or the charge of violating the provisions of said first section. The circuit court shall have power to demand further bail of such person, and may, if believed to be guilty of any offense punishable by law, cause him to be prosecuted for the same. If the person fail or refuse to give the bail required by the justice or the court, he shall be committed and dealt with as other offenders failing to give bail.
PRICES FOR HIRED SLAVES, CYNTHIANA, 1818

chas e hedrick, 'negro slaver in ky before 1850,' m a thesis, univ of chicago, 1915

p 13/ Says in 1810 a slave hired for $60.00 a yr, in 1818 for $100.00 a year.

taken from Guardian of Liberty, Cynthiana, June 6,1818

PRICES OF SLAVES, CYNTHIANA, 1810, 1818

chas e hedrick, 'negro slavvery in ky before 1850,' ma thesis, univ of chicago, 1915

p 13/ Says slave worth $500 to $800 in 1810 and in 1818 /p 14/ $1000.

source: Cynthiana Guardian of Liberty, June 6, 1818.
Citing a Lex Examiner, Aug 14, 1849, article that listed the total cost of a slave in 1847 as $177.90 a year, Hedrick said "A free laborer could be employed for about that, an did not require the strict supervision and could do his work in an intelligent manner." He goes on to suggest that slavery was less efficient than white labor; that is it actually cost more to work a slave. "The general effect of slavery was to impoverish the master and the state."

As quoted by Hedrick:

"good waggoner" Bardstown Western American, 3-20-1806.
"Likely negroes for sale: Men, Women, Boys, and Girls among whom is a Brick layer and a black-smith." Lex Kentucky Reporter,4-14-1819.
"Ran away Sam Richardson, negro 19 years of old, very proud, polite, a Shoemaker by trade and a good workman." Lex Ky Gazette, 10-25-1803.
"For Sale- Three Stills of the best quality. Also, a likely young negro man, a good distiller." Ky Gazette, 9-9-1797.
"For Sale- A negro woman 32 years old, good constitution, excellent cotton spinner, sews and knits well..." Lex Ky Gazette, vol 20, No 1089.
Quoted in Hedrick:

p 18/ "Daniel Fortner, a blackman, came into this neighborhood as dancing master. Did not have very good success. Had horse thought to have been stolen, he was put into jail on vagrant act and suspected of being a slave."

p 20/ In an ad for a runaway, owner said: "Jack who had on a pair of old 'lindsey' overalls, patched and darned, old snuff colored broad cloth coat and old shoes."
Hedrick quotes:

p 22/ "Runaway- A negro man named George. Can write his name pretty legibly- calls himself George Linn. He is a sensible fellow and will no doubt try to pass himself for a free man." Lex Kentucky Gazette, 9-12-1798.

"Runaway from the subscriber--- A likely negro fellow about 5 feet 10 inches high, well made, about 23 years of age, called Burges by name, reads and writes a tolerably good hand and is expected will write himself a pass." Lex Kentucky Gazette 1-16-1798.


"What deserves to be particularly mentioned is the degraded and almost forgotten Africans; they call loudly for assistance; being sunk into the most profound ignorance and superstition. Prejudice or a want of means has hitherto excluded them from our common schools. Their own inattention and carelessness added to their natural depravity, all tend to rivet the claims of ignorance tighter upon them. But since the establish- /begin p 23/ ment of this school, many show marks of willingness to burst their chains, and to be enlightened by the benign influence of the gospel. Thus they may become useful to themselves and their companions, by teaching them to read the Bible in this Sunday School."
p 34/ Ky laws on slavery same as Virginia's 1775 to 1792. One of these laws was Virginia's Medicine Act of 1748 'which prohibited negroes from practicing medicine, under penalty of death without clergy. The object of this law to prevent negroes from poisoning people under guise of giving medical assistance.'

p 37/

"We therefore conclude that the law treated the slaves partly as property and partly as human beings, as property, they could be bought and sold by the citizens and free negro; as persons, they could be made free by their master. As property, they could be chastised, and resistance to the master's authority could be avenged even unto death; as persons they were protected from undue cruelty. As property, they were protected by their master; as persons, they were entitled to trial by jury and were punished for crime. As property, their lives had to be spent in the service of their master, as persons their lives were held sacred. The law presumed them devoid of all shame, because their punishment was the whip and the halter. The law thought them too ignorant and too base to comprehend the obligation of the oath. The slave could only give testimony in cases of colored people. The law presumed that legal marriage was unsuitable to their condition; for it neither established their rites, nor recognized it as binding through its religious obligations, nor punished the violations of the vile. The law took no notice of the system of concubinage among them that prevailed to such a frightful extent that fathers knew not their own children."
After John Brown's raid, rumors of a slave rebellion in the Columbia, Ky, (he called it the Green River area).

"The next morning a band of horsemen came in with two or three negroes /sic/ tied together and tied to a rope, something like a hay rope, preceded and followed by armed men on horseback. It turned out as I had anticipated, that there was no insurrection. A runaway negro /sic/ from Alabama had hidden in Mr. Zink Wheat's barn, and was fed by his negroes. /sic/ Mr. Wheat unexpectedly went into the barn, the negro ran, and he fired his pistol at him. When the negro was afterwards arrested, he was found to have no weapons /begin p 14/ about him but an old carving knife that he had evidently used to cut kindling with, badly nicked, and with which he could have done little damage to anybody. He was easily captured, and in time taken back to his master." Says he lived 9½ months in Ky and saw only one slave whipped, and one sent south.

Robert "Old Duke" Wickliffe, Largest slave holder with 200

j w coleman, slavery times, 1947,
HARLAN CO FARMER FREES SLAVES DURING CW

j egerton, generations, 1983

p 54/ Aley Ledford, who was for Lincoln and Union; had 2 sons who fought for the Union, lived in Harlan Co, which was mostly Union in CW. When Lincoln announced the Eman. Proc. in late 1862, Ledford decided that slavery was over. He had 13 slaves and he said "... I knew what I was going to do. I went up the holler to see George and Sink. [Saint Clair] We stood out by the gate at Sink's cabin and talked. I said, 'You fellers always stood by me, and I've tried to stand by you. Your father and grandfather, the same. The law said I owned you, but I never thought of it that way. Some people want to fight over it, but I ain't one of them. What you have in this holler is yours to keep.' They said they was much obliged, and that was all there was for any of us to say. Nothing changed, hasn't changed to this day. But that day, I went home feeling better."

p 57/ Before Aley Ledford died he divided his money and belongings to his children. "Papa had told me /Stephen Ledford/ to deed over some land to Sinkler and Gorge Ledford, the colored people that live there. /Cranks Creek/ He had already deeded them two hundred acres. Since then I have given them eight hundred acres more. They now own most of the land at the head of Cranks Creek, except for a few acres around the old homeplace."

OUR WOMEN & CHILDREN MAGAZINE & EDITORS

penelope l bullock, the afrom am periodical press, 1838-1909, 1981

p. 167/

No copies of the four family magazines have been located, but information in contemporary publications indicates that they were substantial periodicals. The first issue of Our Women and Children appeared in Louisville in August, 1888.35 The magazine was issued by the National Publishing Company, of which Charles H. Parrish was president; William J. Simmons was the editor and manager. Both of these men were Baptist ministers prominent in religious, journalistic, and educational activities. Simmons was president of the normal and theological school operated in Louisville by the state Baptist association and editor of the weekly American Baptist issued by that organization. He was a leader in the development of national associations among Negro Baptists and Negro journalists.36 Parrish, in cooperation with Simmons,
founded the Eckstein-Norton Institute at Cane Springs, Kentucky, and was president of that school for more than twenty years. He also served as pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in Louisville and as editor for the National Baptist Sunday School Publishing Board in Nashville.37

Simmons and Parrish gathered a corps of women writers as departmental editors for the magazine. Most of these women were living in Louisville and were closely associated with Simmons and the school of which he was president. Mary Virginia Cook, the education editor, was principal of the normal department of that institution. (She later married Charles Parrish.) Ione E. Wood, the temperance editor, was Simmons' niece and an instructor of Greek at the school. Lucy Wilmot Smith, editor of the department for women's work, was Simmons' private secretary. In addition to these local writers, Ida B. Wells (Mrs. Ferdinand L. Barnett), a teacher in Memphis, Tennessee, and editor of the Free Speech newspaper, was on the staff as editor of the home department.38 Ida Wells eventually became nationally and internationally known as a leader in the fight against lynching and segregation. Our Women and Children was well received by the black press: the A. M. E. Church Review observed that the contributors were "chiefly persons of marked ability," and the Indianapolis Freeman commented on "the handsomely engraved title-cover."39

MIGRATION OF BLACKS TO KY,TN: LOWER SOUTH COMPARISONS 1790-1820

"The forced migration of black Americans between 1790 and 1820 can be divided by both time and region. During the 1790s and 1800s hundreds of Chesapeake planters took their slaves to Kentucky and Tennessee, but relatively few born in Virginia or Maryland reached states farther to the southwest." Says planters of S.C. & Ga. were buying needed slaves from African trade. "During the second decade of the nineteenth century nearly all interregional black migrants came from..." "Residents of Virginia and Maryland--both white and black--rapidly peopled the new states of Kentucky and Tennessee between 1780 and 1810. At first, poor whites who settled on lands earned by war service or purchased cheap acreage comprised most of these pioneers, but wealthier planters soon moved west and, between 1790 and 1810, forced some 75,000 slaves to relocate with them. While most migrating whites owned only a slave or two, a few gentlemen--usually the younger sons of the best Virginia families--moved with a large entourage of blacks. Robert Carter Harrison, for instance, migrated from Virginia to Fayette County, Kentucky, in 1805 with around a hundred slaves, thus bringing nearly as many black chattels as fifty of his poorer neighbors. + (taken from J.W.Coward,Ky in new Rep,1979;37,63) "An organized slave trade between Virginia and Kentucky apparently failed to develop during the 1790s and 1800s. Nearly all slave migrants crossed the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies with their masters, to settle on new farms in the West." Says there were very few slave traders selling to Ky & Tn.
p 149/ Table 1: "Conjectural estimates of net slave migration to and within the United States, 1790-1810"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States receiving slaves</th>
<th># slaves exported from</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>West Indies</th>
<th># in-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ky</td>
<td>54,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Says "Chesapeake slaveholders sent fewer than 15,000 slaves to South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana between 1790 and 1810,..."

/p 150/ "Almost no African slaves were sold to Chesapeake or Kentucky planters during this period." Talking about 1790s, 1800s.

/p 151/ "Between 1810 and 1820 roughly 137,000 slaves from the Chesapeake states and North Carolina spread over the frontier South. Kentucky was no longer the destination of most Chesapeake blacks. Nearly six of every ten migrants left Virginia and Maryland for Mississippi, Alabama, and the territories and states west of the Mississippi River; the rest of the Chesapeake migrants went to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia. Most slaves from North Carolina were probably moved to Tennessee."

% SLAVES FROM CHESAPEAKE AREA WHO MOVED TO KY 1790s, 1800s, 1810s


p 155/ "About one in twelve slaves in the Chesapeake moved to Kentucky or further south in the 1790s, and one in ten migrated during the 1800s, but the proportion forced to move doubled during the 1800s, reaching one in five. Kulikoff cites one of his articles for this & another article in this book. Says these figures computed by adding the slave census pop of Md & Va in 1800, 1810, and 1820, respectively, to the estimated number of slave outmigrants from these states, then dividing the numbers of migrants by the slave population in the census year plus the number of migrants.

/p 160/ Thinks 113,000 Chesapeake slaves migrated to KY & TN, mostly with their masters. /p 161/ "Most of them lived on small units of only a few slaves: the typical slaveholder in Kentucky in the 1790s owned only four slaves, and only a quarter of all whites possessed any at all."

source: Coward, Ky in the early Republic, pp 37, 67.
WHITES SPEAK OF DETRIMENTAL EFFECT OF LOU FREE BLACKS ON SLAVES
1835, 1850

hanford dozier stafford, 'sla in border city, lou 1790-1860,' phd disser uk, 1982.

p 26/ Taken from Lou Public Advertiser, Nov 30, 1835: "'After being exposed to city virtues,' Penn observed, they become 'insolent, intractable, and in many instances wholly worthless. They make free negroes their associates and imbibe feelings and imitate their conduct, and are active in prompting others to /p 27/ neglect their duty and to commit crimes.'" Quotes from Lou Daily Democrat, Aug 5, 1851, that the city of Lou corrupted slaves through their association with free whites blacks. "The paper stated bluntly what many whites felt in that the free Negro threatened the institution of slavery and that their continued presence was probably 'the most insoluble of all social problems of the day and stands as a practical sarcasm on the theories of abolition and emancipation.'"

L & N RR HAD POWER TO HIRE SLAVES TO BUILD RR (1851)

Hanford D. Stafford, 'sla in border city; lou 1790-1860,' phd disser, uk, 1982

p 32/ Says L & N began in 1851 & charter states: "'SLAVES. Power to buy--The Company shall have full power and authority to purchase and own sixteen such number of slaves as may be necessary for the construction of said road, and for keeping the same in repair.'"
In the case of the Louisville Hotel, slaves were hired and billeted on the premises, where they were on call whenever the need for their services arose. Before the hotel was destroyed in 1863, records indicate that it rented as many as fifty-seven slaves who performed a multitude of tasks as waiters, domestics, painters, carpenters, and cooks.

Source: Lou Democrat, 12-29-1859

CHILD AGE 11 ADVERTISED FOR SALE 1828

Hanford D. Stafford, 'sla in border city; lou 1790-1860' phd disser, ku, 1982

P 99/ quotes from Lou Public Advertiser, 9-17-1828, "'FOR SALE - A NEGRO GIRL in her 11th year."
H. D. Stafford, 'slaves in border city; lou 1790-1860,' ph d disser, uk, 1982

p 100/ Stafford writes:

"The records reveal that in Louisville, 'over 50 per cent of the whites held slaves,' a percentage which fluctuated very little up to 1865."

A Century of Population Growth, From the First Census of the U.S. to the Twelfth, 1790-1900 (Wash: Govt Printing Office, 1909), pp 122-34; Wade p 20

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LIVING CONDITIONS OF SLAVES OWNED BY COMPANIES 1851

H. D. Stafford, 'slaves in border city; lou 1790-1860' phd disser, uk, 1982

p 105/

"Louisville slaves who were owned by and worked for companies had special problems. Unlike slaveowners whose slaves for the most part occupied quarters on the premises, manufacturers and certain businesses, such as the ropewalks or the L & N Railroad shops, owned slaves but made no provision for their housing. These slaves usually 'slept out,' for, as the argument ran, 'would you want a large number of slaves owned by an independent agency 'sleeping in your back yard, their children, degraded and ignorant, romping with your children, cooking their meals where they reside, spreading pestilence and disease?' Slaves owned by large enterprises, largely unsupervised after the day's work was done, tended to identify housing as best they could. Even though the law required slaveowners to provide slaves with suitable housing, food, and clothing, Blacks who worked and earned money were expected for the most part to see to their own housing. Sometimes, according to local authorities, such slaves developed 'colonies' or shanties in backlots or on an uninhabited area or lot, constitution a 'great public nuisance.' Some slept in deserted warehouses near the waterfront or, in summer, under the wharves. At the Louisville Hotel, those who earned their keep but did not have rooms on the premises, especially the cooks and waiters, sometimes slept in the stockroom. Slaves of masters living in mansions frequently slept at the rear of the house 'above the stables and the livestock.'

54. Louisville Courier, May 4, 1851
55. ibid, May 20, 1851
56. Lou Journal, Jan 21, 1848
p 111/ "... January 1, 1832, C. W. Thurston and his brother committed themselves to pay to James Brown 'Ninty Dollars for the hire of Negro Phil until December 25 next. And we agree to pay taxes and doctor bills. Clothe him during said time and return him . . . with good substantial cloth or James shoes and socks and blankets.' 69 In 1838, James Rudd placed a slave woman named Harriet at the Marine Hospital for $76, rented out a slave named Albert for $100, and Arthur for $460. In 1849, he received $200 from McGrain and Brothers for Thornton. A slave named Yellow Jim was allowed to be out on his own with the only provision that Rudd be paid $5 weekly. In 1847, Jim remitted $262.10; in 1848, $235.55; in 1849, $249.60, and equal or higher sums each year until 1853. Over a period of nine years, Rudd collected $1900 on Jim alone, and he still owned him." 70

69. C.W. and A. Thruston to James Brown, Jan 1, 1832, Mss, C.W.Thruston Papers, Slavery Documents, 1823-1845, R.C.Ballard Thruston Collection Filson Club, Lou
70. James Rudd, Account Book, 1830-1860, MSS vol I, Filson Club, Lou

"Bartlett Taylor, for example, earned $300 annually as a 'hired out' butcher. After a few years, Taylor was able to buy his own freedom; afterwards, he opened his own butcher shop. Within a span of two short years, he expanded into the real estate business and eventually acquired six houses and lots on east Market Street."

Stafford calls this a rare example. source: Simmons, Men of MArk, (1887) 628.
Hired Out Slave Hires Others: Forged Papers, Etc 1850s

p 117/ "Another slave, who had become rather adept at negotiating the hiring out system, worked it to his advantage but to the detriment of his master. Jim was hired out as a carpenter in 1845. In 1852, he was charged by his master for abetting the escape of runaways by forging papers. He was also charged by his master for withholding funds. Jim had obligated himself to pay his master $25 a month during the warm months and $20 during the winter, providing he worked as a 'hired out' for at least three days of the week. If he hired out only during the days of pleasant weather, which could mean one or two days, since carpentry was many times an outside trade, he paid his master at the rate of $5 per day. Within a few years, Jim became noticeably prosperous, having bought several houses and lots along Sixth and Kentucky Streets, /sic/ which he rented to other hired outs or free Blacks. Jim's 'empire' toppled, however, when one of his workers was detained by the town watchmen for a minor infraction. During a routine investigation, it was found /p 119/ not only that the worker's papers were forged, but that several hired outs in Jim's employ also had forged papers. Further inquiry revealed that all of the workers were runaway slaves and that Jim's wealth was derived from portions of his workers' pay, which sometimes accrued to over $200 monthly, while he himself remitted the weekly sum of only $5 to his master, as required by the terms of his contract. Jim eventually transcended the conflict, but only after paying his master a 'large sum of money' in settlement and $2,000 for his freedom." / The author is confused on quotation marks.

All from fttn 96. Lou Daily Journal, 1-25-1858; Lou Courier, 1-22-1853 (or is it 1858?)

Stafford's pm is # 96 vii pressed book on page 260.
JOBS OF FREE BLACKS IN LOU

h d stafford, 'sla in border city; lou 1790-1860' phd diss, uk, 1982

p 119/ "Louisville free Blacks apparently took advantage of 'hiring out,' however, utilizing it to their advantage. Many worked in the same places as the slaves, while others worked where normally only free Blacks were employed. Waiting on tables at the Gault House or other Louisville hotels absorbed the vast majority, but such crafts as carpentry, wheelwrighting, and plastering also represented opportunities for employment. One free Black particularly, Washington Spradling, was quite successful in the field of barbering. Spradling was freed from slavery in 1814 /p 120/ when he was a child. Later on in his life, he tried his hand at other fields before finally settling upon barbering, a highly prestigious occupation for Blacks at the time. By 1850, according to published accounts, he had accumulated assets totaling $30,000, and upon his death after the Civil War, left an estate valued at $100,000." 97

97. Assessor's records for Eastern Dist of Louisville, 1859, "Washington Spradling of color," as listed in the records, ran a shop which catered to leading citizens. All of note on p 260.

CATO WATTS FIRST BLACK OR PERSON HANGED IN LOU, 1781

h d stafford, 'sla in border city; lou 1790-1860' phd diss, uk, 1982

p 143/ Says Cato Watts, the fiddler, "... the first Black in Louisville who also carries the dubious honor of being the first man tried and hanged.'"

"At a called court held for Jefferson County on the 10th day of August, 1785," for example, 'Negro Peter,' the property of Francis Vigo, 'was committed to the jail of the county on suspicion of stealing. Those present included Peter, who was found guilty, 'was valued at 80 pounds, current money, and condemned to be executed on the 14th of the month.' On the 21st of October, 1786, 'Negro Tom, a slave, the property of Richard Daniel, was condemned to death for stealing two and three-fourths yards of cambric, and some ribbon and thread.'

3. Collins, hist ky, II, 372
4. ibid.
The state legislature under Democratic domination was most blatant in its racial obstructionism during the 1870-1871 session when it passed a series of statutes designed to prevent the recently enfranchised freedmen from casting their ballots. The Democrats initially delayed the impact of the black vote by hurriedly moving up scheduled town elections to get the results in before balloting by freedmen began, and then extending the terms of those officials elected. To further frustrate blacks from voting in the towns, the state legislature cynically allowed municipal boundaries to be redrawn around black residents. Conversely, /sic/ to swell the ranks of whites in town elections, the legislature recognized ownership of town cemetery lots or stock in the local bank as sufficient qualification to vote in the town election.

In addition to the foregoing informal political organizations that played such an important role in the shaping of Kentucky's Republican party, a series of racially separate black groups, with close ties to certain white leaders, paved the way for grafting the all-important black voter into the state GOP. Immediately after emancipation, for instance, a well-established black organization, Lexington's Colored Union Benevolent Society, with a twenty-five year record of self-help in the community, provided a natural forum for early political pep talks by interested white Republicans. Similarly, when nationwide agitation for the black vote increased, Louisville's Law League, set up
to provide legal assistance to freedmen unaccustomed
to court procedures, issued an early call for immediate
enfranchisement of Kentucky's freedmen—an unwelcome
prospect, at that point, for most white Republicans.

Finally, in 1867, a full-blown Colored Republican state
executive committee was formed to watch over the
blacks' expanding political opportunities. It appears,
though, that one of the black state committee's first
proposals—to hold a joint meeting with their white
counterparts—was ignored by the moderate leaders who
were unwilling to share control of the party apparatus. 27

Black veterans organizations also contributed
to the growth of Kentucky's Republican party by

agitating for the franchise. In early 1868, for
instance, the Soldiers League of Lexington, a predeces-
sor of the GAR, engaged in both social and political
activities; the League worked to compile a list of
Union black troops from Kentucky who were "missing in
action," and at the same time, endorsed U. S. Grant's
bid for the presidency as the best hope that blacks
had for securing the franchise. Quasi-political
organizations of all kinds proliferated among blacks
in 1869 when the vote appeared imminent. In most
Kentucky towns, separate black Republican clubs were founded, while in other communities, biracial party organizations were established. At the same time, a separate statewide convention of black Republicans was held and proposed a joint state meeting with whites in the party, which the white leadership again successfully avoided.
Civil War, state Republican leaders had sharply differed over the black vote, with the majority proceeding cautiously on the issue. The major party newspaper in the state, the Lexington *Kentucky Statesman*, usually took the ground that each state was free to determine whether blacks voted, knowing full well that there was little support for such a measure in the state legislature. On the other hand, the emergent black leadership in the state began issuing regular calls for voting rights as early as 1866.22

While a Republican fringe had urged thorough congressional Reconstruction for Kentucky following the disappointing defeats in 1867, most party leaders feared greater alienation if they supported the black vote. By 1869, however, when agitation for a constitutional amendment to assure manhood suffrage began to mount in Congress, most Kentucky Republicans gave their qualified approval. Old fire-eaters like notorious former military commander in the state, Stephen H. Burbridge, who frequently took more Radical ground, and the aging emancipationist, Reverend Robert J. Breckinridge, proposed a moderate course that would exchange black suffrage for the removal of all political disabilities from former Confederates. Further, the Lexington *Kentucky Statesman* endorsed the proposed amendment, assuring any reluctant readers that the states would
remain free to set voter qualifications. When it was clear that the Fifteenth Amendment would be ratified, the Louisville Commercial, the party's statewide daily, abandoned all hesitation and optimistically declared that future elections would no longer be "the one sided affairs of 1867, 1868, and 1869." While Kentucky's white Republicans ultimately embraced their trump card, the initiative for black enfranchisement had clearly been left with the U. S. Congress. 23

The prospect of black votes in Kentucky promised a dramatic change in the Republican party. The GOP had heretofore been strong mostly in remote counties in the eastern corners of the Commonwealth, but with recent demographic shifts among the freedmen, Kentucky's Republican party would acquire a more urban character. When slavery collapsed in Kentucky, thousands of rural blacks fled to towns and cities in hope of federal military protection and improved opportunities. In Lexington, the black population increased in the decade of the 1860s by over 133 percent, while the white population rose by a mere twenty-two percent. A similar pattern was repeated across the state, and in some communities, the freedmen reportedly outnumbered the whites. Even in many rural counties of the south-central area and Pennyrile, the white Republicans were not a hopeless minority, and an increment of black voters would alter the political balance in those areas as well. 24
When the day grew near for blacks to cast their ballots, many white Republican leaders confessed fear that the influx of blacks into the GOP would be a mixed blessing. They fretted that the instantaneous creation of a biracial political party in a state long accustomed to sharp racial separation might create a backlash among the white faithful, especially those from the strategic mountain counties where there was a heavy concentration of Republicans, but few blacks. For the most part, the party's leaders took the position that the freedmen were welcome if they demanded neither political office nor a strong voice in party affairs. While the state central committee named a token black to its ranks and hired two blacks to canvass the state in behalf of Republican candidates, many local white leaders tried to play down the presence of the freedmen in their party. Despite rhetoric spanning fifteen years that proclaimed liberty and progress for blacks, Kentucky's GOP was not to be a party of racial equality.25

Many blacks resisted being mere tools for white political gain and, despite the caution of a few of their prominent leaders, immediately demanded political office. In Fayette, for instance, a rally was held to protest a white Republican scheme that would deny blacks control of the county nominating convention and ultimately, a splinter group of disgruntled black Republicans ran a member of their race as an independent candidate.
for county judge. While blacks controlled the nominating convention in Boyle County, a black speaker at a rally at Paris epitomised the general mood of disappointment among Kentucky blacks, "our vote is all they want. Never one word is said about giving us office."\(^\text{26}\)

While white Republicans were ambiguous about the freedman's new political rights, the Democrats reacted with almost universal hostility and obstructionism. Except for a progressive few who counseled acquiescence to the new political order, most Democrats deviously tried to prevent the blacks from casting their Republican ballots. One of the most popular schemes was to push immediate changes in town charters through the Democrat-controlled state legislature; changes that would allow local elections to be held just before black enfranchisement. In some cases, the legislature was asked to extend the terms of those local officers who had been elected under the wire, further delaying the possibility of Republican victories. Town charters were sometimes amended to change certain elected offices to appointive positions that could be filled by local Democratic officials. In communities like Carlisle and Midway, stiff property qualifications were enacted that not only effectively disenfranchised most blacks, but many whites, as well.\(^\text{27}\)

In Nicholasville, the Democrats redrew their town boundary around a black neighborhood in order to exclude
the votes of its residents in local elections. In Danville, they were so fearful of being swamped by the combination of black and white Republican votes that an elaborate scheme was devised to legalize the votes in town elections of sympathetic Democrats from outlying Boyle County. Eschewing charter revision, they first tried to qualify their rural friends by arguing that they were town "property holders" if they owned grave lots in the Danville cemetery or held stock in the local bank. When their ploy was struck down by the Kentucky court of appeals, the Democrats then turned to an even more imaginative subterfuge: inch-wide strips of town real estate were hurriedly sold to county residents, qualifying them to cast their ballots in Danville.

When the blacks arrived at the polls in 1870, they encountered further Democratic schemes designed to discourage their vote. In some localities, the local Democratic slate was camouflaged with a prominent renegade Republican at its head, a ruse that caused blacks and other political novices to unknowingly cast their ballots for the wrong party. The Republicans complained that local Democratic officials had conspired to discourage voting by failing to provide sufficient voting stations and, in some areas, the freedmen had been further delayed by unnecessary questioning by election referees. In addition, GOP partisans charged
that Kentucky's outdated use of "viva voce" voting worked against the black voter since it forced him to declare an unpopular party preference in the presence of persons on whom he usually depended for employment. 29

Physical intimidation was the greatest obstacle that the freedmen faced in casting their first ballots. The Republican press reported numerous instances of Ku Klux Klan visits to blacks on election eve threatening harm if they voted. Indeed, most rural blacks, especially in the Democratic strongholds in the far western part of the state, were effectively disfranchised. In one local election in the Fall of 1870, no black votes were cast in Ballard, a county with 1,477 black citizens. Despite the many Democratic obstacles, blacks had the best chance to vote in Kentucky's towns and cities where sympathetic whites and the safety of numbers provided some protection. 30

In 1870-71, the centers of Republican strength that had emerged up to 1868 (mostly hill counties that were largely white) did not abandon the GOP when a large number of lowland blacks entered their party. In the 1871 gubernatorial race, there was no appreciable decline in the white vote in those nineteen counties that Grant had carried earlier. While the Republican vote declined in eleven of the nineteen counties, the losses, with one exception, were negligible and large
enough in only two marginal cases to turn the counties over to the Democrats. Statewide, the popular 1871 Republican gubernatorial candidate, former Union Democrat John Marshall Harlan, received a combined biracial vote of almost 90,000, consisting of an estimated 37,000 white Republicans who had enlisted in the party earlier, 35,000 blacks, and significantly, an estimated 17,000 additional white votes, apparently former Unionists who had been reluctant in the past to team up with the GOP. 31

Interestingly, Harlan's vote was more than half the total ever cast in any previous election in the state, but the flames of racial hatred and the specter of a Republican victory spurred a complacent Democracy into making special efforts. The Republicans complained that the Democrat's 126,700 votes were the result of widespread fraud: their charges ranging from vote buying to transporting Democratic voters into the state. While it is impossible to substantiate the Republican claim, the Democratic total was an improvement of 8.6 percentage points over that party's presidential vote in 1868, no small feat in light of the fact that their Republican opponents bested their 1868 performance by 55.8 percent. 32

The Republicans' improved performance brought immediate changes in Kentucky politics. In that first wave of black voting in 1870, there were sufficient
freedmen in many Kentucky towns to elect GOP magistrates, town councilmen, sheriffs, and city judges; Republicans were elected in at least a dozen towns ranging from Greenville in the west to Cynthiana in the east. Even in Danville, where the Democrats had gone to such extraordinary efforts to dilute Republican votes, the entire local slate was elected. In Hopkinsville, there were enough town blacks to turn formerly old-Whig Christian County in the southwest to the Republican party. The new GOP coalition of hardline Unionists, awakened conservative Unionists, and freedmen achieved victories, as well, in knobs counties on the edge of the Bluegrass like Garrard and Jessamine.33

In 1871, old-Whig Fayette, which was almost forty-seven percent black, embraced the GOP for the first time since 1864, Washington County also stood with the Republicans, and the party's prospects were vastly improved in Pennyrile counties like: Breckinridge, Metcalfe, Edmonson, Ohio, Muhlenburg, and Hart. The party won handily in Crittenden, in the Purchase, where Republican propensities had been indicated in 1864. Ironically, southeastern Kentucky's Eighth congressional district, the center of white Republicanism, was finally redeemed for the party by the accrual of large numbers of black voters in Madison and Pulaski counties. In addition, Clinton, Martin, and Lee were among additional eastern counties to enter the GOP ranks for the first
time. While Republican gains were significant statewide, they were not substantial: for instance, even when the legislative victories of 1871 are taken into account, the state General Assembly stood at a demoralizing thirty-six Senate Democrats to three Republicans. The imbalance in the Kentucky House was eighty-two to eighteen.34

In years of unprecedented political and social upheaval in Kentucky, the Republican party was transformed from a mere handful of voters in 1856 to almost 90,000 by 1871. An emancipationist remnant in the prewar years, serious Republican party building began in 1864 when a fresh call for the defense of Abraham Lincoln was heard by old Whigs, farmers on thin-soil, mountain men, and old antislaveryites. By 1871, the "Union" shibboleth united a large number of Kentuckians, including over 30,000 freedmen, into a respectable minority party. The twenty-seven counties that Republican John M. Harlan carried in 1871, stretched from the eastern mountains to Crittenden and Christian counties in the west and accounted for more than twenty-five percent of the party's total vote.35

The Republican majorities in each of the twenty-seven counties were the result of strong Unionist attachments that survived the widespread claim that the GOP had destroyed slavery and ordered other federal
usurpations of the rights of the states. While Unionism was the common denominator, its specifics varied with each county's political tradition. In high slave counties like Fayette and Christian, a respected Republican cadre of former old Whigs survived, partly with the help of Union troops, into the postwar era. Picking up support from returning U. S. troops, the Republicans eventually lured voters with federal patronage jobs and endorsements of railroad charters and other stimulants to commerce. After 1870, Republicans in Lexington and Hopkinsville organized and demanded protection for the new black voter, the key to the GOP victories in those counties. By contrast, in Daviess and Shelby counties, the leadership of the once-dominant old Whigs was lost in a maelstrom of anti-government hostility and those counties became heavily Democratic.

In certain thin-soiled counties of the Pennyrile, southern border, and the hill country on the edge of the Bluegrass, the Whig tradition worked differently to shape Republican loyalty. In those counties, where there had been much less dependence on slave labor, a purer Whig nationalism, rooted in both hoped-for internal improvements and an ancient hatred of Democratic appeal to states rights, encouraged an unswerving loyalty to the Union that was later transferred to the Republican party.
In the GOP counties in the eastern third of the state, the road to Republicanism was more direct. In several isolated counties of the southeast, where race was a minor political consideration, the notion that slavery was not worth destroying the Union took early root. While much of the rest of the state became preoccupied with slavery's demise, largely white counties like Jackson and Laurel embraced the GOP as the nationalist party. A similar insensitivity to the losses of the state's slave owners prevailed in certain formerly Democratic counties in the east and northeast. Once these counties, with direct cultural and economic links to the north, dispatched large numbers to defend the Union, their previous Democratic attachment paled and the die for a new postwar political loyalty was cast. The proud mountain Unionists simply could not stomach the Democrats who either ignored or demeaned their wartime Union sacrifices.

Kentucky's second Republican party was formed after 1864 by several strains of Union loyalty, an attachment that was tried and perfected in the bitter recriminations of the Reconstruction period. While Unionism provided the key motivation for white Republican party builders, they were never able to slough a reputation as champions of the blacks, despite their reluctance to embrace full citizenship and equality
for the freedmen. Kentucky's GOP was perhaps the largest biracial political party in the nation, built around a large nucleus of whites. While the mature party was not strong enough to control the state, it was successful in certain sections of the Commonwealth, as well as many towns. As a respectable minority in a two-party state, the threat of a Republican victory worked to prevent the delicate Democratic coalition from completely rupturing.36
candidate a year earlier. On the other hand, in the Fourth and Ninth districts, where the third party received almost 1,400 votes for congress a year earlier, the Republicans experienced a decline in support for their 1868 congressional nominee. In the Fifth and Seventh districts, where the third party had not fielded congressional candidates in 1867, the Republicans received an increase in votes over 1867. KyS, May 28, 1867 and LCOM, November 22, 1870 and August 13, 1871. See Appendices IV, V, and VI.


Lincoln and Grant Vote Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Vote: 1864</th>
<th>1868</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27,787</td>
<td>39,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClellan</td>
<td>Seymour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64,301</td>
<td>115,989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shannon and Mcquown, Presidential Politics, pp. 39-40 [for 1864] and author's retabulation of votes given by Ibid., pp. 43-44 [for 1868].


1869; LCom, January 1, 1869; Ibid., February 11, 1870; KyS, February 25, 1869.


28 Ibid., August 12, 1870 and January 12 and March 15, 1871.


30 LCom, May 17, August 9, 13 and 26, and November 12, 1870 and January 7 and August 26, 1871; Howard, "Press and Suffrage," p. 232.

31 See Appendix VII. Both John H. Fenton (Politics in Border States, p. 61) and Jasper B. Shannon and Ruth McQuown (Presidential Politics, pp. 45-48) have demonstrated that the enfranchised blacks voted Republican. Fenton incorrectly states that enfranchisement occurred in 1872.

The nineteen counties that Grant carried in 1868 had an average black population in 1870 of 3.7 percent. By contrast, eight of the ten additional counties carried
by Harlan in 1871 (omitting mountainous Martin and Lee since they were not organized until 1870) averaged 24.7 percent.

The estimate of 37,000 "old line" GOP voters was determined by rounding off 1868 totals in light of poorer showing in lesser elections the following year. Kentucky Black Heritage: The Role of the Black People in the History of Kentucky From Pioneer Days to the Present (Frankfort: Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, 1971), p. 47 estimates 35,000 black voters were introduced to the Republican ranks while LCom, August 26, 1871 estimated only 17,000 to 18,000. Party leader John M. Harlan in 1875 put the figure at around 30,000 black Republicans. Harlan to O. P. Johnson, May 25, 1875, JMH-UL; Harlan to William A. Meriwether, July 7, 1871, JMH-LC.

32 LCom, August 26, 1871; John Marshall Harlan to John B. Bruner, August 26, 1871, Bruner Manuscripts, Filson Club; Benjamin H. Bristow to John M. Harlan, August 20, 1871, JMH-LC; LCom, August 15, 1871; Shannon and McQuown, Presidential Politics, p. 45. See Appendix V.

33 LCom, March 25, April 5, 7, 8, 9, May 12, August 2, 11, 12, 14 and October 22, 1870; August 8 and September 6, 1871.

34 Fenton, "Politics in Border State," p. 61; Ninth Census: "Population," pp. 611-612; LCom, August 7 and September 2, 1871; See Appendix XI.

35 See Appendix VI. 23,509 of Harlan's 89,334 votes came from the twenty-seven counties that the Republicans carried. In the presidential race the following year, the convolutions of liberal Republican defections from Grant and the disinterest among Kentucky Democrats in Greeley's "liberal" candidacy, allowed the GOP to carry fifty-two counties with a smaller vote total of 88,766. Shannon and McQuown, Presidential Politics, pp. 45-48.

36 John W. Finnell to Benjamin H. Bristow, November 2, 1871, BHB.
1870 buttressed their claims to being progressives by calling for an end to Reconstruction. They warned that Kentucky could never deal with its pressing economic and social problems until the emotional issues generated by the Civil War, including the legal status of the freedman, were laid to rest. When the black vote was assured in early 1870 by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, the constitutional blueprint for black citizenship had been completed and the Republicans proposed a reconciliation plan that included full political amnesty for all former Confederates.35

The Republican call for an end to Reconstruction did not signal the abandonment of the freedmen. Party spokesmen called for strong federal enforcement of the war amendments, lamenting the failure to fulfill the spirit of the laws that were designed to assure full citizenship for blacks. The mere mention of federal authority, though, evoked a fresh Democratic complaint that the GOP supported national tyranny over the rights of the states. After 1870, the white Republicans' defense of black voting rights represented more than the pursuit of disinterested principle; as new voters, the blacks were the linchpin in a broadened GOP coalition formed of seasoned Republicans and moderate white Unionist recruits.36

Support for full political equality for the freedmen was fraught with additional peril. The campaigns
of 1870 and 1871 were blemished by an increasingly virulent racism, with the Democrats calling the GOP the "nigger party" and warning that the Republican call for "equality before the law" encouraged racial mixing and, ultimately, the domination of whites by blacks. Republicans dismissed the claims of the "white man's party" and warned that the Democrats were fanning misunderstandings that could ignite a race war. The moderate gubernatorial nominee, John Marshall Harlan, attempted to quiet his opponents' racial hysteria by distinguishing between legal and social equality. "Do you suppose," he asked, "that any law of the state can regulate social intercourse of the citizen? The Negro is your equal before the law . . . but he is not your equal socially. Social equality can never exist between the two races in Kentucky." 37

Besides full enforcement of the federal Reconstruction acts, Kentucky Republicans demanded that certain discriminatory state practices be abolished. They deplored the fact that blacks still could not testify in Kentucky courts, forcing the freedmen to seek relief in federal court. In 1871, the Louisville Commercial complained that the Commonwealth stood alone among the states in retaining this "monstrous injustice" while John Marshall Harlan warned that the denial was "directly provocative of outrage." On a related matter,
the Republicans held that the state courts dispensed justice unevenly, with blacks consistently receiving stiffer punishment for the same offense than whites. 38

The Republicans also charged that Kentucky's public schools discriminated against blacks. They complained that the Democratic plan for education denied the freedmen their fair share of a per-capita school tax and, even in some communities, required that blacks support a whites-only system. The Republican proposal called for state system of separate-but-equal public schools to be funded from general revenues, a plan that was also well received by largely white mountain counties that lacked local resources for public education. Predictably, the Democrats screamed that the Republicans really wanted racially mixed classrooms, a charge that was quickly denied by GOP spokesmen. 39

In addition to protection for the ballot, equal access to the courts, and a separate, but equal, public school system, the Republican program for blacks called on the federal government not to discriminate when parceling out homestead tracts in the west and pleaded with Kentucky's railroad companies to spare black women the indignity of having to ride in the white men's smoking car. On a related question, the party's daily chastised Louisville's street railway operators for prohibiting blacks from riding or, at best, forcing them to remain on the vestibule or running board outside
the car. The **Commercial** cheered the move led by several local Republicans to test the legality of streetcar discrimination in federal court, which ultimately resulted in equal accommodations on Louisville's carriers. 40

Many white Republicans rejected the broader implications of their party's stand on black equality. Their problem centered on the question of sharing control of the party with the freedmen and the issue threatened to alter the party's brighter prospects. Just as soon as the Fifteenth Amendment became effective, some black leaders, recognizing the importance of their votes for Republican success, demanded a share of the party's nominations, patronage, and leadership. Their assertiveness appeared to catch many of the white leadership off-guard, quickly shattering any hope that the blacks would be a docile source of fresh votes. While most white Republicans were not anxious to mingle with their black political allies, their resistance to a truly biracial party was based in part on fear of the political damage that the Democrats could do among moderate Unionists with their race-baiting. 41

Predictably, the Democrats seized every opportunity to create trouble between black and white Republicans by goading the freedmen to act on their demand for equality within GOP councils; sometimes, the Democrats
even promised the blacks that they would be received as equals within their party. The Republican press reacted to the Democracy's righteous poses with outrage, questioning how their opponents could feign willingness to treat the blacks fairly when the Democrats had resisted the freedmen's every step toward citizenship.

Many black Republican leaders cautioned their followers to move slowly in their demand for office. Reverend George Dupee from Paducah urged patience, warning that "the colored man wants a political world made not in one day." Other blacks refused, however, to take a back seat to whites and ran for local office as "independents" or, even in some cases, "token" Democrats, lured by promises of fair treatment or even cash rewards. While the intraparty debate over the role of blacks clearly embarrassed the Republican party's moderate white leadership, it resulted at best in feeble gestures toward genuine racial equality.

Kentucky provided a hostile environment for a biracial party and the Republicans required protection from Washington for the enterprise. The mere mention of U. S. authority, however, brought charges from the Democrats that the federal system was being undermined; they warned that the constitutional amendments that resulted from the Civil War, their enforcement acts, and other government efforts on the freedmen's behalf
BLACK VOTING IN FRANKFORT, 1882
Louisville Post, Aug 8, 1882

The following is a total vote for the three wards in this city yesterday:

Richards, Judge Superior Court, 052.
Clerk Court of Appeals - Henry, 575; Jacob, 674.
County Officers - Judge Thompson, 794.
Attorney - Violette, 708.
Clerk - Crockett, 779.
Sheriff - Hawkins, 640; Scofield, 091.
Jailer - Sheehan.
Amesser - Sanford, 744
Surveyor - Woodson, 772.
Coroner - McEwan,
Magistrates - McDonald, 907; Bohanan, 604; Emmerson, 628; Vallandingham, 290.
Constable - Cox, ; Reock, 618.
School Tax - For, 904; against, 714.
City Judge - Sneed, ; Flynn, 222.
Marshall - Hormes, ; Ellis, 309; Stephens, ; Gayle, .

There are no returns from the county precincts yet.
Jacob carried the city by a majority of 91. Scofield, Republican candidate for sheriff, carried it by a majority of 134; but Hawkins, Democrat, is elected sheriff by a small majority.

BALLOTS AND BLOOD

The Goodly City of Frankfort Has
Two Men shot, and Goes
For Jacob

GOOD AND BAD NEWS MIXED

Frankfort, KY, August 5 - Yesterday evening at 5 o'clock, Ed McElroy, colored, had a difficulty with another negro, at the gas house polls. McElroy went to his house, about a square from the polls, and got his shotgun and came back after the negro. Officers Hyde and Darneal went to arrest him. Bud Egbert, being in the crowd, volunteered to go with them. As they approached McElroy shot Egbert in the bowels and lower part of the body with squirrel shot and slugs, he is badly hurt. The crowd then commenced shooting at McElroy, killing him. A great deal of excitement was created for a while, and about one hundred shots were fired.
BLACKS VOTING WITHOUT TROUBLE, 1872: Town?

Edwin Green Bedford, Diary 1859-1898, 4 vols, found in vol II, Sp Col, M I King Lib, UK, Typescript.(p.343)

Monday, Aug 5, 1872/

"A crowd of darkies at the poles /sic/ voting, all quiet and no trouble /./"
Tuesday, Nov 5, 1872/

"Liberty Election Hurrah! A white man is most as good as a Negro and a Negroes /sic/ vote counts equal to a whites /sic/ even when he has not enough sense to say who he votes for /sic/ Once more All Hail to the Negro, freedom to play, to steal, to shoot & to murder even a white man /sic/"

Dec 17, 1872, Tuesday/ vol II.

"It is strange how little work can be got out of the negroes /sic/"

Mrs. Wm. C. Bullitt in Lou to "My Dear Boys" (Mr. Joshua F. or John Bullitt in Danville, typescript letter dated May 19, 1840, Ox Moor, in Bullitt Family Papers, Sp Col, M I King Lib, UK

"Mr. Page says he has seen slavery in many places, but never has he witnessed any thing like the insubordination which exists in this county & Louisville. Mr. Duval was tried & acquitted without the jury's leaving the box. Two negroes /sic/ were cleared too, who had killed a white man. The man had been playing cards with them & they were all drunk to gather /sic/ I believe."
Mrs. Wm. C. Bullitt to "My Dear Boys" (Mr. Joshua F. Bullitt) in Danville, typescript letter dated May 19, 1840, "Ox Moor," in Bullitt Family papers, Sp Col, M I King Lib, UK

I expect you both feel anxious to hear all light that has been shed on the subject of the fire. The day you left your Father heard that Billy & Frank could tell him something, - on enquiry, they both said Amy told them after the fire, that it was Mr. Kennedy's Nelson & Mr. Hike's Jack, That more than a week before they had been at her house & said the next fire was to be at old Bullitt's. This Amy denies but her statements are so contradictory, your Father believes she was an accessory, & I think the servants all believe it too. Your Father says he never has known little Billy to tell an untruth in his life & his oath went a great way in convincing him of their guilt. Louisa said to me she started that Friday evening to go in to Amy's house, & heard Amy, Billy & Frank quarreling, & heard Billy say well I'll tell Master any how, & Amy replied well I'll deny it if you do, & Billy after a while came in to her house, & repeated what Amy had said to him & Frank & now she wasn't going to stand to her word. John knows how thick this Mr. Jack has been with Amy for the last several years. Sam says he went to see his sweet heart the Sunday night after Jim had recived ten lashed for insolence, at Alberts, This Jack is Jims brother, & we are now told a negro of infamous character, by some of our most respectable neighbours. George Rudy told Mr. Bullitt he had twice fired his dwelling house, & he had tried to shoot him for it. Jack came in & related to the negroes what had passed at Alberts, & said his brother had been whipped, & if he had not been so fleet he would have been too, but he was going to play the fiddle at Tyler's the next night, and he'd pay old Bullitt visit that he'd remember - Sam's intended was sick & he went Tuesday night to see her again, & Jack enquired what his master said about the fire. Sam in his boasting way answered O my master is a rich man he dont care for what he's lost he's sorry for us that our money's all gone. Jack then said we'll make him change his tune before we are done with him, wont we Harry? to Mr. Brown's Harry who was present. Simon says Jack told him two weeks before the fire, they intended to burn our dwelling house, or hemp house, but he took it as a joke. Nelson, & Jack were tried at our house the evening after you left, Jack sentenced to further trial Nelson acquitted. Jim, & Jack have both been condemned by the grand jury, & their final trial will take place two weeks from Thursday. Mr. Wolf thinks they must be condemned, & every lawyer your father has conversed with, says if they have a good jury they will certainly be condemned. Amy is very much alarmed. Your Father firmly believes she & Nelson too ought to be condemned with them. They have had old works till within a week past. They had determined to try to break Albert's tavern up, take his license away from him, but when he found they would probably succeed, he bound himself to keep all coloured people away from his house, & never sell
them spirits again. The Mr. Bates made some very extravagant threats about what they meant to do if the patrol went on their places, they should shoot & I dont know what all. George Phillips was present when one of them was talking very largely, he came to tell your Father what passed, how ever they went, & the Mr. Bates recieved them very kindly, and pledged themselves in writing to aid them all they could in every way. There was a meeting of about fifty farmers week before last & they all were resolved to try and bring about better state of subordination here. My plan for aiding them is to employ a regular missionary to the blacks, & let him visit each farm in his district one day in every week & devote so much time to their instruction, & on sunday let him have a place to preach to them. Your Father seems to like the plan. Mr. Page spent saturday night here & delivered a most excellent discourse to the servants, & says he will preach every once in a while here. Mr. Humphrey told Mr Bullitt on sunday if it met with his approbation he would preach to them when ever he could. Your father told him come & welcome. Mr. Page says he has seen slavery in many places, but never has he witnessed any thing like the insubordination which exists in this county & Louisville. Mr. Duval was tried & acquitted without the jury's leaving the box. Two negroes were cleared too, who had killed a white man. The man had been playing cards with them & they were all drunk to gather I believe.

BLACK HELPS CAPTURE WHITE BURGLAR, LOU 1840

Augustin Smith went to town yesterday, with Mr. Edwards as a witness against a man who was caught in the act of opening MrE's desk saturday night. A negro man went to Mr. E. last week, & told him, a white man in Louisville, wished him to join him in some theft, & he would give the negro free papers by way of compensation; it was what he had frequently done, & was at all times ready, & willing to do again; he said he had keys that would open any lock, & they would go halves on all the plunder. The negro told Mr. Edwards, he had agreed to go with him to his house saturday night & wanted him to be ready to catch the white man. Mr. Edwards approved the plan, & saturday evening got George Philips, Augustin Smith, & a powerful man, by the name of Newland, (the great whig champion at the last election) to be at his house armed cap-a-pie to assist him. The negro true to his appointment had the rogue forth coming, & they caught him without his making the slightest resistance, altho he had two loaded pistols, with other weapons. They found on his person seven false keys, with various other apparatus for opening doors & locks, & forced him to shew them his house, & deliver to them the balance of his keys, & implements, which were very ingeniously constructed many of them.
Joel Lyle to John Lyle (brothers), letter, ms, May 23, 1837, Lyle Family Papers, Special Collections, Mar. I King Lib, UK

"Some of the negroes /sic/ belonging to John Todd confined there /Bourbon County Jail/ for an attempt to murder his family /./"
"From such real estate advertisements it is possible to conclude that most slaves who lived with their owners were housed either in the owner's home (usually made of brick), or in one of the outbuildings, which were also usually made of brick or stone, although some were wooden. A brick residence has the advantage of being cool in the summer and fairly warm in the winter, so in all likelihood, slaves who lived with their owners were not ill-housed."

Charlotte told the Am Freed Inquiry Comm in 1863: "'I pay a dollar a week to him /her owner was Thomas Strange/ and support myself and my two children and pay my house rent . . . . I get along very well and keep the hire paid up. You couldn't pay me to live at home if I could help myself. My master doesn't supply me with anything, not even a little medicine, no more than if I didn't belong to him.'" Charlotte said her sons paid a weekly sum to Strange. All total her family paid Strange $5.00 per week. Her family paid Strange $260.00 per yr.
P 24/ Wife of Sullivan Clark told Am Freed Inquiry Comm in Lou in 1863 that her husband emancipated in 1850s. When a slave her husband's master hired out Sullivan Clark to jobs Sullivan found, at a good salary. His owner purchased a lot in Lou for Sullivan and his family.

MARY L O'BRIEN, 'SLA IN LOU, 1820-60; 'MA THESIS, U OF L, 1979

P 29/ "Contemporary newspapers were filled with notices placed by citizens wishing to sell, buy! /sic/ or hire slaves for this purpose. /that is, domestic servants/ C. Hagan and Company advertised a Negro woman for hire who was described as /p 30/ 'a good cook, washer and ironer.' Another such advertisement expressed a desire to hire 'a negro woman who can wash well, one accustomed to take care of children.' There were also notices placed by people wishing to buy or hire 'bar boys,' 'a house boy,' 'colored servants . . . for waiters at the Capital Restaurant,' and other such domestic jobs." Other jobs advertised were draydrivers, coach or hack drivers, maids, fireman on a steamship /p 31/ work on ropewalks, brickyards, tobacco factories.

62 Lou Daily Democrat, Mar 4, 1851
63 Ibid, Dec 29, 1851
64 Ibid, Jan 5, 1852
65 Ibid, Feb 18, 1852
66 Ibid Jan 6, 1854
An examination of the city directory of 1838 showed that there were at least forty-eight companies in town who likely engaged occasionally in the slave trade, even though they called themselves commission merchants or traders instead of slave dealers. Twenty years later, after the annexation of Texas had increased the Lower South's demand for slaves and a change in Kentucky laws made slave trading easier, no less than three hundred firms were listed as 'slave traders' in the table of contents in the city directory. 

6 Source: Louisville City Directory for 1858-59 (Louisville: Hurd & Burrows, Publishers, 1858)

The last fifteen years before the Civil War saw the rise in Kentucky of the large-scale, full-time slave traders. In Louisville, the biggest traders were William Kelly, the Arterburns, Mathew Garrison, Thomas Powell, William Talbott, and in the late 1850s, W. F. Davis." They often advertised in newspapers kept "Negro depot" etc.

Page 45: Taken from estate assessments in Jefferson county. In 1820:
- Charles, adult male, $110;
- Abraham, adult male, $400;
- Jude, adult female, $300;
- Violet, adult female, $320;
- Allen, a boy, $250;
- Alfred, a boy, $150;
- Jeremiah, boy, $120;
- Gilbert, boy, $95;
- Bink, boy, $55;
- Mary Ann, girl, $50.

Page 46: Samuel Blankenbaker's slaves assessed 1829:
- Lisey, 25 yr old female, $450;
- Rose, 25 yr old female and her daughter Ann, age 1 month, $450;
- Phebe, 4 yr old boy, $157;
- Lewis, 2 yr old boy, $170.

Benjamin Head's slaves assessed:
- Harry, young man, $600;
- 2 adults, $500 each;
- 2 slave girls, $500 each.

John Crogham slaves assessed:
- Tom, age 24, $600;
- Sarah, 22, $500.

Page 47: Edward Pope's slaves assessed:
- Cemantha, age 17, $600.
An individual who wished to hire a slave could find the proper slave for the job by using one of several methods. He could go to a slave trader who also hired slaves. E. R. Dean, for example, often put notices in the newspapers expressing the desire to hire large numbers of slaves so that he could, in turn, hire them out to other people. Sometimes, agents engaged in slave hiring on a large scale would anticipate what types of work could most often be found to hire into and advertise accordingly, as Crenshaw and Taylor did in 1852 when they announced in the paper that they wished to hire '100 women and boys for brick-yards, draymen, etc., 40 men and boys for ropewalks, 40 men and boys for hotel waiters, and 50 Boys and Girls for tobacco stemmeries.'

Individuals wishing to hire slaves could attain their goal by advertising their needs in the paper themselves. For example, Edward Wilder placed the following advertisement in 1860, 'I wish to hire a negro woman—good cook and washer. Also a house girl aged 12 to 14 years. None need apply unless they come well recommended.' George Heinsohn placed a similar advertisement in 1857 when he needed some gardeners, 'I wish to hire for the balance of the year, or by the month, two Steady Negro men to work in my garden. Good wages will be given.'
"A more common occurrence was that the slave owner with slaves for hire would advertise those slaves available and let interested parties seek him out. The newspapers of the day carried hundreds of these. A brief sampling includes: 'For hire--Six negroes . . . an experienced porter, a drayman, a negro boy 16 or 17 years old, 2 boys 13 to 14 years of age, and a negro girl accustomed to nursing . . .'; 'a likely negro woman . . . a first rate washer and ironer...'; a young woman... no children... a good house servant...'; and 'a good house boy... to be hired for no fault, and none but the best homes will be selected...""

"Perhaps the most advantageous situation for the hirable slave to be in was the one in which the slave hired his time himself, paid a certain sum to his owner each week, month or year, and lived independently. Such a situation was technically illegal and the Watch would occasionally arrest a slave who had been caught hiring his own time, but there is no doubt that this system flourished in Louisville. A number of Louisville slaves told the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission that they had hired their own time. William Jackson said he had hired his own time from his owner for $240 annually for over twenty years. Isaac Throgmorton's owner trained him as a barber and then put him to work with a free black barber. Throgmorton paid his owner a specified amount each year, but never saw him otherwise. The hiring out terms of Thomas Strange's slave woman Charlotte have already been discussed in Chapter III. Mr. Cox, another Louisville slave, told the Commission he had hired his own time for his owner for $250 per year, and that he had always hired himself on board steamboats. Lavinia Bell said that, as of 1863, she had been hiring her own time for eleven consecutive years."
HIRING OUT WAGES IN LOUISVILLE

mary l o'brien, 'sla in lou, 1820-60,' ma thesis, u of l, 1979

p 53/ Record of James Rudd, who hired his slaves /begin p 54/ Rudd made $161.85 in 1853 and $186.30 in 1856 and $147 in 1857 by hiring out slave George on various steamboats at $30 to $35 a month. "In 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, and 1847 Rudd hired his slave Thornton to Mr. McGraine for $176 annually, and in addition, 'he (McGraine) is to board him and pay him per week fifty cents for himself.' Sometimes Rudd hired slaves out at a weekly rate--'Jim to Granger for Five Dollars per week to be paid every Saturday night,' or on a semiannual basis--'Mary for six months to Martin, $25.00.'" Rudd let John hire himself for $130 a yr in 1844 and $138.60 in 1845.

Rudd Acct Books, 1830-60, Filson Club. Book I

HIRING OUT WAGES, LOU 1850s

mary l o'brien, 'sla in lou 1820-60,' ma thesis, u of l, 1979

p 54/ "The Jefferson County Inventory and Settlements Books also contain some information pertaining to specific instances of slaves being hired out. Tom, a slave man belonging to William Sale's estate, was hired to /begin p 55/ F. Stine for one year in 1856 for $57.50. A local firm, Prentice, Henderson and Osborne paid $24.00 for the hire of Parker, another of the estate's slaves, in 1857. Parker was later hired for the month of April, 1857 to the steamboat Rainbow for $20. On March 11, 1857, the accounts show that Jim paid the estate $10.00 for his own hire and another $10.00 on December 7, 1857."
No statistics were routinely kept by anyone on how many of the city's slaves were hired out. However, in 1833 the Tax Schedules for the city listed slaves according to how many were with the owner and how many were hired out. According to these records, 470 city slaves were hired out then, or (based on 1830 census figures) approximately twenty percent of the total slave population in the city. There is every reason to believe that the incidence of slave-hiring increased during the last ten or fifteen years of this period as advertisements in newspapers pertaining to the hiring of slaves increased during the late 1840s and the 1850s. Also, the testimony of local slaves tends to bear this out.

Emancipation by a slave owner was a legal process that, according to state law, had to be done in a certain way. After 1851, any owner who emancipated a slave had to meet four conditions before the manumission was legal. The slave had to be emancipated by deed, which had to be witnessed by two people, or the manumission had to be the result of a provision of the owner's will. In addition the freed slave could be subject to the debts of the owner and he had to be removed from the State of Kentucky upon emancipation.

State law also stipulated that no slave over 65 years of age could be emancipated, nor could a slave who was incapable of self-support. Before the new state constitution was adopted, these conditions did not apply but even in the 1850s slaves continued to be emancipated by their owners.
SLAVE WIFE TO PURCHASE HUSBAND OR SISTER-IN-LAW IN LOU

mary l o'brien, 'sla in lou 1820-60,' ma thesis, u of l, 1979

p 76/ "A free woman of color, Winnie Williams, willed on 21 July 1854, that any money in her estate be used to purchase the freedom of her husband Thomas Williams, 'provided he can be obtained at a reasonable price.' If Thomas' owner would not sell for a fair price, Mrs. Williams stipulated that her /begin p 77/ sister-in-law Polly Williams was to be bought and emancipated."

Jeff Co Willbooks, Book 2, pp 575-76

SLAVE WIFE TO PURCHASE HUSBAND OR SISTER-IN-LAW IN LOU

MARY l o'brien, 'sla in lou 1820-60,' ma thesis, u of l, 1979

p 83/ Slaves told foreign travelers and Am Freed Inquiry Comm that they often tried to buy freedom. "The standard procedure was for the individual to do this for himself by saving up enough money over the years. William Jackson, an ex-slave from Louisville who was living in Canada at the time he was interviewed in 1863, reported that it had /been/ taken him twenty years to save the $1005 that was his purchase price, but he had succeeded finally in 1862. Mrs. Lewis Bibb told the Commission that she had paid $323 for herself in the 1840s. She said her owner had allowed her to pay the money in installments, and she took six or seven years to pay the entire amount. In addition, she said, her owner had agreed to free all her children as well and did that rather than sell the entire family, for /p 84/ which he could have gotten $1200. Mr. Cox, another local ex-slave bought himself for $2100 in 1840."
"Perhaps the most knowledgeable white assessment of Louisville's black churches came from some local white men who discussed slavery with the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission in 1863. Dr. T. F. Bell said of the First Colored Church that it was 'the best managed church in the city of Louisville' and that further the black churches in town were managed entirely by their congregations with no interference from whites. James Speed told the AFIC that although the church property of black churches was held in the names of freedmen, the slave members, who outnumbered the free, contributed most money to the churches' support. Speed also said, in reference to Henry Adams, that the influence he had had on 'the negroes of this town is incalculable.'"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whole number treated during the year</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discharged</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recovered</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>removed, improved &amp; unimproved</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>died</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escaped</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total discharged or died</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still under treatment</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1857, the colored members of the /Baptist/ church were organized into a separate church, under the name of the African church, by Elder J. B. Link and others, and have kept up their own organization ever since, and have been prosperous, having built a large and comfortable house. Indicates that Link is white.
### Agricultural Statistics for Blacks, 1878

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Acres Land Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Value Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>166,952</td>
<td>22,437</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>86,827</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>181,139</td>
<td>8,250</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>301,192</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Town Lots Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Value Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>5,637</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>7101</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>5,995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Value of Town Lots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>$1,399,478</td>
<td>$36,492</td>
<td>$1,288,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$1,251,663</td>
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</table>

### Value of Horses and Mares

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>$155,286</td>
<td>$29,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Value of Jennies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>$1,220</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>$1,152</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Value of Cattle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>$18,050</td>
<td>7,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ECONOMIC STATISTICS, BLACKS, 1878

ky, legis documents, 1878, Doc # 1, second annual report state bureau agri,
horti, & statistics; No. 4, Negro, indoc # 1

p 500/
stores 1877 stores increase decrease value stores/value stores increase decrease 1877 1878 1878
58 59 23 22 $13,985 $13,910 $7,625 $7,700

/p 501 cont'd/
value under equalization law, 1877 value under equalization law, 1878
$81,771 $76,437 $21,774 $27,108

/p 504/
value carriages etc 1877 value carriages etc 1878
$10,630 $7,992 $1,646 $4,284
value gold & silver watch etc 1877 gold & silver plate, pianos etc 1877

/p 505/
value gold & silver etc 1877 value gold & silver etc 1878
$6,082 $1,109 $2,494 $3,541,369 $3,306,337 $106,912 $341,942

TAXABLE VALUE BLACK PROPERTY 1877-1878

ky legis docs, 1878, Doc # 1, second annual report state bureau agri,
horticulture, statistics, No. 4, Negro, in doc # 1

p 508/
tax on valuation at 45 cts per $100 for 1877 tax on valuation at 45 cts per $100 1878
$15,936.16 $14,878.51 $481.10 $1,538.75

p 509/
Total tax 1877 total tax 1878 increase decrease
$15,936.16 $14,878.51 $481.10 $1,538.75

Total value 466,984 from above table
461,072
### POPULATION, VOTING STATISTICS, 1877-1878

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Voters</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52,670</td>
<td>3,336</td>
<td>1,457</td>
<td>52,057</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Voters</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Children between 6 &amp; 20, 1877</th>
<th>Children between 6 &amp; 20, 1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53,316</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>44,872</td>
<td>50,275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### HOGS, STUDS, JACKS, BULL 1877-1878

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hogs</th>
<th>Studs, Jacks</th>
<th>Bulls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12,181</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,413</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### DEATH OF PATRICK DOYLE

Number of deaths in the Hospital of the Kentucky Penitentiary from March 9, 1863, until January 1, 1864, inclusive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Diseases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 9, 1863</td>
<td>John Cook, alias Green</td>
<td>Syphilis, secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 10, 1863</td>
<td>John Stiles</td>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1863</td>
<td>John Rhodes</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 12, 1863</td>
<td>John Yarn</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 13, 1863</td>
<td>John B. Waddington</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 14, 1863</td>
<td>George Ingram</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 15, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. Crosby</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. Crampton</td>
<td>Phthisis pulmonalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17, 1863</td>
<td>Pat. Oliver</td>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 18, 1863</td>
<td>Cannon Singleton</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 19, 1863</td>
<td>John Morris</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1863</td>
<td>Henry Wilson</td>
<td>Debility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. Bennett</td>
<td>Debility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 3, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. Crampton</td>
<td>Congestion of lungs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20, 1863</td>
<td>Henry Burnett, F. M.</td>
<td>Phthisis pulmonalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 10, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. J. Wash</td>
<td>Phthisis pulmonalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 20, 1863</td>
<td>John Doyle</td>
<td>Congestion of lungs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 22, 1863</td>
<td>Peter Peterson, alias W. Wilson</td>
<td>Typhoid fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 11, 1864</td>
<td>Wm. Thomas</td>
<td>Typhoid fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 16, 1864</td>
<td>James H. Peters</td>
<td>Erysipelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 21, 1864</td>
<td>John Johnson</td>
<td>Typhoid fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 24, 1864</td>
<td>James Dorsey</td>
<td>Erysipelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 18, 1864</td>
<td>George Johnson</td>
<td>Consumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1864</td>
<td>Thomas Keif</td>
<td>Typhoid fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 11, 1864</td>
<td>John Farris</td>
<td>Perineal Abscess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Tobacco Crop 1877, 1878, Corn Crop 1877, 1878: Wheat, Barley**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>3,528</td>
<td>5,817.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>9,716.691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>106.600</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>146,802</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>1,485</td>
<td>1,638.949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>1,494.205</td>
<td>100,029</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>209,925</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>5,941,765</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>9,716,691</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>106,600</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>146,802</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>1,485</td>
<td>1,638.949</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PENITENTIARY REPORT.

RECAPITULATION.
Number of cases treated from March 9, 1863, until January 1, 1865: 1196
Number of deaths from March 9, 1863, until January 1, 1865: 27
Cured: 1069
Percent of deaths: 2.294.513

No. 2.
Number of deaths in the Hospital of the Kentucky Penitentiary from March 9, 1863, until January 1, 1864, inclusive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Diseases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 11, 1863</td>
<td>John Cock, alias Green</td>
<td>Syphilis, secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 12, 1863</td>
<td>John B. Stiles</td>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 1863</td>
<td>John Rhodes</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 20, 1863</td>
<td>John A. Yocums</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 21, 1863</td>
<td>John B. Waddington</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 22, 1863</td>
<td>George Howard Ingram</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 29, 1863</td>
<td>W. W. Williams</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 30, 1863</td>
<td>John McDonald</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 8, 1863</td>
<td>Pat. O'Gara</td>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 16, 1863</td>
<td>Cannon Singleton</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25, 1863</td>
<td>John Morris</td>
<td>Debility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20, 1863</td>
<td>Henry Wilson</td>
<td>Debility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 21, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. Bennett</td>
<td>Congestion of lungs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7, 1863</td>
<td>F. O. Armhart</td>
<td>Phthisis pulmonalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 29, 1863</td>
<td>John Yerkes</td>
<td>Small-pox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 10, 1863</td>
<td>Henry Burress, f. m. c.</td>
<td>Phthisis pulmonalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 20, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. J. Wash</td>
<td>Phthisis pulmonalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 11, 1863</td>
<td>Wm. Thomas</td>
<td>Typhoid fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 12, 1863</td>
<td>Peter Peterson, alias W. Wilson</td>
<td>Erysipelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 16, 1863</td>
<td>James H. Pernell</td>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 24, 1864</td>
<td>George Johnson</td>
<td>Erysipelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15, 1864</td>
<td>James Dorsey</td>
<td>Syphilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 11, 1864</td>
<td>Thomas Rifeete</td>
<td>Typhoid fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 20, 1864</td>
<td>John Parris</td>
<td>Perineal Abscess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. Barton Clay charged W. Warfield, Apr 24, $2.75 for treat. Negro woman. / Mar 15 visit Negro woman & Medicine $3.00

Barton J. Clay 1830 Agreements with Shadrack Barnes on Management Farm.

"Article of Agreement" May 23, 1830, in "Business Papers, 1830" B.J. Clay Papers, 1830, Col. U.K.

Ran into Overseer to prevent Negroes from going to meeting or leaving farm, etc., anything else. I to prevent other Negroes from coming on this farm.

"Inventory of Slaves" Correspondence and Legal Papers, 1834, J. Clay

Papers, N. Y. State Lib.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48 yr old</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>£180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 yr old</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 yr old</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>£600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 yr old</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>£500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 yr old</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 yr old</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>£550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 yr old</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>£230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 yr old</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>£700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 yr old</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>£350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 yr old</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>£330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 yr old</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>£106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total £4,071.00
The L and N used to run special Sunday excursions for the Negroes. It was for most of them their first experience in railroad travel. And to judge by the way they crowded into the train it was for them a thrilling experience. It was before the days of the heavy day coach, the air brake and the patent coupler. If we heard today one of those trains pull up to a station and come to a stop, we should judge..." cars light and wooden. seats small and hard. "I have seen the excursion trains for Negroes made up of cattle flat cars; and have seen the passenger cars so crowded that many of the men clambered out through the windows on to the roof of the car. Yet, they enjoyed it, spending about ten hours on the train and getting back home late in the night."
### Value of Slaves of Sidney P. Clay, 1835

"Inventory of Slaves" Correspondence and Business Papers, 1835, Box 7
S. P. Clay Papers, UK Spy, Col.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>$325</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>550</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**: $12,240
MEMORIES OF BLACK AUNT PHILLIS OF FATHER

Draper Collection 4 VV 84, 85, 86, 87 (letter to draper from James Hemphill, Thomas Sumter Papers)

84 "I sent for old Aunt Phillis, an old negro woman about 84 or 85 years old, the only surviving child of old African Sam, (as far as I know), to find out what she could tell, which was not much."

85 "7. Old Aunt Phillis says that her father old Sam died on February 1, 1853, aged about 90. The age is uncertain. He was a well-grown boy, hardly a man she says, at Huck's defeat.
8. Phillis says that her father was first landed from Africa in Virginia and that he came with Col. Floyd from that state, and she understood that he was a Virginian. She says that her father never heard of him after his escape at Huck's."

86 "12. I am sorry that I can add nothing to what you know as to Col. Nixon's services, or as to the time of his death. Old Phillis thinks it was warm weather when he was killed, from what she had heard her father say of the early decomposition of his remains."

87 "13. I have no evidence of Mrs. Nixon's (M. Callas') death. Aunt Phillis specifies a date by another event, which would make her death about 1808."
"Sir, 

I have enclos'd a short power to you to sell or take into case my negro man antoney he is a Cuning Rogest felow & makes his home at opost he has lost one of his Eyes burned out when he was a Child he run from me since the Late wore. Likewise to settle my other Negros wages in the Neiborhood of kentuckey his name is William he was hired to seveal masters greenup mager moor & others he is now the property of Bengeman Cox of kentuckey Cuntrey. I Refer you to mager moor for infirmation the negro himself can give you the time & place of his Serves & the Sumes (due?) to me By your sending to his master to Send you an Inventorey of his Report pleas to inquire about my Sum that is with Mr. Irwin & if aney thing is the mater Extronisey give me infirmation & speak to Mr. Irwin what you think. I would saye for you was your Case mine pleas to give my Compliments to the Gentlmen of the town gl Clark moore Heth &c. I have now newse but sum small Indian alarms only Congress for want of money has Disbanded the new Livey Except & Compneys Statind at west pint."

"Know al Men by these Presents that I Van sweringin of this county of Ohio & Common Wealth of Virginia, have this day Constituted and appointed My Honest & trusty Friend Major William Croham, To be my attornay in the cases following Virg. To sell my Negroe Man Named Anthony, and to Receive all his Property if any he has, likewise to Demand or Receive all the Wages due to said Negroe from his Employers likewise to Receive the Wages of another Negroe man Named William, and to ask, Demmand sue for &c. in my Name and for me as fully as I myself cou'd do Was I Personaly Present, to give Receit & Bills of sale in my Name and for me, Realizing all other Powers from me given in the Premises. Witness my hand and seal this thirty first Day of May A.D. one thousand seven Hundred and Eighty seven."

Van Sweringin
"In addition to the works on hand of which I informed you last year, I have two more thrown on me, that I cannot avoid making. One is a Memoir of my old friend & ministering brother Elder J. B. Meachum, who fell dead while preaching in his church, 19th February. Meachum was a very extraordinary man, for one of his color & with the disadvantages of his Situation. He was about my age & had been trained first in the Sunday school, & then in the ministry under my supervision. In a Sect chapter or Appendix I purpose discussing the question of giving moral and religious instruction to slaves, and how this should be done."
"Know all men by these presents that I Samuel Wells, of Jefferson County State of Kentucky, have for and in considerations of the sum of Four hundred and fifty Dollars, to one in hand, said by Major Nathan Heald of the County and State aforesaid, the Receipt whereof is here by acknowledged; Hath this day granted bargained and Sold, and by these presents do grant bargain and sell unto the said Nathan Heald one negro by the name of James, aged between nine and twenty years of age, to have and to hold the said negro Slave, James; to the said Nathan Heald his Heirs & assigns for over, and every Incident there to, against all and every person or persons, claiming or to claim by these presents. In Witness whereof I have here unto set my hand and affixed my Seal this Twenty Eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Twelve."

Saml. Wells
Rachel Reno said of her own accord, that Gen. Kenton's Indian name was Cut-ta-ho-tha -- which meant the blacked or condemned man -- prepared for burning at the stake.

Aug. 16th 1863
"Mrs Rachel Reno now over 80 years old -- an African woman, born in Blue Jacket's Town, now Bellefontaine, her mother having been captured in Kentucky by the Shawanoes -- they early went to live in Col. Alex. McKee's family a little below Sandwich, Canada: Col. McKee would spend some of his winters on the river Thames -- had many pet animals -- bears -- deer &c; & a pet deer hooked or gored him up the Thames in the leg, & he died of lockjaw: Left one or two sons."

"... so that my Case is truly piteous for want of support & assistance ever since the Indians took my Negroe man Prisoner these are therefore to request you should they make peace to not forget my negroe that he be Brought in your fidelity herein as well as any other particular endeavours to recover him shall ever be gratefully Remember'd by ..."
SLAVE HIRING 1831

Draper Collection 3 BB 108 (Sankey's journal)

"I promise to Pay James Livingston Twelve Dollares, it being for the hier of a Negro woman called Rachel, and three Children untill the twenty fifth day of December, next at whitch time the mony is to be paid, and the Negroes to be returned, well Cloathed, as witnes my hand and seal this 25th day of January 1831."

John Neal

"Received twelve Dollars it being the amount for the hier of the within mentioned Negroes for the Present, of this 25th of December, 1831."

James Livingston

FLEEING SLAVES RESIST, KILLS MASTER

Draper Collection 5 E 61 S.F. Touts to Draper, March 22, 1860 in Sam Brady & Lewis Wetzel Papers)

"... my Br. & Solomon Hedges were on the Muskingum they fell on 2 tracks that they thought were Indian. they pursued untill they found them to be 2 absconding negroes belonging to Mr Tumbleston (when they Fouts & Hedges returned reported Young Tumbleston raised some men and went in pursuit came on their camp one of the negroes ran into the creek Young Tumbleton caught him the negrow drew a knife and killed his young master by the help of others the negro was tied to a tree, the party said they would go & hunt a while leaving the negro tied while they were gone some person shot the negro."
"I was thinking it might be best for the Negroes belonging to the children to be brought from Kentucky & hired out about yr. place -- because the collection of the Money for the Heir is extremely difficult at so great a Distance, & perhaps Kentucky is not so safe for the Slaves as Bellebourt -- But you who have been there can better know this Matter than I can."

"If you intend to purchase some Negroes, I could do it for you here on pretty good terms for ready money; I have no idea of their falling in value, if peace is made they will rise much. If you choose land rather than Negroes you may have the place I got from Estill on good terms; or half the Place & Negroes."
"... Louis had brought with him to the Point a Negro boy named Pompey, it happened to strike Louis that he would have a little fun at the expense of Poor Pomp, he therefore left the Indians out of sight and advanced to the top of bank, and hollowed for Pompey. Pompey soon heard his well known masters voice and leaped with joy down the bank exclaiming, Bless god that is Massa's Voice, Seeing Pompey come down the bank he told him to bring over the Canoe, Pompey Maned the canoe reiterating Bless god it is him, Pompey paddled with all his might when about two thirds of the way over Louis beccond two or three of the Indians to show themselves, upon which Pompey sudenly turn his canoe to retreat imagining that he had mistaken his masters voice. After he had got upon the fast retreat, Louis again halloed to him, Pompey stops, bless god that is Massa, and turns again towards him he now got within a few yards of the shore when Louis again becond the indians and they all make their appearance on the bank, Pompey again turns to flee, shrieking that they had forced his master to call him that he might be taken. Louis again calls Pompey encourages him and comes down to the Water by himself which so encourages Pompey that he gets him to the shore, he went over with Pompey to the Point who could hardly keep himself in the Canoe for his joy of haveing his master aboard."

"... And Pompey died at the Coal river not long since."

"Rowland has poor fellow been extreemly unfortunate in every way that a man could be, since he come to this Cuntry it appears that misfortunes are entailed on him, he has lost a number of his Slaves, & the most valuable ones he had, I hear Old Peter, died a few days since, & one of his others in a very bad way."
Draper Collection 5 ZZ 89 (va papers) sept 3, 1792

"Dear Uncle,

Mama tells me to inform you that I shall meet you at Aspenville on Friday if nothing extraordinary happens betwene this & Friday morning. please to get me ten yds. course stuff for the young negroes cloths & shouse for my self of any sort. I am Dr. Uncle your Dutyfull

S B Campbell"

ADVANTAGE OF OWNING SLAVES

Draper Collection 5 ZZ 87 (va papers)

"Could you not now do Sarah a kindness by hinting to Mr. Henry that a few good Working Negroes ought to be given with his Son. This will enable the young Couple to begin the World with advantages and sure we all are, it is no equivalent to the fortune brought by the young lady."
"If Mrs. Russel will assign her Daughter one of the Negro Girls (Will'd by her Father) as a Maid, I will have her clothed decently and sent to School with her mistress. All the Negroes belonging to my Wards Estate, if deliver'd to me before next April, shall cost the Estate nothing for maintenance in future neither shall any deductions be made for Sally Campbells Boarding whilest at School."

LEXINGTON PATROL ORDERS 1810

Draper Collection 5 CC 9 To: William W. Worsley, Dec 3, 1810 (Ky Papers)

"You will take possesion of the front room of Wm. Bobbs house down stairs & make it your head quarters -- you will form your guard into two or three relieves — ordering one or more centinely out of each relief to stand at the door or such other proper place as you may deem necessary — the residue to patrole the town during the night — who you will direct not to make any unnecessary noise — or fire their guns and give false alarms — they are not to disturb the white citizens — but to apprehend and secure all very suspicious blacks who may be found on the streets in doubtfull situations — and keep them in custody untill they can be delivered to the civil authority."

NOTE: William W. Worsley was a militia officer & in 1810 letter about his special assignment in Lexington "to apprehend and secure all very suspicious blacks ...." Ky Papers
"Know all men By these present That I Timothy Downing of Washington County and state of pennsilvania Have Bargined sould and Do By these present Bargin sell make over and Deliver unto Dannel Boon of Caintuckkey settlement Burbin County and state of Virginia a Negro woman named Cleares about Eighteen or Nineteen Years of age for the some of Ninety pounds Current Lawfull money of the above sd state in Hand paide before the Sealing and Delivery Hereof the Receipt whereof is Hereby acknowledged and I Do By these present Warrent and Defend the saile of Negro from the Claime Title or ______ of any Person or persons Whatsoever that shall or Will Lay any Lawfull Claime Said Negro Woman as Witness my Hand and seale this Twentythe Day of may one thousand seven hundred and Eighty six."

\[Signature\]

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"From Toby's account, the army commanded by my father on that occasion was raised in the French bro and the Nolichinky country. That about 500 men was the number that reached the battle ground that they were five or six days on their mark. They routed the Indians from their Town late in the evening. The army encamped in the Town. The Indians were on the Mountain the next morning ready for battle. When our army was paraded & making ready for marching to the mountain, some captain or captains reported that some of their men had lost the locks from their guns, and asked their commander what was to be done. The commander replyed that they must be put in the front rank that order had the effect, to recover the lost locks. The officers the old man recollects are Capt. Buller, killed, Capt. Hasdin wounded, Capt. Vincent & Capt. Fagan, He says there were two other captains whose names he has forgotten. the Indians were completely beaten and their Town destroyed."

"During that year (1788, my father was appointed by Sand. Johnson, Governor of N. Carolina, superintendent of Indian affairs for that State. not long after tht period, he removed to the frontier of Georgia established a fort and took an active part in suppressing Indian hostilities in that quarter. He was about that time elected to the legislature of Georgia. It was during my fathers residence in Georgia that the servant Toby and my brother Brise, who was then a boy, were guarding the Horses a short distance from the fort. two Indians made an attempt to _____ them of from the fort and capture them. Toby first espied the Indians & shot one dead: but quickly discovered there was a large party near them. He instructed his young master to reserve his fire and by that precaution they retreated defensively, until they were relieved by men from the fort who had rushed
out from the report of Toby's gun. I have thus my, Dear Sir, given you in my clumsy way the animation you desired. But I insist that you shall not take this for history when you can come & examine and supply yourself much more amply. Accept my best wishes, Jos. Martin

"Know all men by these Presents that we Joseph White James Herrod and Thomas Kennedy are held and firmly bound to Gabriel Madison and Isaac Shelby justices of the Peace for the County of Lincoln in the sum of One Thousand pounds good & Lawfull money of Virga. to be paid to the said Gabriel Madison and Isaac Shelby their certain attorney these heirs Exrs. Admr. assigns To which Payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves our Exrs. and Admr. jointly and severally for and in the whole firmly by these Presents sealed with our seals and dated this eighth day of Novr. 1785...

Whereas the above Joseph White Attorney in fact for McCartan Campbell and Attorney for David Zubly, hath claimed sundry Negroes now in the Possession of John Kincaid of this County as the property of the said Campbell and Zubly, which said Negroes were feloniously taken and carried away from the said Campbell and Zubly. Now the Condition of the above obligation is such that if the said Negroes Nance a Wench about Twenty two years old her Two children Pee & Tom and Lustis a wench about fourteen years old are the Property of the said Campbell and Zubly & has then the above obligation shall be bid and of none _____ also to be and remain in fee and virtue."
PIONEER STRUGGLES, SLAVES, ETC 1741

Draper Collection 22 C 10  (letter from Daniel Bryan, Fayette Co (nephew of Dan. Boone) visited by Draper who apparently took these notes April 1844, p 2 of letter

"Col. John Fields' -- In the spring of 1741, he, his son Ezekiel & negro Will went out on Holston -- to dig a tan trough -- were shot at, & Maj. Field shot through the thigh; & Will carried him in. Ezekiel was chosen, tomahawked in the breast & taken prisoner; & was given up at Dunmore's Treaty. Col Field recovered, & when he went out on the Point Pleasant campaign, he left his will which freed his negro Will."

BOONE'S SLAVE DERRY, BEATEN BY WHITES

Draper Collection 30 C 64  (Interviews about D. Boone (Dan. Boone Papers)

"Missouri Hunting Trips & Derry -- Can tell nothing particularly about Col. Boone's Missouri hunting trips. On them, when accompanied by others, he would keep camp, cook, & dress the skins.

Derry, an intelligent negro was raised in Col. Boone's family, with as good principles of integrity as any of his children. Col. Boone thought much of him, & never had to use harsh language to him, or make complaint of his conduct. Derry was a good farmer, & could be safely entrusted with any amount of money, or confide keys to his charge. Once, in early times, he was sent ten or fifteen miles to will, with two horses loaded with grain; & near a still-houses he was beset by a drunken set of rowdies, & detained. He was respectful to them, but said his master would be dissatisfied with his detention, and would be likely to hold them responsible for it -- whereupon, having taken too frequent potations at the still-house for the practice of good manners, they knocked the poor negro from his horse, & beat him severely, leaving him senseless & nearly helpless. One of the horses with its grist went home alone, when Mrs. Nathan Boone sent another negro to see what had happened who found Derry, & his horse near by & brought them home. Nathan Boone commenced suit against the rowdies. He was indignant at their conduct, and would never consent that so good and faithful a Servant as Derry should be so shamefully abused, and that without cause or provocation. But the rowdy band never came to trial -- they fled the country."
"Wheres it is represented to the General Assembly, that sundry citizens of this Commonwealth would commence the laudable and benevolent work of abolishing slavery, by emancipating their own, either directly or indirectly of their voluntary will and pleasure, provided there was a law of a general nature, authorising a mode to be pursued to effect the object.

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That it shall be lawful for any person who may be inclined to emancipate any slave or slaves to him for her belonging, to register the same with the clerk of the court of Appeals, or the clerk of any inferior court of record in this commonwealth, together with the age of said slave or slaves respectively, and the age to which the master or mistress intends such slave or slaves to continue in slavery or servitude in a ____ to be kept by the clerk for that purpose. Which slave or slaves so registered on arriving at the age of service therein mentioned, is hereby declared free, in like manner as if he she or they had been born of free parents.

And be it further charted, That any citizen in this commonwealth holding slaves, shall be at Liberty, by his last will and testament executed with the solemnity necessary by last mode of conveyance to transfer personal chattels, to emancipate any slave over the age of ten years, and under the age of thirty-five years, without giving any security for the maintenance of such slaves; or by such last will and testament to declare the ages as which the increase or issue to be born, of any female slave, then the property of the testator, shall be emancipated, or to emancipate any slave under ten years of age and over thirty-five, on subjecting so much of his estate to the charge of maintaining such slaves, as for the opinion of the court, where such will shall be recorded, will be sufficient to prevent them or any of them from becoming chargeable to such county.

Provided however, That this act shall not be construed to affect the rights of creditors, or to exonerate any person or persons from all costs or charges which may be incurred by any county in this commonwealth, on account of any slave or slaves, by him, her or them so emancipated.

And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful, for any person who may be dispeled to secure the rights of human nature to the future offspring of any female slave or slaves to him or her belonging, to register such female slave or slaves with the clerk of the court of Appeals, or the clerk of any inferior court in this commonwealth, in the aforesaid book for that purpose, together with the name and place of residence of such master or mistress, and the express intention of the master or mistress, at the time of registering the same. In consequence of which all the future offspring of such slaves, so registered, is hereby declared freeborn, and shall be entitled to all the immunities & franchisements, as free white citizens (except as is excepted in the constitution) on arriving to the following age, viz. males 25 years and females 21.

And be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, shall either directly or indirectly move, or cause to be moved, any female slave so registered, or the offspring of such slave out of this State, with an intent to evade the object of this act, such person or persons so offending, shall forfeit and pay one hundred pounds for each, he, she or they shall so move, to be recovered by action of debt, in any court of record in this commonwealth, by any person suing for the same, one half to the commonwealth, and the other for his own use and benefits. And such
slave is hereby moreover declared free to all intents and purposes, in like manner as if he, she, or they had been free born. This act to commence &c."

"To the General Assembly of Kentucky
The petition of the Subscribers respectfully sets forth,
That whereas by the third sentence of the seventh article of the Constitution, it is expressly provided, that the legislature shall pass laws to permit the owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and preventing them from becoming a charge to any county in this commonwealth.

And whereas some of your petitioners believe slavery to be not only a political evil, but a moral wrong, yet conceive a gradual emancipation preferable to any other mode, and would therefore freely yield their expectant property in the future offspring of their female slaves provided the same were authorized by law. __________ to emancipate any slave or slaves to them belonging, shall proceed to effect the same in conformity to the above recited sentence of the constitution.

And your petitioners further pray, that your honorable body will also provide by a general law, a mode by which such as wish to secure the rights of human nature, to the future increase of their female slaves, may proceed to effect that object. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

signers: Robert Todd
and others I can't read
the late Rev. Mr. Finley, of New Jersey, and Mr. Caldwell, of the District of Columbia, were entitled to great praise for their spirited exertions in the formation and organization of the Society. But the original conception of such a project is to be traced to a date long anterior to the laudable efforts on this subject. However difficult it might have been supposed to be in the execution, it was an obvious remedy, and the suggestion of it may be referred back to a period as remote as the Revolutionary War.

The State of Virginia, always pre-eminent in works of benevolence, prior to the formation of the American Colonization Society, by two distinct acts of her Legislature, separated by intervals of time of sufficient length to imply full deliberation, expressed her approbation of the plan of Colonization.

In considering the project of the American Colonization Society, our first inquiry should be into what it really is—then what it has done; and, finally, what it is capable of achieving. It is a voluntary association, formed for benevolent purposes, as must be freely acknowledged by all, if they should even prove the experiment to be impracticable. Its aim is to transport to the Western shores of Africa, from the United States, all such free persons of colour as choose voluntarily to go. From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. It is not only without inclination, but it is without power, to make any such interference. It is not even a chartered or incorporated company; and it has no other foundation than that of Bible Societies, or any other Christian or charitable unincorporated companies in our country. It knows that the subject of emancipation belongs exclusively to the several States in which slavery is tolerated; and to individual proprietors of slaves in those States, under and according to their laws. It hopes, indeed, (and I trust that there is nothing improper or offensive in the hope) that if it shall demonstrate the practicability of the successful removal to Africa, of free persons of colour, with their own consent, the cause of emancipation, either by States or by individuals, may be incidentally advanced. That hope is founded not only on the true interest of both races of our population, but upon the assertion, so repeatedly made, that the great obstacle to emancipation arose out of the difficulty of a proper disposal of manumitted slaves. Its pecuniary means, applicable to the design of the Institution, are voluntarily contributed by benevolent States or individuals. The States of Virginia and Maryland, besides numerous pious or generous persons throughout the United States, have aided the Society.

Such was the object of the American Colonization Society, organized at the City of Washington about thirteen years ago. Auxiliary institutions have been formed, in various parts of the Union, to aid and co-operate with the parent association, which have limited their exertions chiefly to the

1830.]

Hon. Henry Clay's Speech. 18

HENRY CLAY ON FREE BLACKS


12 Hon. Henry Clay's Speech. [March, 1830.


cutions would not be indispensably necessary to punish the insurgents, and impress their whole race with the influence of a terrible example!

Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of colour are, by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned. There are many honourable exceptions among them, and I take pleasure in bearing testimony to some I know. It is not so much their fault as the consequence of their anomalous condition. Place ourselves, place any men in the like predicament, and similar effects would follow. They are not slaves, and yet they are not free.—The laws, it is true, proclaim them free; but prejudices, more powerful than any laws, deny them the privileges of freemen. They occupy a middle station between the free white population and the slaves of the United States, and the tendency of their habits is to corrupt both. They crowd our large cities, where those who will work can best procure suitable employment, and where those who addict themselves to vice can best practice and conceal their crimes. If the vicious habits and propensities of this class were not known to every man of attentive observation, they would be demonstrated by the unerring test of the census. According to the last enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States it appeared that the rate of its annual increase was only about two and a half per cent, whilst that of the other classes was about three. No other adequate cause for this disproportion can be assigned, but that of the improvidence and vices of the class referred to. If previous enumerations exhibited different results, they were owing chiefly to the accession of numbers, which it received by the acquisition of Louisiana, and the events of St. Domingo. But, if the reasoning which I have before employed be correct, this class is destined, by voluntary manumission or abandonment, to increase and ultimately perhaps to be more numerous in the United States, than their brethren in bondage, if there be no provision for their removal to another country.

Is there no remedy, I again ask, for the evils of which I have sketched a faint and imperfect picture? Is our posterity doomed to endure forever not only all the ills flowing from the state of slavery, but all which arise from incongruous elements of population, separated from each other by invincible prejudices, and by natural causes? Whatever may be the character of the remedy proposed, we may confidently pronounce it inadequate, unless it provides efficaciously for the total and absolute separation, by an extensive space of water or of land, at least, of the white portion of our population from that which is free of the coloured.

This brings me to the consideration of the particular scheme of the American Colonization Society, to which this is Auxiliary. That scheme does not owe the first conception of its design to any individuals, by whose agency the Society was first constituted. Several of them, and especially
warrant may be granted on the application of a free woman of color, who
is an incompetent witness on the trial before the county court.

*Chasteen v. Ford,* 5 *Littell* 268, June 1824. Action of "trespass, assault
and battery and false imprisonment, brought . . . by Daniel Ford, a man
of colour, to recover his freedom. . . [269] Whilst a widower and having
two children, Lewis Chasteen in 1800, made his will, directing that all the
slaves of which he died possessed, should be emancipated; the males at
their arrival to the age of 25 years, and the females at the age of twenty-
one. . . He afterward married a second wife, and died, leaving several
children by his second marriage. At the time of his death, Daniel Ford
was a slave and belonged to the testator, and was under the age of twenty-
five; but he arrived at that age before the commencement of this suit.
The children of the testator by the second marriage . . exhibited their
bill in equity against the children by the first marriage and the executor,
alleging the invalidity of the will," and it was pronounced invalid.

Held: [270] "as respects the slaves mentioned in the will, the executor
were the only necessary parties to the suit brought in equity to set aside
the will, and consequently the decree pronounced in that suit, to which they
were parties, must be conclusive against the right asserted by Ford under
the will." Mills, J. dissented: "the revocation of a will . . . by the birth of
after-born children, under the third section of the statute of wills, does
not exist in cases of emancipation, and that such revocation is totally
taken away and repealed in this respect, by the twenty-seventh section
of the act concerning slaves, 2 Dig. 1155; and that no after-born child
can claim an interest in slaves emancipated by the will, but are barred
from so doing by the latter act."

man can, by the laws of nature, have dominion over his fellow-man:
. . . if the master voluntarily removes the slave to such non-slaveholding
state, or if the slave escapes into a foreign country, which does not tolerate
slavery, the master’s right, so long as the slave remains there, is gone;
because he has no remedy to enforce or protect it."

*Young v. Bruce,* 5 *Littell* 324, June 1824. "On or before the 25th of
December, 1819, we promise to pay Aaron H. Young, the sum of one
hundred and twenty dollars, for the hire of a negro man, named Dick,
from this time until the said 25th of December, 1819, to be returned well
clothed at that time." Dated December 29, 1818. In . . July, 1819, without
any fault of theirs, and by inevitable accident, the slave, Dick, was
drowned in the Ohio river."

Held: not "a covenant to ensure such return, in the event of his death
in the mean time."

*Free Frank and Lucy v. Denham,* 5 *Littell* 330, June 1824. "an action
of debt . . . brought upon a sealed writing executed by free Frank and
Lucy, stipulating for the payment of two hundred and twelve dollars to
the intestate. . . 'Free Lucy . . says, that at the time of the supposed
execution . . she was . . married to Frank, a person of color,' . . the
administrator replied, that . . the said defendants are free persons of
color, and therefore not authorized to unite in the bonds of wedlock;"
1825. A negro was sold for fifty cents.

November 1825. "Where a visit to her paternal grandfather prevented same age with herself, child."

1825. In 1793 [Ohio, where the slave lived with him until the fall of his father's house in 1816, being before it was in Congress which forbade.]"

Mon. 228, May 1828. In the State, to Gen. Matthew as member of Congress from Ohio to Georgia, and thence to Kentucky. The sale to Matthew rests upon the act of purchase and exportation. An estate, not their exportation.

1826. Sorency of name—the slaves to be her, except Ails, when He died in 1817.

"Neal hired of Jane, age of two hundred acres.

1826. "Afterwards, and grant a new [322] "It may be a matter of ought, in any case, to away a right to freedom, interfere to take from cannot retain, it may be to assert and establish in doubt whether a right to freedom can ever be a claim of that character."

Gale v. Miller, 3 T. B. Mon. 416, December 1826. Held: if the husband of the doweress [419] "remove, or voluntarily permit to be removed out of this commonwealth, any of the slaves which he may hold in right of his wife's dower, without the consent of him ... in reversion, the act declares, it shall be lawful for him ... in reversion to enter into, possess and enjoy, not the slave removed only, but all the estate which such husband heldeth in right of his wife's dower, for and during the life of the said husband." [Owsley, J.]

Davis v. Hall, 4 T. B. Mon. 23, January 1827. In 1811 Davis sold Hall about two hundred acres of land. "Hall agreed to pay Davis a negro slave in hand, at the price of $500; ... And the residue of the whole price, to-wit, $1,750, might be discharged in good young negroes by the 1st day of March, 1816."

Free Lucy and Frank v. Denham, 4 T. B. Mon. 167, January 1827. Held: [169] "the court below should have allowed the plea offered by Frank, in which he alleges that he was a slave when the writing sued on was delivered by him, to be filed."

Moore v. Howe, 4 T. B. Mon. 199, April 1827. Will of John Dunlap, 1791: "I will to my daughter Jane, one negro girl, named Nan, and issue, one mulatto boy named Jack, until he is of the age of twenty-six years; and in that time, to be taught to read, and when he comes to the age mentioned, then to be free; or at liberty to work or labor for himself;"

Wood v. Lee, 5 T. B. Mon. 50, June 1827. Will, 1794: [51] "To his daughter Matilda ... one slave, by name, and another, to be the first child that a certain slave bequeathed to his wife should have."

Mitchell v. Warden, 5 T. B. Mon. 261, June 1827. Witness "had a runaway negro in his custody as jailor; the negro gave an order to his former master for a horse which the negro claimed, and then in possession of Mitchell, requesting the witness to get the horse, and deliver him to the negro's wife. Mitchell said he should not have the horse, for Warden and himself had got the horse for catching the negro; ... [262] Mr. M'Donald had bought the negro of Mr. Smith; the negro ran away; M'Donald employed Mitchell to search for the negro, and agreed to give a dollar per day for his services; M'Donald had also employed Warden to search for the negro. Mitchell proposed to M'Donald, that if he would let him have the horse which the negro had, he would not charge the dollar per day for his services; M'Donald declared the horse was not his, he had not bought the horse, and had no claim to him; but if he caught the negro, he, Mitchell, might have his, M'Donald's, interest in the horse; and Mitchell had caught the negro. Mr. Smith, the former proprietor of the negro, deposed that the negro had been in the habit of riding his horses

1 See same v. same, p. 304, supra.
*330*  
FREE FRANK AND LUCY v. DENHAM'S ADMINISTRATOR.  

From the Pulaski Circuit Court, the Hon. John L. Bridges sole Judge.  

Crittenden, for plaintiffs; no attorney for defendant.  

Free persons of color may contract marriages, and a bond given by such a femme covert can not be enforced.  

**OPINION OF THE COURT, BY JUDGE OWSLEY.**—June 11.  

This was an action of debt, brought by the administrator of William Denham, deceased, upon a sealed writing executed by free Frank and Lucy, stipulating for the payment of two hundred and twelve dollars to the intestate.  

Lucy appeared and filed the following plea: "Free Lucy, in her proper person, comes and prays judgment of the *copias ad respondendum* of the said administrator; because, she says, that at the time of the supposed execution of the note in the writing declared on by the plaintiff, she was, and is still married to Frank, a person of color, and this she is ready to verify; wherefore she prays judgment of the said *copias ad respondendum*, and that the same may be quashed," &c.  

To this plea the administrator replied, that he ought not to be barred from maintaining his said action, nor should the same be abated or quashed, by reason of any thing contained in said plea; because, he says, the said defendants are free persons of color, and therefore not authorized to unite in the bonds of wedlock; and this he is ready to verify, &c.  

Free Lucy demurred to this replication; but her demurrer was overruled.  

The assignment of errors questions the decision of the court upon the demurrer.  

The replication is predicated upon the idea that free persons of color are incompetent to contract marriage; and were that position admitted to be correct, the conclusion drawn by the court in overruling the demurrer, would follow as a necessary consequence. But the principle is not perceived, upon which the position assumed in the declaration can be sustained. **Whilst in a state of slavery, we admit that persons of color are incapable of contracting marriage, for any legal purpose. So long as they remain in that condition, they possess no freedom of will or of action, and of course, by no contract, can they either acquire any legal rights.** *or impose upon themselves any additional incapacity; but immediately upon being emancipated, the restraint which was imposed upon their will and actions, by their bondage, is removed, and with that, their competency to contract matrimony is restored. Whether or not the act of this country concerning marriage, applies to persons of this description, is a question which it is not necessary now to consider; for, to marry, is a right common to all the human species, and whenever in fact contracted by persons able and willing to contract, the *feme* becomes subject to the disabilities of coverture, though in form the requisitions of the act of this country may not have been pursued.  

The court, therefore, erred in overruling the demurrer of Lucy, and the judgment must, consequently, be reversed with costs, the cause remanded to the court below, and further proceedings there had, not inconsistent with the opinion of this court.
### TABLE 1

A COMPARISON OF WHITE AND BLACK UNION INDUCTION REJECTION RATES DUE TO DISEASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>U.S. whites</th>
<th>U.S. blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chronic rheumatism</td>
<td>.485%</td>
<td>.372%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syphilis</td>
<td>.376%</td>
<td>1.069%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye diseases</td>
<td>1.531%</td>
<td>1.061%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulatory ailments</td>
<td>2.545%</td>
<td>1.216%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart disease</td>
<td>1.563%</td>
<td>.685%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respiratory ailments</td>
<td>1.014%</td>
<td>.422%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digestive ailments</td>
<td>8.426%</td>
<td>5.010%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernia</td>
<td>3.981%</td>
<td>3.829%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin diseases</td>
<td>.837%</td>
<td>1.042%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
<td>2.120%</td>
<td>1.080%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
black inductees. In spite of working extensively as outdoor laborers, a smaller percentage of blacks were rejected for chronic rheumatism than whites. The surgeons found black inductees had half the percentage of circulatory diseases, heart disease, respiratory ailments, and tuberculosis than white inductees. Blacks also were less prone to diseases of the digestive system than whites. Despite being more exclusively confined to menial labor, blacks had roughly the same percentage of hernia cases as whites. According to the records of the Provost-Marshal, syphilis and skin diseases were the only diseases in which the percentage of rejection of black inductees exceeded that for whites. The rejection rate of whites suffering with syphilis was a little more than one-third that of blacks, while blacks afflicted with skin diseases were rejected at a rate of 1.0% as opposed to .84% for whites.  

Although the surgeons of the Provost-Marshal compiled detailed statistics concerning the health of inductees, these examinations failed to spot many men unfit for the rigors of military service. Medicine in the mid nineteenth century was largely empirical, and the medical knowledge and technology did not exist to exclude many unfit individuals. Examining surgeons of the Civil War had to rely almost totally on physical observation. A typical surgeon would determine

12 Ibid., pp. 96-103, 110-111, 114-123, 132-133. Phthisis pulmonary and scrofula are known today to be two forms of tuberculosis, and both figures have been added to reflect modern terminology. Gaines M. Foster, "The Limitations of Federal Health Care for Freedmen, 1862-1868," Journal of Southern History 68 (August 1983): 349-372. Although the above article is an excellent one, the author failed to exploit the published reports of the Provost-Marshal General and RG 110 concerning the comparative health of black and white inductees.
the height of the inductees, measure chest inspiration and expiration, examine teeth, eyes, muscles and joints. One surgeon required an inductee "to hop across a large room on Each Foot, to test his Hips [,] Knees, Ankles, and Muscles of legs." This method of examining inductees was practiced by most of the Provost-Marshal's surgeons of the Civil War. Yet as one Civil War surgeon admitted, this approach was not infallible, "and possibly I have passed some that should not have been, but not knowingly or heedlessly."  

Considering the sheer numbers of inductees to be examined, the low pay given to enrollment surgeons meant many of the physicians were of low calibre. One hundred dollars to $130 was inadequate pay for many of the better physicians. A few skilled doctors did seek appointments as enrollment surgeons, and their presence was much appreciated. Unfortunately, the enrollment boards attracted too many inexperienced, old, and incompetent physicians.  

Compounding this problem, bureaucratic regulations added to the difficulty of conducting thorough examinations of inductees. Initially, regulations specified that surgeons were to examine 120 men a day. Later, this stipulation proved impossible to comply with. Nevertheless, the pressure to examine large numbers of men continued throughout the war. The office of Provost-Marshal eventually acknowledged that examining forty men a day was satisfactory.  

13George W. Howe to Darius Cadwell, 17 September 1864, Correspondence, Darius Cadwell Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society; J. S. Curtis to Major General Dix, 3 October 1864, Letters received relating to Recruiting, 1863-68, Colored Troops Division, RG 94.  

in Kentucky gave physicals to over 38,000 men. In fact, one of these surgeons examined over 8,000 men in just over 21 months. He said he often examined one hundred men a day. Passing such numbers of men in such a short period was unfortunately prevalent during the era. A surgeon of the 26th U.S.C.T. in 1865, besides being responsible for his regiment, was "detailed to examine some 800 new recruits at the rate of 100 per day."  

Besides contending with inadequate facilities for the proper examination of candidates, surgeons also saw their decisions reversed by the non-physician members of the board of examination. Usually, the board consisted of three members: a Provost Marshal, a Commissioner, and a Surgeon. The non-physician members of the board occasionally overruled and contested the medical decisions of the surgeon by granting exemptions irrespective of results of physical examinations, or ruling a candidate eligible for military service after the surgeon had failed the candidate. The board as a whole came under attack from unwilling candidates who contested the results of physicals. Responding to a black soldier's claim of having an ulcer as reason for his desire to win a certificate of discharge, a Provost-Marshal from Hartford, Connecticut rejected the claim and charged that the man "has been persistent in his efforts to obtain his discharge from the service ever since his

enlistment, though previously he has not based his claim upon the ground of physical disqualification. 16

Confronting bureaucratic red tape, inadequate facilities for examinations, and the sheer number of candidates, even conscientious surgeons found themselves unable to detect many serious ailments. For example, surgeons found it extremely difficult to detect men afflicted with epilepsy. One examining surgeon summed up the difficulty in weeding out men suffering from this ailment by saying no "surgeon on earth can detect a case of Epilepsy unless the victim or his friends choose to reveal the fact." This same surgeon relied on observation for such inexact signs as "dullness of the eye or intellect" in the hope of disqualifying epileptics. Considering all the disadvantages confronting the surgeons, they did a better job than many historians admit. 17

Although Kentucky had a significantly lower percentage of rejections for physical ailments among its inductees than many other states, the major causes of exemption mirrored what disqualified men in other states of the Union. According to Table 2, the ten leading causes of exemption among whites and blacks in the Kentucky draft of March 14, 1864 were in descending order: hernia; fractures and dislocations; organic diseases of the internal organs; permanent physical disabilities; wounds; tuberculosis; loss of teeth; deformities of feet; impairment


17. Ibid., J. S. Curtis to Major General Dix, 3 October 1864; Murdock, "Pity the Poor Surgeon," p. 18.
TABLE 2

THE LEADING CAUSES OF EXEMPTION FOR THE KENTUCKY UNION DRAFT
OF MARCH 1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hernia</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fractures and dislocations</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic diseases of internal organs</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent physical disabilities</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounds</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of teeth</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deformities of feet</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impairment of eyesight</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deformity of chest and spine</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Cases                                  961
of eyesight; deformity of chest or spine. In this draft, 961 men were rejected. The draft boards of Kentucky only refused 14 out of over 4,000 draft candidates because of mental deficiency.18

The examination boards left detailed evaluations concerning the health of black and white candidates for military service. The Provost Marshal General instructed its officials to assess the suitability of nationalities and races for military service. A majority of the boards' surgeons reported that the health of blacks was as good or better than that of white candidates. The surgeon from the 10th District of Massachusetts thought most "of the negroes presented at this office as volunteer recruits or substitutes were fine specimens of the race, well formed, active, muscular, and remarkably free from disqualifying disease." A Kentucky surgeon said he rejected less than ten percent of the 1,600 blacks he examined. He was greatly impressed by their overall physical condition, something which he stated could not be said for "a like number of white men, except by a miracle."

Seven of the eight surgeons of the district boards who left narrative assessments from eight of Kentucky's nine districts considered the black inductees to be excellent physical specimens. The majority of examining surgeons from across the nation attested to the fitness of blacks of military age, regardless of whether they came from the North or South, or from urban or rural environments. One surgeon speculated that the superior physical condition of blacks and their aptitude for military service was owed in part to the "life of hard labor, drudgery, and

TABLE 3

GENERAL SUMMARY OF DISEASE-RELATED SICKNESS AND MORTALITY FOR WHITE UNION TROOPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Total Cases</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Percentage of Mortality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Typhoid</td>
<td>75,368</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>27,056</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typho-malaria</td>
<td>49,871</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>4,059</td>
<td>.00200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow fever</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaria</td>
<td>1,163,814</td>
<td>.467</td>
<td>8,056</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diarrhea</td>
<td>1,585,196</td>
<td>.635</td>
<td>37,794</td>
<td>.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erysipelas</td>
<td>23,276</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>1,860</td>
<td>.0007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smallpox</td>
<td>12,236</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>4,717</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measles</td>
<td>67,763</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>4,246</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphtheria</td>
<td>7,277</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>.0003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syphilis</td>
<td>73,382</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>.0005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonorrhea</td>
<td>95,833</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.0000024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scurvy</td>
<td>30,714</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheumatism</td>
<td>254,738</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
<td>19,521</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>5,385</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meningitis</td>
<td>3,516</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>2,245</td>
<td>.0009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart disease</td>
<td>6,958</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>.0005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronchitis</td>
<td>195,627</td>
<td>.078</td>
<td>1,179</td>
<td>.0005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
<td>93,054</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>15,328</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunshot wounds</td>
<td>230,018</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>32,907</td>
<td>.013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total cases 5,825,480 2.335 166,623 .067

Average troop strength 468,275 of which 37,038 in general hospitals or .0790945.
### TABLE 4

**GENERAL SUMMARY OF DISEASE-RELATED SICKNESS AND MORTALITY FOR BLACK UNION TROOPS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Total Cases</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Percentage of Mortality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Typhoid</td>
<td>4,094</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>2,280</td>
<td>.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typho-malaria</td>
<td>7,529</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>1,301</td>
<td>.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow fever</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>.00015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaria</td>
<td>152,141</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>1,923</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diarrhea</td>
<td>153,939</td>
<td>.860</td>
<td>6,764</td>
<td>.038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erysipelas</td>
<td>1,536</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smallpox</td>
<td>6,716</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>2,341</td>
<td>.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measles</td>
<td>8,555</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphtheria</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>.0003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syphilis</td>
<td>6,297</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonorrhea</td>
<td>7,060</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0000055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scurvy</td>
<td>16,217</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheumatism</td>
<td>32,125</td>
<td>.179</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
<td>3,839</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>1,292</td>
<td>.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meningitis</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart Disease</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronchitis</td>
<td>25,381</td>
<td>.142</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pneumonia</td>
<td>16,133</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>5,233</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunshot wounds</td>
<td>6,894</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>1,042</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Cases</strong></td>
<td><strong>629,354</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.516</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,004</strong></td>
<td><strong>.162</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average troop strength 63,645 of which 2,794 confined in general hospitals or .0438997.
### TABLE 9

1850 CENSUS BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION VERSUS MORTALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>4,332</td>
<td>4,759</td>
<td>426,514</td>
<td>345,109</td>
<td>0.0102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>162,189</td>
<td>47,708</td>
<td>0.0133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>71,169</td>
<td>20,363</td>
<td>0.0133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dist. of Col.</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>37,941</td>
<td>13,746</td>
<td>0.0153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>47,203</td>
<td>40,242</td>
<td>0.0112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>4,580</td>
<td>5,405</td>
<td>521,572</td>
<td>384,613</td>
<td>0.0088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>10,641</td>
<td>4,392</td>
<td>761,413</td>
<td>220,992</td>
<td>0.0140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>5,907</td>
<td>6,049</td>
<td>255,491</td>
<td>262,271</td>
<td>0.0231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>6,810</td>
<td>2,811</td>
<td>417,943</td>
<td>165,091</td>
<td>0.0163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>3,351</td>
<td>3,219</td>
<td>295,718</td>
<td>310,808</td>
<td>0.0113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>5,639</td>
<td>4,527</td>
<td>553,025</td>
<td>316,011</td>
<td>0.0102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>8,148</td>
<td>3,727</td>
<td>756,836</td>
<td>245,881</td>
<td>0.0152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mort. = Mortality
Pop. = Population
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>4,725</td>
<td>521,384</td>
<td>6,021</td>
<td>475,510</td>
<td>0.0091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>4,530</td>
<td>362,115</td>
<td>1,575</td>
<td>122,169</td>
<td>0.0125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>1,256</td>
<td>102,211</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>22,794</td>
<td>0.0123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dist. of Col.</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>88,278</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>43,404</td>
<td>0.0133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>96,057</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>91,689</td>
<td>0.0116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>6,356</td>
<td>638,926</td>
<td>7,199</td>
<td>545,142</td>
<td>0.0099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>10,709</td>
<td>1,098,692</td>
<td>3,034</td>
<td>222,210</td>
<td>0.0097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>7,300</td>
<td>362,065</td>
<td>6,725</td>
<td>364,210</td>
<td>0.0202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>7,416</td>
<td>605,497</td>
<td>2,268</td>
<td>175,391</td>
<td>0.0122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>3,689</td>
<td>382,896</td>
<td>5,442</td>
<td>444,201</td>
<td>0.0096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>6,087</td>
<td>678,470</td>
<td>4,447</td>
<td>391,650</td>
<td>0.0090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>2,443</td>
<td>289,667</td>
<td>4,910</td>
<td>415,814</td>
<td>0.0084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>9,765</td>
<td>936,119</td>
<td>4,453</td>
<td>322,391</td>
<td>0.0104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mort. = Mortality
Pop. = Population
### TABLE 11

**1880 CENSUS BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION VERSUS MORTALITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>White mort. 8,329</td>
<td>White pop. 662,185</td>
<td>Black mort. 9,600</td>
<td>Black pop. 600,320</td>
<td>.0126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>White mort. 11,307</td>
<td>White pop. 591,531</td>
<td>Black mort. 3,505</td>
<td>Black pop. 210,994</td>
<td>.0191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>White mort. 1,737</td>
<td>White pop. 120,160</td>
<td>Black mort. 475</td>
<td>Black pop. 26,448</td>
<td>.0145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dist. of Col.</td>
<td>White mort. 2,090</td>
<td>White pop. 118,006</td>
<td>Black mort. 2,102</td>
<td>Black pop. 59,618</td>
<td>.0177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>White mort. 1,718</td>
<td>White pop. 142,605</td>
<td>Black mort. 1,441</td>
<td>Black pop. 126,888</td>
<td>.0120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>White mort. 10,195</td>
<td>White pop. 816,906</td>
<td>Black mort. 11,354</td>
<td>Black pop. 725,274</td>
<td>.0125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>White mort. 18,338</td>
<td>White pop. 1,377,179</td>
<td>Black mort. 5,380</td>
<td>Black pop. 271,511</td>
<td>.0133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>White mort. 7,038</td>
<td>White pop. 454,954</td>
<td>Black mort. 7,476</td>
<td>Black pop. 484,992</td>
<td>.0155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>White mort. 12,362</td>
<td>White pop. 724,693</td>
<td>Black mort. 4,557</td>
<td>Black pop. 210,250</td>
<td>.0171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>White mort. 6,022</td>
<td>White pop. 479,398</td>
<td>Black mort. 8,561</td>
<td>Black pop. 652,199</td>
<td>.0126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>White mort. 12,167</td>
<td>White pop. 867,242</td>
<td>Black mort. 9,380</td>
<td>Black pop. 532,508</td>
<td>.0140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>White mort. 5,194</td>
<td>White pop. 391,105</td>
<td>Black mort. 10,534</td>
<td>Black pop. 604,472</td>
<td>.0133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>White mort. 17,312</td>
<td>White pop. 1,138,831</td>
<td>Black mort. 8,607</td>
<td>Black pop. 403,528</td>
<td>.0152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mort. = Mortality  
Pop. = Population
Thirty of the sixty-six Kentucky papers had their origins in the 19th century. Louisville tops the list with twenty-two papers, while the remaining forty-four came from twenty-two cities and towns in the state, one-and-two year affairs typical of Negro newspaper history before and after 1900.

The first Negro paper on record in Kentucky was the Baptist Herald established at Paducah in 1873. It ran just two years. A key to the general as well as the purely religious interests of sectarian newspapers of the past century is indicated in the description in the 1883 Ayer directory of the American Baptist, established in 1879 and still running: "A religious and family journal, devoted to the moral, social and intellectual development of the Colored People." Its 1500 circulation, now 3500, carried the paper into the South and West. The publisher alone is credited with a file of this paper.

Of another paper that has enjoyed more than a brief existence, there is only one known copy. That copy, for the Ohio Falls Express (1879-1904), a Louisville weekly with fairly wide reputation, is the property of the University of Chicago library. Penn quotes from the prospectus for the Express:

The Ohio Express will make its debut Saturday, September 29, 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 man; 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.¹

Fifteen of the papers leaned to the republican party. Henry P. Slaughter, Washington bibliophile and erstwhile editor and printer, says of one of these, the Champion (1890-93), for which he worked as compositor, that "Horace Morris was editor of the Champion, whose managers were mostly politicians. Monthly political contributions were made to the paper."² For mention of the one Democratic organ, the Lexington Visitor (1880?-90?), the chronicler is indebted to Ralph Davis.³

Six of the papers identified themselves as independent; three as non-political; one each as Methodist, local, and religious. Twenty came out on Saturday; five on Friday; two on Sunday; one on Thursday; two monthly, and two semi-monthly.

The Negro element of the state, reduced from 226,040 in 1930, to less than 214,000 today, reads mainly the Louisville Defender (1933-date), which sells 24,000 weekly. Louisville has two other papers, the Leader (1917-date), with a regular clientele of around 3,000 purchasers weekly, and the Kentucky Reporter (1899-date), of more than a thousand fewer purchasers than the Leader. A hoary, sectarian weekly, the American Baptist (1879-date), is still being published at Louisville for some 4,500 subscribers.
edna c mckenzie, "self-hire among slaves, 1820-1860..." Ph D disser, u of pittsburgh, 1973

p 4/

"The evidence suggests the argument of this study which is that self-hire represented a virulent aberrational manifestation of severe internal crisis which threatened the fundamental structure of the 'peculiar institution'. /sic/ +

"Furthermore, to the extent that it can be shown that the closely-related hiring out system provided a matrix for the development of self-hire, this thesis will support Clement Eaton's highly controversial claim /p 5/ that the hiring out system was indeed a step toward freedom."

In ftn 1, cites Edward Phifer "Slavery in Microcosm: Burke County, N.C." American Negro Slavery, edited by A. Weinstein and Gatell, p 91 in which he says nothing in his study of slave hiring supports Eaton's thesis.

p 81/ "Self-hire "often culminated in self-purchase..."

p 81/ "Self-hire provided a veritable training school for success in the free world..."
White slaves, from the Emperor, engaged at Fiume. 

A deadly negociation was successively manifest

The man was left, by the exposure of a woman and two

children for sale at public auction at the foot of our

principal tavern. The woman and children were as white

as any of our citizens, which we sincerely fear and a

child with a father or relative compassion than the

aggrandizement. That they were not slaves we do not

emphatically say; but there was something so affecting to

the feelings, at the sight of these women and children

exposed to sale by their opulent master, it excited

such sentiments of compassion to the mind of many one, to

cause the restrictions imposed by the morality of circu-

larizing society — that we cannot in these days, re

collect the facts. 

The legal master of the said woman, has made them

slave for life, and the same master will make the

sufferings of these children slave. Who can think of

this but not shudder? Can there not be, ought there

not to be, some limitation, some bounds fixed to these

principles?

We trust we shall not see a second attempt to

sell them in the town.

[slavery prejudices about White — a late European

traveler through Africa, who penetrated a region in which a

while, men had not before been seen, was treated kindly

and was provided with attendance. The conversations asked]
In such a plight, the girl, who guarded herself as little as her beauty; and she told them specifically, that on account of her color, she would just as willingly marry the devil — seeing a word in her own language that conveyed an idea of what was most hateful to her. But white is the fashion in the United States. Yet surely some measure should be adopted to cause the color to be respected, seeing that we depend so much upon it!}

SLAVE TRADING ON LOUISVILLE STREETS

Niles Weekly Register, XX (June 9, 1821), 240
Harmon "withdrew... and discontinued [his] appointment." Although the association was very displeased, it recognized that "the Bible gives no sanction to any controlling power above the churches, save that of God." Had the black church agreed to white control, it would have been legitimate, but under the circumstances of church refusal, the association had to accept the situation. It was "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free." Ironically, one of the last acts performed by the Sunbury Association, which dissolved itself after the war, was to ordain White Bluff's new black preacher, Harley Houston. Sunbury had been created essentially to "serve" blacks. While it segregated them and sought to control them, Christian service to blacks was its first and last task. (See Appendix II.)

VI

The practices of both black and white Baptists changed over time, and the changes were to some extent interrelated. The Lexington, Kentucky, developments illustrate the generation gap between early black Baptists and their children, and the role whites played in legitimating new black leadership. Some time around 1786, a black man known only as "Old Captain" began preaching in Lexington. His name alone says a great deal about his status and identity. He was known by neither a Christian nor a family name and has come down to us with nothing more to define him. All that is recorded is that he had a large black following and baptized many, but as he had not been ordained his practice did not meet the formal white requirements. By the next generation, a very different black was ready to assume leadership in the black community. Loudon Ferrill was an ex-slave who had once been willing to baptize believers without white permission to do so. But by 1817, after having been manumitted and having traveled from Virginia to Kentucky, he chose to join the white First Baptist Church rather than Old Captain's irregular black church. Married and working as a skilled house-joiner, Ferrill, through floor preaching at the First Baptist Church, established a reputation among younger blacks that rivaled Old Captain's status with the older community. His followers did not simply set up a church with Ferrill at its head; they appealed to the white church, which in turn sought sanction from the local association. When, in 1821, the Elkhorn Association approved the idea of ordaining a free black man, the First Baptist Church helped organize the First African Church, whose membership grew to over 2,200. Ferrill's church became the largest church in the Elkhorn Association and, in fact, the largest church in Kentucky, although it remained technically an auxiliary of the smaller white First Baptist Church.
Ferrill was one of that large group of black preachers appreciated by whites for his role in preserving order in the black community. He became a man of wealth, power, and standing, and the black community seemingly appreciated him all the more for the respect whites showed him. At the same time, however, his church proudly claimed that "he was descended from a royal line of Africans."\(^{11}\)

References to a royal African background are not uncommon in the descriptions of black preachers. For example, Lott Carey is described as "a typical Negro, six feet in height, of massive and erect frame with the sinews of a Titan. He had a square face, keen eyes and a grave countenance. His movements were measured; in short, he had all the bearings and dignity of a prince of the blood." Nat Turner's mother is remembered as "of Royal African blood."\(^{12}\)

A definite strain of black ethnocentrism can be found through black faith. Notwithstanding the holiness of whiteness in Africa, there were Afro-American folktalesto suggest that all men had once been black and that only when Cain killed Abel had whiteness been introduced: Cain "turned white from fear." Alexander Young's "Ethiopian Manifesto" of 1829 openly forecast a black Messiah, while black Baptist Nathaniel Paul, writing in a more hesitating fashion in 1827, prophesied the coming of a black Moses:

The God of nature had endowed our children with intellectual powers surpassed by none... And may we not, without becoming vain in our imaginations, indulge the pleasing anticipation that within the little circle of those connected with our families may hereafter be found the scholar, the statesman, or the herald of the cross of Christ. Is it too much to say, that among that little number there shall yet be one found like to the wise legislator of Israel, who shall take his brethren by the hand and lead them forth from worse than Egyptian bondage to the happy Canaan of civil and religious liberty... or who might lead them to Africa to plant the standard of the cross upon every hill."\(^{13}\)

The black Christian Sacred Cosmos of the pre-Civil War period informed the black that he was God's chosen. As J. H. Hensen later wrote, "my heart burned within me and I was in a state of great excitement... that such a being [Christ]... should have died for me... a poor slave." Henson had no doubt that he would go to Heaven; he had already been there. Many blacks still envisioned themselves when in Heaven as white "in the laver of regeneration." Lily Cohen puts these words in the mouth of her old black retainer, Andrew:
The missionary life-style adopted by George, Liele, and Willis was followed by mulatto Henry Adams, who led a group of Baptist pioneers from Edgefield, South Carolina, to Louisiana in the 1830s. Ordained at Mt. Lebanon, Louisiana, Adams pastored a white congregation that served as a center for Baptist missionizing. Adams then chose to return to an all-black church, Louisville, Kentucky's African Church, and he was the man who led this church into a white association. Adams stayed at Louisville for over twenty-five years, gaining an "excellent" reputation and running a "flourishing" church that grew to some 800 prior to the war. As in the other large churches, the congregation met for preaching three times weekly, held two additional prayer meetings, and ran a large Sunday School. Adams continued to work successfully with the black congregation and, at the same time, he handled political relationships with whites. He accepted the fact that his church was represented by the white Walnut Street Church at the white Long Run Association meetings. Immediately after the war, however, Adams led the blacks out of the white organization and was instrumental in organizing, and later chaired, the Kentucky Colored Baptist Convention.  

GENERAL INFORMATION ON BAPTISTS

David Benedict, A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World (1848)

pp. 812–832
Minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptists, Kentucky, 1785-1870

Minutes, 1824, p. 2. "First African Church at Lex" "1st Baptist Church at Lexington, reorganized and constituted upon a written covenant in July 1822." 28 members.

Minutes, 1825, p. 2. "First African Church at Lex" "Under the care of the First Baptist Church at Lexington" Membership: rec'd by baptism 38; rec'd by letter 5; restored 10; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 4; deceased 6; total membership 323.

Minutes, 1826, p. 2. "First African Church at Lex" "Under the care of the First Baptist Church at Lexington" Membership: rec'd by baptism 47; received by letter 9; restored 6; dismissed by letter 4; excluded 12; deceased 4; total membership 365.

Minutes, 1827, p. 2. "First African Church at Lex" "Under the care of the First Baptist Church at Lexington" rec'd by baptism 47; rec'd by letter 4; restored 11; dismissed by letter 3; excluded 12; deceased 13; total membership 366.

Minutes, 1828, p. 2. "African ch at Lexington" "Under the care of the First Baptist Church at Lexington" rec'd by baptism 72; rec'd by letter 0; restored 3; dismissed by letter 1; excluded 7; deceased 5; total membership 432. Contributions to assn: "African Ch. in Lexington, 1 50" high 1.50, low .25.

Minutes, 1829, p. 2. "African Ch. in Lex." "Under the care of the 1st Baptist Church at Lexington" rec'd by baptism 36; rec'd by letter 2; restored 4; dismissed by letter 1; excluded 11; deceased 3; total membership 460.

Minutes, 1830, p. 2. "African Ch in Len'n" "Under the care of the First Baptist Church at Lexington" rec'd by baptism 11; rec'd by letter 4; restored 0; dismissed by letter 3; excluded 7; deceased 4; total membership 461.

Minutes, 1831, p. 1. "African Ch. in Lexington" "Under the care of 1st Bap. Church in Lexington" rec'd by experience and baptism 13; rec'd by letter 1; restored 0; dismissed by letter 6; excluded 2; deceased 5; total membership 461. Contributions to assn: "African Ch. in Lexington, 1 50" high 1.50 and a low of .25 cents.

Minutes, 1832, p. 1. "African Church in Lexington--" rec'd by experience and baptism 12; rec'd by letter 2; restored 3; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 6; deceased 10; total membership 462. Contributions "African Church Lexington 68 3/4" in a high of 1.50 and a low of .25 cents.

Minutes, 1833, p. 1. "African Church at Lexington--Care of 1st Baptist Church at Lexington." rec'd by baptism 5; rec'd by letter 12; restored 1; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 9; dead 31; total membership 432. Contributions of 1st african, $1.00; high of $1.50, low of 50 ¢.

Minutes, 1834, p. 1. "African Church at Lexington--Care of 1st Baptist Church at Lexington" rec'd by experience and baptism 41; rec'd by letter 37; restored 9; dismissed by letter 3; excluded 9; deceased 2; total members 515. Contribution 1.00 in high of 1.50, low of 75¢ (first lex white gave 1.00 also)

Minutes, 1835, p. 1. "African Church at Lexington, care of the 1st Baptist church at Lexington" rec'd by exp and bap 33; by letter 0; restored 0; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 0; deceased 0; total membership 555. Contributions: 1st African 1.00; high of 2.00, low of 75 ¢; 1st lex white 1.50.

Minutes, 1836, p. 1. "African Church--Care of first Baptist church" rec'd by exp and bap 7; rec'd by letter 8; restored 10; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 12; dead 2; total 106.
Minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptists, Kentucky, 1785-1870.

Minutes, 1837, p 2 (but not really numbered; looks like typescript; copy of original) rec'd by exp & bap 30; rec'd by letter 0; restored 0; dismissed by letter 1; excluded 4; dead 5; total membership 601. contributions: African Ch $152; high of 1.52 by af ch, low of 50 ¢; 1.50 by 1st lex white.

Minutes, 1838, p 1. "African Church." "(Under care of 1st Baptist Church.)" rec'd by exp & bap 22; rec'd by letter 0; excluded 0; dead 7; total membership 618. no contributions listed.

Minutes, 1839, p 1. "African Church." "(Under care of 1st Baptist Church.)" rec'd by exp & bap 42; rec'd by letter 0; restored 0; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 0; dead 4; total membership 656. no contributions listed.

Minutes, 1840, p 1. "African, do." of 1st B. Ch of Lex. lists delegates; could these be black:"E. Clarke, James H. Rice, N. Mixer, H. C. Payne, John Allen, Jas. Beach and Richard Brent, (under care of 1st Bap. Church.) rec'd by exp & bap 60; rec'd by letter 2; restored 2; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 5; dead 10; total membership 703. contributions not listed. I doubt the names listed are black, since they are listed in 1841 under the white ch.

Minutes, 1841, p 1. "African Church!" "(Under the care of 1st Bap. Church, Lexington.)" rec'd by exp or bap 200; rec by letter 3; restored 11; dismissed by letter 1; excluded 1; dead 3; total membership 917. contributions: none listed for Af Ch; Lexington $2.50; high 3.00, low 25 ¢.

Minutes, 1842, n.p. "African Church, - Under care of 1st Baptist Church" rec'd by exp & bap 96; rec'd by letter 3; restored 7; dismissed by letter 3; excluded 6; dead 13; total membership 1,027. contributions: African Ch $1.00; Lex white 1.00; high 2.00, low 25 ¢.

Minutes, 1843, n. p., but equivalent p 2. "African Church, Under care 1st Baptist Church," rec'd by exp and bap 20; rec'd by letter 2; restored 10; dismissed by letter 5; excluded 7; dead 6; total membership 1,060. church contributions not listed.

Minutes, 1844, p 1. "African Chr. Under care 1st Baptist Church" Lex. rec'd by exp & bap 24; rec'd by letter 6; restored 9; dismissed by letter 0; excluded 4; dead 14; total membership 1,099. no contributions listed.

Minutes, 1845, p 1. "African church. (Under care 1st. Baptist Church.)" rec'd by bap 19; rec'd by letter 5; restored 4; dismissed by letter 2; excluded 2; dead 8; total membership 1,114. Pastors listed, but not for African Church, but there is a short description of each church, including the African Church://"First African Church, Lexington. This is the largest Baptist Church in Kentucky. The Pastor, Elder London Ferrell, a colored man, is highly esteemed, and labours with great success. The Church enjoys peace and prosperity. Preaching every Lord's day, with weekly prayer meetings--London Ferrell, Pastor. The Church is auxiliary to the 1st Baptist Church." no list of contributions

Minutes, 1845, p 1. "Pleasant Green. (Same care.)" mean 1st bap of lex. rec'd by bap 4; by letter 0; restored 0; dis. by letter 0; excluded 0; dead 2; total membership 16. /p 6/ "Pleasant Green, African Church, Lexington. This a small body of colored brethren, also auxiliary to the 1st Baptist Church. They are without a Pastor; their former preacher, brother January, having died. They are likely to do well."
Minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptist, Kentucky, 1785-1870.

Minutes, 1846, p 3 /really no page no, but next page is 4/ "African Church, (Under care 1st Baptist Church.)" rec'd by bap 14; by letter 2; restored 3; dismissed by letter 2; excluded 3; dead 8; total membership 1,143. /p 7/ "African Church, Lexington.--This Church is auxiliary to the 1st Baptist Church. Her members number 1143. She is orderly and flourishing. Preaching every Lord's Day. L. Ferrell Pastor."

Minutes, 1846, p 3 /really no page no, but next page is 4/ "Pleasant Green," under care of 1st bap in lex. rec'd by Baptism 1; by letter 0; restored 0; dis by letter 0; excluded 0; dead 1; total membership 16. /p 7/ "Pleasant Green African Church, Lexington.--This is a small Church, and is auxiliary also to the 1st Baptist Church. She is doing well, but has no regular Pastor."

Minutes, 1847, p 3 /though unnumbered/ "African Church (Under care 1st Baptist Church.)" rec'd by bap 116; rec'd by letter 2; restored 3; dis by letter 0; excluded 5; dead 16; total membership 1,263.

Minutes, 1847, p 3/ "Pleasant Green" also under white 1st bap ch. rec'd by bap 2; rec'd by letter 2; restored 0; dis by letter 0; excluded 0; dead 1; total membership 18.

Minutes, 1848, p 1. "African Church, Under care of 1st Baptist Church, Lexington." rec'd by bap 150; rec'd by letter 3; restored 4; dismissed by letter 31 excluded 4; dead 17; total membership 1,396.

Minutes, 1848, p 1/ Pleasant Green, under care of white 1st bap of lex. rec'd by bap 12; rec'd by letter 5; restored 1; dism by letter 0; excluded 0; total membership 36.

Minutes, 1848, p 1/ "African Church, Under care of Versailles Church" only info. 35 members.

Minutes, 1849, p 1/ First African, constituted 1824, under care of 1st Bap of Lex, received by bap 33; rec'd by letter 4; restored 17; dism by letter 5; excluded 10; dead 34; total membership 1,401.

Minutes, 1849, p 1/ Pleasant Green, Lex, under care of white 1st bap ch, constituted as church in 1844; George Brents, pastor. rec'd by bap 24; rec'd by letter 11; restored 0; dism by letter 0; excluded 0; dead 5; total membership 75.

Minutes, 1849, p 1/ "African Church" of Versailles, under care of Versailles white Bap ch; constituted 1848. rec'd by bap 28; rec'd by letter 10; restored 0; dism by letter 1; excluded 0; dead 0; total membership 72.

Minutes, 1850, p 1/ First African, Lex, under care 1st white bap lex, rec'd by bap 105; rec'd by letter 5; restored 4; dism by let 0; excluded 4; dead 20; total membership 1,491.

Minutes, 1850, p 1/ "Pleasant Green, African Ch." under care of white 1st bap in Lexington. rec'd by bap 31; rec'd by letter 5; restored 0; dism by letter 0; excluded 3; dead 2; total membership 106.

Minutes, 1850, p 1/"African Church" in Versailles, under Versailles white Bap ch. rec'd by bap 12; rec'd by letter 8; restored 0; dism by letter 0; excluded 1; dead 4; total membership 89.
Minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptists, Kentucky, 1785-1870.

Minutes, 1851, p 1/ First African of Lex, under care of white 1st bap, lex. rec'd by bap 77; rec'd by letter 2; restored 6; dism by letter 1; excluded 11; dead 15; total membership 1,548.

Minutes, 1851, p 1/ "Sec. African Ch." apparently Pleasant Green ch, under care of white 1st bap of lex. rec'd by bap 4; rec'd by letter 2; restored 2; dism by letter 3; six excluded 4; dead 4; total membership 112.

Minutes, 1851, p 5/ "Lexington.--This church has under its care two African churches, and reports the baptism of a large number of professed converts; has a flourishing Sunday School, and is liberal in contributing to the benevolent enterprizes of the day."

Minutes, 1851, p 5/ "Versailles.--Has a colored church under its care, which has had some additions."

Minutes, 1852, p 1/ First African Lex, under care of white 1st bap. rec'd by bap 42? figured not clear; rec'd by letter 5; restored 4; dism by letter 0; excluded 5; dead 13; total membership 1,751.

Minutes, 1852, p 1/ "Pleasant Green" under care of white bap ch, lexington. rec'd by bap 9; rec'd by letter 8; restored 1; dism by let 1; excluded 2; dead 2; total membership 128.

Minutes, 1852, p 1/ "African Church" Versailles, under white Versailles Bap. only info: 120 members.

Minutes, 1853, p 1/ "First African" of Lex, under white bap ch, lex. rec'd by bap 66; rec'd by letter 7; restored 3; dism by letter 5; excluded 8; dead 6; total membership 1,820.

Minutes, 1853, p 1/ "Pleasant Green" of Lex, under white bap ch of lex. rec'd by bap 24; rec'd by letter 5; restored 2; dism by let 0; excluded 4; dead 2; total membership 153.

Minutes, 1853, p 1/ "African" of Versailles, under Varasilles white bap ch. rec'd by bap 25; rec'd by let 5; restored 0; dism by let 3; excluded 3; dead 6; total membership 123.

Minutes, 1853, p 1/ "African" church in Nicholasville, under Nicholasville white bap ch. rec'd by bap 7; by let 0; restored 0; dism by let 2; excluded 3; dead 2; total membership 85.

Minutes, 1854, p 1/ "First African" of Lex,"L. Ferrill, pastor" under white 1st Baptist church of Lex. rec'd by bap 27; by let 3; restored 5; dism by letter 0; excluded 8; died 9; total membership 1,828.

Minutes, 1854, p 1/ "Pleasant Green" of Lex, no pastor, under care of white 1st bap, rec'd by bap 0; rec letter 0; restored 2; dis by let 2; excluded 4; dead 5; total 144.

Minutes, 1854, p 1/ "African" Versailles, under white bap ch Versailles. rec bap 5; rec let 0; restored 0; dis let 2; excluded 3; dead 1; total mem 122.

Minutes, 1854, p 1/ "African" Nicholasville, under white bap ch. rec bap 13; rec let 2; restored 0; dism let 0; excluded 0; dead 2; total member 98.
Minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptists, Kentucky, 1785-1870.

Minutes, 1855, p 2/ "Hillsboro, Colored Branch" no pastor given, rec bap 41; rec let 10; restored 0; dis let 2; excluded 1; dead 0; total mem 70.

Minutes, 1855, p 2/ "1st. African" of Lex, Eld. F. Braxton, Pastor, under white 1st bap of lex, rec bap 20; rec let 8; restored 25; dism let 2; excluded 15; dead 14; total mem 1,850.

Minutes, 1855, p 1/ "Colored Branch" Georgetown, of white bap ch. rec bap 35; rec let 4; restored 0; dism by let 0; excluded 0; dead 6; total mem 198.

Minutes, 1855, p 1/ "2d. African" (obviously Pleasant Green) Eld. Geo. Dupuy, pastor, under care of white bap ch. of lexington. rec bap 6; rec let 1; restored 4; dis let 0; excluded 2; dead 1; total membership 152.

Minutes, 1855, p 1/ "Colored Branch" Versailles, under white church. rec'd by bap 21; rec let 0; restored 0; dis let 7; excluded 2; dead 1; total membership 151.

Minutes, 1855, p 1/ "Colored Branch" Eld. Amstead, pastor, Nicholasville, under white church. rec bap 6; rec let 2; restored 0; dis let 0; excluded 0; dead 3; total membership 103.

Minutes, 1857, p 8/ 1st African, Lexington pd. $11.15 to foreign missions, and $1,000 for church expenses & pastor's salary. Only the budget of Georgetown, Lexington First Baptist, and Parist Baptist Churches more, of those listed.

Minutes, 1858, p 7/ Paris African Church gave $1.00 for Bible circulation.

1859—no list of churches

Minutes, 1860, p 13/ "Colored members of Mt. Vernon, per African. Missions, 3.30" "Col'd members of Paris Ch." $2.00 for Indian missions.


Minutes, 1866, p 11/ Paris African. rec bap 42; restored 0; rec let 4; dism let 2; excluded 2; total mem 226.

Minutes, 1866, p 11/ Nicholasville African rec bap 20; restored 13; rec let 1; dis let 0; excluded 15; dead 0; total mem 286.

Minutes, 1867, p 12/ Nicholasville African, rec bap 50; restored 0; rec let 2; dis let 0; excluded 6; dead 8; total membership 350

Minutes, 1842, np but p 4/ "Colored Ch. Louisvil." "Since dismission from First Church." 62 by baptism; total membership 513 for 1842. /p 14/ "Colored Bapt 1st church, Louisville. This church was constituted in April, 1842, with four hundred and seventy-five members. Since that time they have received by /begin p 15/ baptism sixty-tow; and including those baptized by their pastor before their separation from the First Church, they have, during the associational year, received by baptist one hundred and six. They have an excellent pastor, Elder Henry Adams, who is well supported. They have a flourishing Sunday School.--Since the Association they have baptized forty-nine and the revival continues."


Minutes, 1844, np but p 3/ Louisville Colored, constituted 1842. bap 7; rec by let 8, restored 5; dis by let 30; excluded 35; dead 7; total looks like 583. /p 12/ "Colored Church in Louisville.--Elder Henry Adams is pastor--their condition is comfortable. But, like most others, have not increased during the year."

Minutes, 1845, p 4/ Louisville Colored, const 1842, bap 12; rec by let 12; res 10; dis by let 42; excluded 17; dead 10; total 644. /p 12/ Col ch made no contributions to printing cost of minutes.

Minutes, 1846, np but p 2/ Louisville 1st "Colored portion" "Under the care of Elder Wells. bap 19; total membership 113.

Minutes, 1846, np but p 3/ Louisville Colored. bap 4; rec by let 4; res 2; dis by let 9; excluded 7; dead 4; total membership 634. no contri to minutes.

Minutes, 1847, np but p 2/ Louisville "Col'd Portion" Geo Wells, pastor. bap 36; rec by let 8; res 0; dis by let 2; exc 3; dead 1; total 153.

Minutes, 1847, np but p 2/ "Louisville Colored" Henry Adams pastor. bap 64; rec by let 11; res 2; dis by let 7; excluded 10; died 10; total 690.

Minutes, 1848, np but p 2/ Louisville 1st "Colored portion" Geo Wells, pastor. by bap 0; rec by let 8; res 0; dis by let 21; exc 3; died 2; total 381; contribution for gen assn $10.00. /p 7/ prospering under geo wells.

Minutes, 1848, p 4/ Louisville "col'rd" sent letter but no messenger. bap 9; rec by let 12; res 5; dis by let 4; excluded 21; died 9; total 700; no contri. /p 8/ Growing. S. Patterson, clerk.

Minutes, 1849, p 3/ Louisville 1st "Col'd portion" Geo WElls, pastor. bap 32; rec by let 10; res 0; dis by let 0; exc 4; died 6; total 213. 0 missio

Minutes, 1849, p 3/ "Louisville, col. const 1842, Henry Adams, pastor, bap 23; rec by let 19; res 4; dis by let 8; exc 13; dead 10; total 715; contributions to missions $1.00
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Minutes, 1850, np but p 2/ "Louisville African" const 1842, Henry Adams. bap 110; rec by let 17; res 17; dis by let 6; exc 25; dead 13; total 820.

Minutes, 1850, np but p 2/ Louisville "Walnut st African" bap 65; rec by let 18; rest 2; dis by let 0; excluded 8; dead 10; total 279.

Minutes, 1851, np p but p 2/ "Louisville African" 820 members.

Minutes, 1851, np but p 2/ Walnut St. African. bap 39; rec by let 6; res 0; dis by let 0; excl 10; dead 9; total 306.

Minutes, 1852, np but p 2/ "1st Louisville Af'n" bap 42; rec by let 28; res 22; dis by let 5; rest 34; dead 1; total 859. contrib to missions $1.00. /p 3/ S. Patterson, clerk.

Minutes, 1852, np but p 2/ "wd Louisville Af'n" bap 3; rec by let 4; res 0; dis by let 0; rest 9; dead 7; total 297.

Minutes, 1853, p 2/ "1st Louisville African" 859 members only.

Minutes, 1853, "2d Louisville African" bap 29; rec by let 9; rest 0; dis by let 11; excl 11; dead 9; total 314.

Minutes, 1854, "1st Louisville African" bap 51; rec by let 40; res 9; dis by let 35; excluded 82; dead 61; total 781.

Minutes, 1854, p 2/ "wd Idn African" no report.

Minutes, 1855, p 2/ "1 African Louisville" bap 99; rec by let 18; res 11; dis by let 14; exc 12; dead 9; total 408. /p 12/ H. Adams pastor, S. Patterson, clerk.

Minutes, 1855, p 2/ "2 African Louisville (Represented by Walnut Street Church)" bap 93; rec by let 13; rest 6; dis by let 2; exc 4; dead 7; total 408. /p 12/ "Snither" pastor.

Minutes, 1856, p 4/ "1 African Louisville" rep by Walnut St. bap 48; rec by let 7; rest 0; dis by let 2; dead 7; total 720. /p 13/ H. Adams, S. Patterson, clerk.

Minutes, 1856, p 4/ 2 African rep by walnut st. bap 11; rec by let 5; rest 2; dis by let 2; rest 307; dead 15; total ? /p 13/ "Second African R. Snethen" W. J. Clinton clerk, 150 in Sun Sch, "Whole am't of cont., including Pastor's Salary" $600.00

Minutes, 1857, p 2/ Lou "First African" bap 55; rec by let 5; rest 10; dis by let 15; rest 15; dead 15; total 330.

Minutes, 1857, p 2/ Lou "Second African" bap 40; rec by let 10; rest 11; dis by let 7; exc 16; dead 7; total 539.

Minutes, 1858, p 2/ "First African, Louisville Represented by letter only." bap 63; rec by let 6; restored 14; dis by let 2; exc 21; dead 8; total 882. /p 15/ "First African Chur ch, Louisville.--Preaching three times per week; prayer meeting twice a week; Sabbath School every Sunday; H. Adams, Pastor and Moderator; S. Patterson, Clerk; P.O. Louisville. This church is in a flourishing condition, and peculiarly blessed. The meeting house is centrally located, and probably the finest finished of any colored church in the United States. It was erected at a cost of 15,000. Constituted 1842."
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Minutes, 1858, p 2/ "Second African, Louisville Represented by letter only." bap 71; rec by let 9; restored 9; dis by let 11; excluded 13; dead 9; total 595. /p 15/ "Second African Church, Louisville.--Preaching three times per week; prayer meeting twice a week; Sabbath School------: R. Snethen Pastor and Moderator; W. Y. Clinton, Clerk; P.O. Louisville. Constituted----

Minutes, 1858, p 2/ "Fifth & York St. African Represented by letter only." bap 5; rec by let 2; restored 0; dis by let 0; excluded 0; dead 0; total 14. /p 15/ "Fifth and York Street African Church, Louisville.-- Constituted December 27, 1857; admitted into the Association this session, September 7th, 1858; preaching-----; prayer meeting-----; Sabbath School------; Pastor; Charles Edwards, Moderator; P.O. Louisville; Clerk.

Minutes, 1859, p 2/ "1st Colored Ch., Louisville ---- Represented by Letter only." bap 31; rec by let 11; rest 7; dis by let 6; excl 21; dead 7; total 887.

Minutes, 1859, p 2/ "2d Colored Ch., Louisville Represented by Letter only." bap 42; rec by let 4; rest 8; dis by let 9; excl 13; dead 7; total 620.

Minutes, 1859, p 2/ "5th & York St. Ch., Louisville Represented by Letter only." bap 2; rec by let 9; rest 0; dis by let 0; rest 0; dead 0; total 25.

Minutes, 1860, p 8/ "1st Colored Church, Louisville" bap 58; test 10; rec by let 10; dis by let 5; excl 15; dead 12; total 929. gave $3.00 to cost of printing, minutes.

Minutes, 1860, p 8/ "2d Colored Church, Louisville" bap 80; rest 12; rec by let 11; dis by let 5; excl 19; dead 9; total 690. no contri to print.

Minutes, 1860, p 8/ "Fifth and York St., Louisville" bap 1; total 29. only figures. contributed 50¢ to cost of printing minutes. M

Minutes, 1861, p 2/ "First Colored" Lou, letter rec'd. /p 8/ bap 8; rec by let 7; rec by relation 0; indexed restored 1; dis by let 4; excluded 14; total 906; contributed for minutes $2.00.

Minutes, 1861, p 2/ "Green Street Colored--Letter" /p 8/ bap 43; rec by let 7; rec by relation 8; rest 5; dis by let 0; excluded 18; dead 10; total 725.

Minutes, 1861, p 2/ "York Street Colored--Letter" represented at assn by letter only, apparently. /p 8/ "York Street, Colored" Lou. bap 7; rec by let 5; rec by relation 0; rest 0; dis by let 1; excluded 1; total 48. contribution to printing minutes .50¢

Minutes, 1863, p 2/ "First Colored,--Letter" /p 8/ "First Colored, Louisville" bap 94; rec by let 11; rec by relation 0; rest 17; dis by let 17; excl 21; dead 23; total 967.

Minutes, 1863, p 2/ Second Colored--Letter. /p 8/ "Green Street, Colored, Louisville" bap 63; rec by let 16; rec by relation 0; rest 26; dis by let 5; exclu 48; dead 24; total 756.

Minutes, 1863, p 2/ "York Street Colored.--Letter" /p 8/ "York Street, Colored, Louisville" bap 6; rec by let 5; rec by relation 10; rest 0; dis by let 0; excl 0; dead 2; total 89.
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Minutes, 1864, p 3/ "First Colored" "Second Colored" "York St. Colored" no reports.

Minutes, 1865, p 3/ "1st Color'd Ch. Letter and statistics" Lou, bap 116; rec by let 69; dis by let 30; rest 22; excl 198; dea 66; total 800.

Minutes, 1865, p 3/ no report from wd colored church; and 5th and York St. ch.

Minutes, 1866, p 1/ "1st Col. Ch. Lou. No Messenger" bap 55; rec by let 10; rest 5; dis by let 5; exclu 5; dead 25; total 835.

Minutes, 1866, p 1/ no report from 2d col Lou; 5th & York St Col ch, Lou.

Minutes, 1867, p 1/ "1st Col Ch'ch, Lou" no messenger. bap 99; rec by let 15; rest 6; dis by let 5; exclu 12; dead 10; total 628?

Minutes, 1867, p 1/ 2d col and 5th and York St, Lou, no report.

Minutes, 1868, np but p 14/ no report from Lou 1st ch; 2d ch; 5th & York St.

Minutes, Tate's Cree Association 1818-1860, Baptists, Kentucky.

Minutes, 1852, p 62, mss. Tate's Creek African, W. Campbell pastor, bap 85; rec by let 5; restored 0; dis by let 0; excluded 3; dead 5; total 275; $1.50 for missions; .68¢ home missions. Table for 1851, reported 1852 meeting.

Minutes, 1853, p 66, mss. Tate's Creek African (through Richmond Tate's Creek Ch. bap 8; rec by let 7; restored 0; dis by let 0; excluded 0; dead 3; total 85. Table for 1852, reported 1853 meeting.

Minutes, 1854, p 72, mss. Tate's Creek African, bap 5; rec by let 5; res 0; dis by let 0; excluded 1; dead 1; total 126. table for 1853, represented by white Tate's Creek bap ch.

Minutes, 1865, p 78, Tate's Creek African, no report. (mss)

Minutes, 1866, p 84, mss. African church not listed.

Minutes, 1867, p 84. mss. Tate's Creek African listed but no report.

Minutes, 1868, p 116, mss, no report on African ch. and thereafter

Minutes, 1873, pp 205-9 mss, "History of Tates Creek Church" by D. A. Chenault.
term, 1823; during all which time the defendant failed to account or to answer. The decree gave the lowest sum charged by the bill to be due to the complainants.

We yet think the charges in the bill are sufficiently certain and direct to authorize the decree rendered; that it was not necessary to bring in the defendant upon attachment to answer and account, to entitle the complainant to the lowest amount charged to be due; that the complainants had a right to elect whether or not they would take a decree for that, or submit to the delay of an attachment for answer and the further refusal of the defendant to account. If the defendant could not be found upon attachment, or stood out in contempt, must the complainants have no decree upon the bill?

We do not think there is any cause for changing the decree. The petition is overruled.

Crittenden, for plaintiff; Mayes, for defendant.

Case 50—January 31.

Free Lucy and Frank v. Denham's Ad'mr.

ERROR TO THE PULASKI CIRCUIT; JOHN L. BRIDGES, JUDGE.

Error, Slaves, Obligations, Pleading, Practice.

OPINION OF THE COURT BY JUDGE O'BREY.

This is the same case that was formerly in this court, and decided in favour of the present plaintiffs in error, the report whereof is contained in 5 Littell, 230.

By adverting to the opinion then given, it will be found that the case turned upon the sufficiency of a replication, put in by the administrator of Denham, to a plea of coverture filed by Lucy, and to which replication Lucy demurred. The court below sustained the replication and overruled the demurrer; but this court adjudged the replication insufficient, and remanded the cause for further proceedings in the circuit court.

When the cause went back to that court, it was

On a bill for account, if the defendant fail to answer, complainant may have attachment or decree for the minimum charged to be due.
placed on the docket for further proceedings, and without withdrawing his replication, which was adjudged by this court to be insufficient, and without having applied to the court for leave to do so, the administrator produced in court, and filed another replication to the plea of coverture. To the replication then filed no further notice appears ever to have been taken on the record.

The cause was afterwards continued for several terms, and after several fruitless attempts on the part of free Frank by his counsel to file additional pleas, the cause came on to trial, and verdict and judgment were recovered by the administrator of Denham.

To reverse that judgment free Lucy and Frank have again brought the case to this court, by writ of error.

The judgment is not warranted by the proceedings in the cause. After the case returned from this to the circuit court, there ought regularly to have been no further proceedings had, until the demurrer, which by the opinion of this court was sustained, was disposed of. By the decision upon that demurrer, the replication, to the plea of coverture put in by Lucy, was adjudged insufficient, and upon the return of the cause judgment ought regularly to have been entered upon the demurrer against the administrator, unless by permission of the court he had withdrawn his replication and replied de novo. This, however, was not done, and the record now presents the strange anomaly of a judgment recovered against the plaintiff in error, (defendants in the court below,) after a previous decision of this court against the validity of a replication put in by the defendant in error, to one of their pleas, and whilst that replication still remains upon the record without even an attempt having been made to withdraw it.

It is true, that after the cause returned to the court below, another replication to the plea of coverture was filed by the defendant in error; but free Lucy appears not to have joined issue thereto,
or in any way taken notice of it, nor do we suppose she was bound to do so, inasmuch as the former replication to the same plea still remained upon the record.

In not answering the replication last filed, free Lucy can not, therefore, have been in default; and as she has in the record, a valid plea upon which the parties have come to no issue of fact, the verdict and judgment in favour of the administrator can not be sustained.

It is proper also to remark, that in our opinion the court below should have allowed the plea offered by Frank, in which he alleges that he was a slave when the writing sued on, was delivered by him, to be filed. If, when the plea was tendered, the cause had been in a condition for trial, and if the filing of it could have produced any delay, we should have felt great hesitation in saying, that the discretion which the court must on all such occasions exercise, was abused in rejecting the plea, but the cause was not in a state of preparation for trial, and as no delay would have been produced by allowing the plea, we apprehend, under the circumstances of the case as made out and supported by his affidavit, permission should have been given him to file it.

The judgment must be reversed with cost, the cause remanded to the court below, and unless the plaintiff in that court should ask permission to withdraw his replication to the plea of couverture, judgment must be entered upon the demurrer to the replication in abatement of the action; but should the plaintiff there desire it, he should have leave again to reply to that plea, and Frank should also have leave to file the plea tendered by him, and which we have said was improperly rejected, and such further and other proceedings there had, as may be consistent with this opinion.

Crittenden, for plaintiff; Turner, for defendant.
During his tour through Kentucky in the summer of 1861, Allan Pinkerton conversed with a Bowling Green slaveholder about the knowledge blacks had acquired concerning the war. "There has been so much talk about the matter all through the State that the niggers know as much about it as we do... and too much for our safety and peace of mind," concluded the master. A Crittenden County slaveholder wrote a friend that the blacks were "so free" and considered slavery "such a sin" that owners would be better off if the slaves were all sold to the South.

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One night in New Castle during the winter of 1861, a group of forty to sixty blacks was engaged in killing hogs. After completing their chores they paraded through the streets for approximately two hours singing political songs and shouting for Lincoln. Particularly unusual and disorderly demonstrations took place in front of the dwellings of one or two citizens who were prominent advocates of states' rights.⁹

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⁹ Civ. Gazette, Nov 27, 1861; Frankfort Yerman, Jan 17, 1862.

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The progress of events so loosened the bonds of servitude that large numbers of slaves sought freedom north of the Ohio River. A soldier of the Seventy-second Indiana Infantry Regiment stationed in Southern Kentucky in 1861 asked a slave why he did not run away. The black explained that it was a thousand miles to the Ohio River, that the stream was ten miles wide, that there were terrible men with vicious dogs to catch or shoot every slave who crossed, and that Canada was twenty thousand miles from the Ohio. The soldier encouraged the black by informing him that the Ohio River could be reached on foot in two nights' travel. An informed observer in Owensboro believed that the number of slaves crossing the Ohio in a four-month period in 1861 was as great as the number making the journey during the first half of the century.\(^{12}\)

The chief attraction for the slave, however, seemed to be the Union army camps. The nucleus of a black community existed in the army from the beginning. Many Union officers from Kentucky took their personal servants with them when they entered service, and a considerable number of officers from the Midwest, particularly from Illinois, hired free blacks as servants when they enlisted.\(^{13}\) At first the slaves who sought out Union camps came singly from adjoining farms after striking up an acquaintance with the soldiers. By the end of 1861, however, they had begun to enter the Union lines in large groups. A correspondent from the camp at Paducah asserted that each company in the regiment employed five or six blacks, and the number was growing by night and day. The slaves soon learned that they would be more readily received if they reported that they were free blacks or that their masters were Confederates. To the slave it really did not matter whether or not his master was a Union sympathizer; the slave's freedom was just as precious in either case, after all.\(^{14}\)
Most of the blacks who arrived in the camps early in the war worked as cooks and personal servants, but as the war continued they turned more and more to military labor. Many had a strong desire to be soldiers and lost no opportunity to practice military arts. A correspondent from a camp near Smithland concluded his dispatch with the following statement: “In the rear of our quarters, ‘Big Nigger Bill’ is drilling the sooty cooks in the school of the soldiery.” When a regiment moved farther south, the blacks who had attached themselves to it also marched in formation, often joined by other slaves as the units crossed the countryside.

The issue was forced, however, by the blacks. News gleaned by eavesdropping became more exciting during the political campaign of 1860, and the appearance of soldiers in 1861 convinced the slaves that the day of jubilee had arrived. On the first Sunday after the arrival of the troops, the blacks from the whole region usually moved on the army camp. If the officers were determined to conform to orders, the picket lines remained secure for a time, but the blacks persisted. The slaves were motivated not only by the belief in their ultimate deliverance but also by an insatiable curiosity, by an urge to escape the monotony of their daily life, and by the promise of adventure. Under the circumstances a massive influx of blacks was all but inevitable.
ORDERS, LAWS TO RETURN SLAVES OFTEN NOT ENFORCED 1861-62

The standard procedure of the army was to return a slave upon the owner's request. In practice, however, slaves often remained in camp. As late as March 1, 1862, the Louisville correspondent for the New York Evening Post lamented "the lack of a great moral principle" in the army. Yet he admitted that Lincoln was "never so universally popular in Illinois" as he was at that time in Kentucky. It might be said that the army never did develop a "moral principle," but a change effected by the slaves and the soldiers had already taken place in the field by March 1862. It was true that few of the soldiers were abolitionists, and many of the Northern troops had no love for the Negroes, but the rank and file of the soldiers, often with the assistance of the lower echelon of officers, greatly damaged slavery in Kentucky and significantly influenced administration policy in the state.

SLAVES ENTER UNION LINES, BECOME SERVANTS OF SOLDIERS

Since the assistance of a servant made army life more comfortable and easy, many officers hired a fugitive slave and passed him off as a free black after leaving the vicinity of the owner's residence. The enlisted men found the slaves even more useful and often enticed them with rations, clothing, and a camp life with much leisure. Some of the early blacks taken into the Union regiments with the consent of the commanders had left Confederate units. The first slave hired by the soldiers of the First Ohio Light Artillery was a Confederate general's servant who had come into the Union lines in the autumn of 1861. As the demand for slaves spread through the ranks, mysteries of prior ownership were overlooked.
Some Kentuckians who came into the camps looking for their slaves faced a rough reception. At the end of March 1862, a soldier of the First Wisconsin Infantry at Camp Munfordville wrote in his diary: "Mr. Mangdoll threw a piece of wood at one of the campboys, and told him to get out."

On the march from Lexington to Frankfort in November 1862, the Twenty-third Wisconsin Infantry took a slave into the ranks. His master immediately appeared and, placing a pistol against the slave's head, threatened to blow his brains out unless he returned home. The black agreed to obey the slaveholder, but the colonel of the regiment rode up, took custody of the slave, and informed the master that he would need an order from the general before he could recover his property. During the summer of 1862, while he was in Kentucky, the policy of Col. Hans Christian Heg, commander of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Infantry Regiment, was to permit the return of a slave to his master only if the black was willing. Perhaps as a consequence, the colonel could write his family: "I have got a good house to live in and plenty of Negroes to wait on me." 15

By the middle of August 1862 most of the Union regiments openly flouted the regulation against interfering with slavery. The exclusive authority of the master over the slave had broken down, and the army was recognized as the only reservoir of power. As an established institution, slavery in Kentucky had ceased to exist and could not be reconstituted with its antebellum vitality, for the blacks would have resisted. Lincoln probably was largely relying on his familiarity with the Kentucky theater of war when he acknowledged on July 1, 1862, "I believe there would be physical resistance" to the reenslavement that could "neither be turned aside by argument, nor driven away by force." 19
Both the troops that had returned from Tennessee to engage Bragg and the regiments newly arriving from the Midwest destroyed slavery. The Seventy-seventh Illinois Infantry, which had only recently entered Kentucky, caused a general "exodus of slaves from bondage as they marched from Richmond to Louisville" in November 1862. Wherever blacks appeared along the line of the regiment's march, the soldiers called out an order from the ranks to "fall in," and the slaves in most instances obeyed without reluctance. To such an extent were servants enticed from their legal owners that Gen. S. G. Burbridge was reported to have said that the Seventy-seventh "was an abolitionist regiment and would steal all the niggers in Kentucky if they had a chance to do so."21 Most regiments were not so aggressive. The action of the 105th Illinois Infantry Regiment on the march from Louisville to Shelbyville was more typical. The troops permitted several slaves to fall into their ranks when the blacks took the initiative, and they were not hindered later in the day when they backed out and left the regiment. On the march from Bowling Green to Nashville, the 127th Indiana Regiment found a multitude of blacks along the way who would eagerly have joined if the officers and men had wanted them. The Kentucky slaveholders blamed the Union soldiers for the damage done to the institution of slavery in Kentucky during the last half of 1862 and the winter of 1862-1863, but Gen. John Logan was closer to the truth when he said: "It is not done by the army, but they [the slaves] are freeing themselves."22

Some of the army units in Kentucky were easily aroused by attempts of civilians to seize blacks who were marching with the regiments. As the Eighty-third Kentucky Infantry Regiment moved through Versailles, two townsmen seized at gunpoint a black cook owned by the colonel in the belief that the man was a fugitive. The soldiers fixed bayonets at the order of the major, who told the whites that if they stopped a slave belonging to the regiment "we will destroy your whole town."23 A handbill inserted in the Frankfort Yeoman calling for recruits for a new company of cavalry which would subsist upon the rebels of Kentucky by confiscating, appropriating, and emancipating according to their needs perhaps best indicates the extent to which the army policy in Kentucky had deteriorated by the end of the summer of 1862.24 Certainly that policy no longer commanded respect. After President Lincoln issued the preliminary emancipation proclamation in September, there was widespread open resistance to the army's
troops use force to prevent capture of slave in ranks; attempts of some union generals to appease 1862

v howard, black liberation, 1983

regulations in the ranks of the regiments from the North that were stationed in Kentucky. The slave problem became an intolerable distraction to the army in the state. Gens. Gordon Granger and Q. A. Gillmore went out of their way to conciliate the people by issuing orders to appease them. The generals listened respectfully and patiently to all sorts of city and village committees and tried unsuccessfully to satisfy them. Explosive tensions developed between the army and citizens in several centers in Kentucky. Lexington, Georgetown, Munfordville, and Lebanon were ripe for violence. In a letter to his wife dated October 24, 1862, Maj. James A. Connolly of the 123rd Illinois Infantry, stationed at Lebanon, expressed the sentiments of a growing number of line officers: "Oh! for an active earnest leader from the free states! One [who] sees nothing sacred in Negro slavery— one who can say to neutral Kentuckians, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.' One who will...drive every cowardly sympathizer out of the state and confiscate his property."

In October 1862, Gen. Green Clay Smith, a Kentuckian, took over command of the First Brigade of the Army of the Ohio. The regiments in his unit had a reputation for harboring slaves. In less than a week after his appointment, Smith ordered Col. Moses Wanzer of the Twenty-second Michigan Infantry to allow no slaves within his lines. "Citizens must not be interested in the rights of their property," Smith concluded. The Eighteenth Michigan Infantry Regiment was moving into Central Kentucky. The same period, arriving in Lexington on October 22, 1862. As the regiment reached Fayette County, the soldiers were surprised to find a slave within their ranks. In November, Col. Marc Mundy of the Twenty-third Kentucky Infantry Regiment arrested a slave belonging to a neighbor. The Michigan Regiment's command was refined to reclaim the slaves out of his lines, justifying his seizure by the Preliminary emancipation proclamation. An order was taken from him by orders of the commanding general because he refused to give up slaves who came into his lines. A white man chased one of the slaves into the pump and called the negro, 'You got to pump water, and a sergeant, with a stick, struck him with the black. When they came back to the camp, they found three whites there to claim the slave. With the tacit consent of the colonel, the soldiers and the black defined the whites.
In October 1862, Gen. Green Clay Smith, a Kentuckian, took over command of the First Brigade of the Army of the Ohio. The regiments in his unit had a reputation for harboring slaves. In less than a week after his appointment, Smith ordered Col. Moses Wisner of the Twenty-second Michigan Infantry to allow no slaves within his lines. "Citizens must not be interfered with in the rights of their property," and confiscation could only be initiated by headquarters. "I hope, Colonel, you will see that this order is fully executed," Smith concluded. The Eighteenth Michigan Infantry Regiment was moving into Central Kentucky during the same period, arriving in Lexington on October 22, 1862. As the regiment reached Fayette County, the troops were surprised, and a slave was removed from the ranks. The attempt to seize another failed. Within a few days, the new regiments from the Midwest had Central Kentucky in an uproar. In November, Col. Marc Mundy of the Twenty-third Kentucky Infantry Regiment wrote Lincoln that the Eighteenth Michigan was holding no fewer than twenty-five slaves belonging to himself and to loyal neighbors. The Michigan commander refused to turn the slaves out of his lines, justifying his action by the preliminary emancipation proclamation and the new articles of war. A colonel of another Kentucky regiment secured a writ of replevin from the Fayette County Court to reclaim the slaves, and the Michigan infantry used force of arms to prevent the sheriff from executing the writ. On November 15 the colonel of the Eighteenth Michigan Regiment was arrested, and his sword was taken from him by orders of the commanding general because he refused to give up slaves who came into his lines. The Nineteenth Michigan Infantry Regiment was also stationed near Lexington, and by November it had sheltered several slaves in its camp. A white man chased one of the slaves sent to pump water, and a sergeant with four men returned to the pump with the black, seeking to protect him. When they came back to the camp, they found three whites there to claim the slave. With the tacit consent of the colonel, the soldiers and the black defied the whites. 26
During November and December 1862, soldiers streamed into Louisville to await embarkation downriver. Many of the blacks who had been impressed to dig entrenchments had been released, and they wandered into the ranks of the newly arriving regiments. A Louisville slaveholder found his slaves serving in the Seventy-ninth Illinois Infantry Regiment. After seeing four generals and being stalled by delaying tactics, the slaveholder secured an order for his slaves from General Boyle only to find himself driven from the camp at bayonet point by a squad of soldiers under orders from the colonel. The regiment justified its refusal to deliver the slaves by referring to the articles of war adopted March 13, the Second Confiscation Act of July 17, and the preliminary emancipation of September 22.42

p 23/ 22 Wisc Inf, in central ky, refused to give Judge George Robertson his "slave boy" who entered their camp and begged for protection." Slave had been hired out and was treated badly. Col Wm L. Utley of the 22 wisc let the boy decide; he decided to stay. Robertson wrote Lincoln who did not answer directly; Lincoln later offered to pay Robertson up to $500 for the lad. Robertson apparently refused and followed Utley to Nicholasville, appealing to Gen Absalom Baird, Utley's commanding officer, to no avail.
As the number of troops in Louisville increased, the number of slave-owners who followed the regiments into the city grew. Slave hunters and kidnappers saw opportunities to profit, and the local agitators hoped to exploit the situation. In January 1863 hostility toward the Emancipation Proclamation increased the bitterness. Late in the month a slave was shot and killed when he resisted efforts to drag him from the ranks of a marching regiment. The next day the soldiers of the Twenty-second Michigan Infantry at bayonet point prevented the seizure of a black from their ranks. Some citizens threatened to board the boat and to take the slave by force, but more level heads arranged for the sheriff to present their complaints to General Wright, who had just arrived in the city.  

On January 1 the Ninety-second Illinois Infantry arrived in Louisville. The county sheriff greeted them from the sidewalk with a hundred deputees, but he did not interfere. A citizen stepped into the line of march and seized a slave; he was instantly clubbed to death by a soldier. Not a man broke rank, and the sheriff did nothing. The Twenty-second Wisconsin Infantry arrived in Louisville on February 1 still in possession of Judge Robertson’s slave boy. Seeing the black as the regiment marched through the streets, Robertson rushed into the ranks and seized him, but he was prodded by bayonets until he released the slave and retreated from the street. Attempts to seize two other slaves were thwarted. The boat was waiting for the regiment, and every black with the troops promptly boarded it. As a last effort to thwart the Twenty-second Wisconsin infantry in its determination to retain the slaves, the captain of the boat refused to get up steam until all blacks were removed, but he yielded when the colonel threatened to put him in irons and take over the ship.
Although Lincoln’s role was significant, the slaves were not his helpless beneficiaries. If the blacks themselves had not taken the initiative to abandon slavery, there would have been no emancipation in 1863. The husband of Hattie Cash of Canton, Kentucky, took a typical course of action. He “ran away early and helped Grant . . . take Fort Donaldson” [sic],” telling his wife “he would free himself, which he did.” The slaves’ ally was less Lincoln than the soldier in the ranks of the Union army. The Northern soldiers stationed in the state questioned the loyalty of their Kentucky generals and seemed more interested in the destruction of slavery than in obeying orders. Many delighted in singing songs about the legendary Brown and other sensitive subjects in order to irritate the local population.

The preliminary emancipation proclamation enjoined the military and naval forces “to observe, obey and enforce” the Confiscation Act of July 17, 1862, and the articles of war of March 13, 1862, which prohibited the delivery of an escaping slave unless the owner was loyal. The slaves of rebel owners were to be free when they came into Union lines. The War Department’s General Orders No. 139 of September 24, 1862, did not provide for any exceptions in the application of the proclamation. The commanders in Kentucky generally concluded that since the order was not absolutely explicit, it did not apply in all respects to the local conditions. The regimental officers were directed to permit claimants to recover slaves within the lines, provided the blacks’ service was not required by the army. No inquiry was required to determine the loyalty of the slaveholders.

When Lincoln issued his preliminary proclamation, it was taken as a signal by the Kentucky slaves to rush into the lines of the Union army. Mary Crane, a former slave, years later vividly recalled the event in Larue County. “When President Lincoln issued his proclamation, freeing the Negroes,” she recollected, “I remember that my father and most all of the other younger slave men left the farms.”
The Emancipation Proclamation, issued on January 1, was greeted with a storm of disapproval. Practically no one could be found in Kentucky who publicly supported Lincoln. The press condemned Lincoln for having broken a sacred promise not to make war on slavery. After January 1, attention focused on the meeting of the Kentucky legislature and the governor’s message of January 8. General Wright had heard rumors, which he was inclined to believe, that the governor would support the General Assembly in measures to legislate the state out of the Union. Wright proposed to arrest all legislators who spoke in favor of such action or voted for the withdrawal of the state. General Halleck advised him to act with discretion and to make no arrests that would appear to jeopardize freedom of speech.\(^32\)

In May 1863, a post commander in Louisville told a journalist that a large majority of General Rosecrans’s men had come into the war friendly to slavery, but “not one of them would now consent to any peace that did not destroy it root and branch.” He himself had left home a Breckinridge Democrat; “and now, sir,” he added, “I’m as black an abolitionist as Wendell Phillips.”
When Buell's army returned to Louisville to defend Kentucky in the autumn of 1862, approximately a thousand slaves came with him from Tennessee. They were picked up by the sheriffs in the counties around Louisville and were sold for prices ranging from $450 to $200. The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission managed to find many of the refugees in an 11 county area surrounding Louisville and free them where they put to work for $10-$10.20 a month "on public works." The commission could recover the slaves only by sending a detachment of soldier to remove them from the jails before they were sold, but it was impossible to detach enough soldiers from military commands to handle such a comprehensive task. The regions around Henderson and Owensboro were the worst offenders. They were still selling refugees caught from TN in southern Kentucky by late 1863.

The army's need for laborers first led to formal impressment of many slaves and contrabands, sometimes for long periods. The slaves of the disloyal were the first to be recruited, but military needs and the blacks' eagerness to serve slowly undermined the exclusion policy. As early as March 1862 the provost marshal in Louisville was combing the workhouse in search of able-bodied men. By the middle of August the army engineers in Kentucky had requested between 200 and 300 blacks to work in timber operations to furnish wood for military bridges. On August 25, an impressment of slaves was imposed on slaveholders of Fayette and Madison Counties who had been declared Confederate supporters or sympathizers. The newly formed labor brigades were to repair military roads from Rockcastle County to Cumberland Gap. The number desired in the impressment was 1,200, and John Hunt Morgan's hemp factory served as a barracks staging area for the blacks.
When Confederate forces threatened to seize Louisville and Cincinnati during the invasion of Kentucky in the autumn of 1862, labor brigades of blacks and newly impressed slaves were set to building fortifications and to digging rifle pits and embankments in the Cincinnati-Covington area.

Owners were promised compensation for the use of their slaves on proof of loyalty. In the crisis, both blacks and whites answered the call for laborers and worked together without regard for class or race. Eight thousand civilians and soldiers labored on the fortifications, and 600 blacks worked under the immediate command of other blacks. After long hours of labor the blacks went through military drill as the soldiers watched and cheered.

When it was reported that Morgan had taken Glasgow, General Wright issued an order commanding that all available males, both black and white, be assigned to build fortifications for the defense of Louisville. General Boyle had already begun to impress the slaves of rebels, and of other individuals who had assisted the Confederacy, for the purpose, and during the crisis he extended impressment to the slaves of loyal citizens.
The slaves were anxious to contribute to the support of the government. Since Negroes had always been barred from the militia by law, they correctly concluded that their new status was a step in the direction of securing recognition as free men. The slaves of disloyal owners received wages as well as subsistence, and at least some of the workers in the private sector, regardless of the status of their owners, received a bonus or incentive payments.

Early in 1863 the number of impressments increased, and less distinction was made between the slaves of loyal and disloyal slaveholders. A controversy began to brew. Union slaveholders were always assured pay for the services of their slaves, but they objected to the new demands. One of the chief reasons for the greater use of slaves was the shortage of labor to maintain the railroad. On March 2, James Guthrie, president of the Louisville and Nashville line, asked General Boyle to impress three or four gangs of blacks, or approximately eighty slaves, to work on the tracks. Boyle hoped to secure half of the necessary labor by emptying the military prisons and the Negro pens in Louisville. Thereafter the railroads increasingly used slaves, and the owners of mail packets and steamboats that operated along the Ohio River and in Western Kentucky turned to the army for similar assistance. In March 1863 the impressment was extended to Bourbon County in Central Kentucky and was renewed in Fayette County for the purpose of building fortifications and digging trenches in Lexington. The post commander in Lexington who was in charge of the labor scolded the Union slaveholders for trying to shirk their patriotic duty by evading the impressment and for failing to contribute their slaves freely, as had the rebels, who felt fortunate that they did not have to work in the trenches themselves.
The Conscription Act of 1863 provided for enrollment of all men subject to the draft as a preliminary to conscription or enlistment. The act listed the classes of individuals who were exempt from conscription, and since blacks were not mentioned, the president ordered the War Department to develop a policy for their enrollment. The War Department set up a Bureau for Colored Troops in the office of the adjutant general. No person would be permitted to recruit black troops unless authorized by the War Department. Alarmed at this new development, John Boyle, adjutant general of Kentucky, who was in a position to test public sentiment, urged John Usher, secretary of the interior, to intercede in the case of Kentucky. The enrollment of slaves in the state could only be enforced at the point of the bayonet, Boyle declared. He predicted that 75,000 men would take to the field “to keep a miserable few hundreds of slaves from being taken away.” Weeks passed, and the new system proceeded as planned by the administration. By June the national enrollment of blacks and whites was under way. In Kentucky, free blacks, but not slaves, were to be included. The army did not publicize its plans for the freedmen in the state, but the provost marshals and registration officer were sent into the field with forms and instructions.14

Although freedmen and slaves were not drafted in Kentucky, by the end of July 1863, the army in the state was more heavily relying on them for military labor. On July 25, General Boyle formalized the policy on impressment by issuing General Orders No. 37. The slaves of the citizens who had “no more men and no more money to suppress the rebellion” would be the first to be impressed, and loyal citizens would not be asked to turn over their workers “unless absolutely necessary.” Early in August, Boyle issued General Orders No. 41 for the impressment of 6,000 black laborers from fourteen Central Kentucky counties to extend the railroad from Lebanon toward Danville. The slaves were to be impressed from the counties through which the railroad passed, and owners were warned that if they failed to deliver their quota, all the slaves they owned would be seized.25 On September 2 there followed a special order to impress 500 blacks to supply firewood for the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and three weeks later another order provided 100 for the Louisville and Frankfort Railroad for the same purpose.26
With the recruitment of blacks going forward along Kentucky’s borders starting in mid-1863, it was not long before recruiting agents were soliciting black volunteers within the state. Slaveholders reported that recruiting agents were enticing their slaves to go elsewhere to enter military service. On December 10, Governor Bramlette received a communication from Edward Cahill, an army captain, who said he had been ordered to Kentucky to recruit free blacks for the army. He asked the governor’s consent and cooperation. Bramlette rejected the captain’s proposal in a published letter reiterating that in deference to Kentucky's “peculiar position, and to avoid unnecessary aggravating the troubles of loyal men of Kentucky,” the authorities in Washington had agreed not to recruit blacks in the state. Two officers of the First Michigan Colored Regiment then solicited Boyle’s aid in a similar recruiting mission in Kentucky. Boyle referred the letter to Bramlette, who sent the Michigan officers a copy of his letter to Captain Cahill. The governor warned the Michigan officers that “summary justice” would “be inflicted upon anyone attempting such an unlawful purpose.” Negro recruiters would “endanger their own liberties if . . . caught within this state,” he warned. The editor of the Louisville Journal declared that “the action of the Governor” would “receive the hearty approval of every true union man in the Commonwealth.” A Kentucky soldier stationed at Cumberland Gap also applauded and added: “He [the governor] will be sustained by every true Kentuckian, and many of them are willing to sholder [sic] their muskets and meet any opposition force that would attempt to carry out” such recruitment. Kentucky was nevertheless overrun by brokers who enticed one or two slaves or free blacks to leave the state and enlist. In addition, many communities in the Northwest offered large bounties for substitutes, and the brokers could profit by selling blacks as substitutes to fill local quotas.

Late in January 1864 Richard Cunningham arrived in Paducah with a commission from the War Department to recruit 1,200 blacks for an artillery regiment. The counties west of the Tennessee River in Kentucky were attached to the District of West Tennessee. The adjutant general of Kentucky telegraphed the War Department for an explanation and discovered that Lucien Anderson, the congressman for the First Congressional District (Paducah), had approved of the recruitment. Anderson had formerly been kidnapped by Confederate raiders and had become Kentucky’s most radical congressman. Cunningham, who was assisted in his recruitment by black troops, caused much excitement by his vigorous methods of operation. He undertook to “enlist” black merchant marines from a steamboat, and a pitched battle broke out when the sailors were aided by white soldiers. On a recruiting trip into Union County in Western Kentucky, Cunningham impressed a steamboat to aid in his activities. Cunningham continued to arouse bitter opposition in Western Kentucky until a late as July 1864.

Recruiting camps were located at Nashville, Clarksville, and Fort Donelson in Tennessee and in the northwestern states along the north bank of the Ohio River. It was not necessary to entice the Kentucky slaves into these camps. The servants of both the loyal and Southern sympathizers left Southern Kentucky for these camps by the “hundreds and thousands, and received protection against being reclaimed by their masters.” In December 1863, a group of leading citizens of Southern Kentucky petitioned the secretary of war for removal of the recruiting stations on Kentucky’s borders to a point farther from Kentucky.
By the end of March 1864 John Boyle had "authentic information" that a regiment of twelve hundred Negroes from Kentucky had been taken into service at Clarksville, Tennessee, a regiment of eleven hundred strong had been recruited at Columbus, Kentucky, and one of three hundred was mustered into service at Paducah. The adjutant general of Kentucky estimated that various other commands in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Tennessee had enlisted 2,000 or more negroes from the state. The authorities of Todd County, Kentucky, filed certificates with Boyle's office showing that 285 slaves from that county had enlisted outside Kentucky. State authorities wanted to claim these blacks to fill Kentucky's quota, but there was still no indication that the public was willing to consent to the enlistment and drafting of blacks within the state.40

In early 1864 the impressment of slaves in Kentucky began to end. In February, Gen. U.S. Grant revoked all orders in effect in the state, and General Burbridge, commander in Kentucky, terminated the practice on March 4. It continued locally, affecting a limited number of slaves, but post commanders were careful not to requisition the property of loyal citizens. By 1864 impressment clearly offered a less effective means of meeting manpower needs than the draft, even in Kentucky.41 The impressment system had opened the way and had softened local resistance, as had the erosion of slavery and civil problems relating to the movement of free blacks in the state and recruiting activities nearby.
The Conscription Act passed on February 24, 1864, and J.B. Fry ordered Provost Marshall Sidell to begin enrolling free blacks and slaves in Kentucky on March 7. Fry asked that progress reports be sent to Washington on March 14, 20, and 25 (a final report). This timetable seemed unrealistically short, encouraging opponents to hope that the program would be destroyed if resistance prevented the schedule from being met. Sidell received a large number of protests in the Department of Kentucky, the most significant of which he sent to Fry along with his own endorsed opinion, warning officials in Washington of the seriousness of the continued opposition to the enlistment of blacks. Fry referred the communications to General Burbridge, the new commander of the Department of Kentucky, asking for a full report. When it came, the War Department issued Special Orders No. 140, which gave Burbridge “general supervision of the U.S. laws for raising men in Kentucky” and directed the provost marshal of Kentucky to regard any order from Burbridge as sufficient on the subject of enlistments. Sidell ordered the provost marshals in all subdistricts to begin enrollment immediately. Some subdistrict marshals resigned rather than obey the order, and many others pleaded that they could find no enrollment officers. The enrollment was delayed for weeks. The most violent form of resistance involved the organization of guerrilla bands. All subdistrict marshals called for protection before they undertook enrollment, and Burbridge, a native of Kentucky, stationed one company near the headquarters of each provost marshal except in the First District at Paducah, which was under the command of the officer in charge of the District of West Tennessee. The provost marshal west of the Cumberland River was not able to enroll the blacks in Western Kentucky for several months, however, because of the failure to secure mounted troops in that area and because of the guerrilla operations in the region west of the Tennessee River. The military protection in Kentucky was never adequate except in the extreme eastern part of the state, where none was needed. Although units were initially supplied, the commanders of the army in Kentucky were unwilling to place a company in each district on a permanent basis, and troops were not freely furnished except in the case of single expeditions to effect a single object. The commanders pleaded “superior necessities” of troops in the field against Confederate forces.

The regulations were later modified, but until then the consent of the master was required before a slave could volunteer, and many of the early enlistments came from slaves who had fled the Confederate states. As noted
earlier, Negroes in Kentucky were enthusiastic about volunteering. Since blacks were not enlisted in Kentucky until two months after passage of the law of February 24, many continued to go to the Northwest to enlist. Even after enlistments had begun in Kentucky, the number of slaves who could secure the consent of their masters was limited, and the exodus to the North became greater because it was impossible for the masters to prevent it. In a few cases slaveholders brought in their blacks for enlistment and eagerly collected the bounty that was offered to volunteers. There was a growing feeling that it was better to use blacks to fill Kentucky's quota than to allow them to continue to cross the Ohio River and the Tennessee border to fill the quotas of other states. In every subdistrict partly because of the short time allotted but mostly because of the local opposition and resistance, the enrollment could not be completed according to schedule, and additional days had to be allowed. The delay restricted the enlistments that could be secured before the draft. 8

The Bramlette-Lincoln agreement finally broke down because most of the districts did not meet their quotas by sufficient white volunteers to make a draft unnecessary. On March 25, all nine districts in Kentucky were deficient, with a total deficit of 15,472 even after the number of Kentuckians who had entered the Confederate service had been subtracted from the quota for the state. An effective enrollment organization had plainly been lacking. Still, the unconditional Unionists argued that the effort to meet the Kentucky quota by recruiting only whites had failed for reasons unrelated to the arming of the slave and insisted that black enlistments were necessary. The draft came late in March, and a call was made for 9,186 men. Those who responded numbered 4,198; 4,993 failed to report. Some fled to Canada, others joined guerrilla bands, and still others, being forced to fight, sided with the Confederacy. 89
When the March draft failed, the army began recruiting blacks in Kentucky. General Burbridge issued General Orders No. 34 in conformity with War Department orders on April 18. The provost marshal of Kentucky and his subordinates were directed to receive and enlist as soldiers all able-bodied slaves and free blacks of lawful age who applied. Any unauthorized person found recruiting blacks within the borders of Kentucky was to be arrested. Loyal slaveholders were to receive certificates of ownership and were to be compensated. Now at last Kentucky's slaves had their chance. Large numbers from the counties in Central Kentucky came into the provost marshal's office and volunteered for service. In Boyle County the marshal opened his office for enlistment on a Saturday, and nearly a hundred joined. On Sunday almost twice as many were received. "Nearly everybody's black able-bodied men were gone or going," wrote a resident of the county. The Covington American reported that Negroes were arriving from the interior counties in swarms. About 200 were said to have come in three days. The draft quotas of many counties were reduced by these volunteers. The entire quota of Jessamine County was filled by black enlistments. In Madison County, one hundred signed up on a single June afternoon.

Outraged Kentuckians threatened the slaves and often apprehended them on their way to enlist, sometimes beating, maiming, and even murders them, according to judge advocate General Holt. Slaves who were rejected as physically unfit for service were in similar danger when they attempted to return to their homes. Between May 13 and July 1864, eight slaves were killed in Nelson County for attempting to volunteer. In Marion County, slaveholders caught two blacks attempting to enlist and cut off their left ears. Four owners whipped fifteen Negroes in Lebanon because they wanted to enlist. Nor were the provost marshals exempt from the violence. In Spencer County an agent was severely beaten and chased home. A Green County Marshal reported that the provost marshals were flogged when they merely spoke of enlisting slaves. When seventeen blacks left Green County to enlist, a mob of young men followed and whipped them. In Larue County a special agent was stripped, tied to a tree, and cowhided. In the course of the war seven provost marshals were slain in Kentucky either directly or indirectly as a result of the agitation. In May, Burbridge authorized the arrest of any person interfering with or discouraging voluntary enlistments, and early in June he ordered that blacks rejected for military service be given passes placing them under the protection of the army until they reached home.
The regulations relating to the enlistment of blacks were made more flexible to meet the needs of slaveholders willing to cooperate with the army. The slave could be enlisted by the owner without the slave’s consent, and the owner, if loyal, could pocket the bounty of $100 and could receive as much as $300 in the future if loyalty could be verified. The assistant provost marshall general of Kentucky announced that slaves would be accepted as substitutes for whites, and the provost marshal general later went so far as to permit whites and blacks to substitute for each other. The secretary of war authorized owners to induct into military service any slave found leaving a master and taking refuge in towns or camps.35

ftn 35 "After the passage of the Enrollment Act of July 4, 1864, slaves who volunteered on their own initiative, rather than their owners, were to receive the bounty." See U S Statutes at Large, (1866) vol 14, p 357.

The confusion of authority in Kentucky contributed to the difficulty of enforcing the measures for enlisting blacks. In 1863 General Thomas was placed in charge of Negro recruitment. When the enrollment got under way, he moved his office to Louisville and issued General Orders No. 20 on June 13, 1864. A camp of reception was established in each congressional district, and Gen. A. L. Chetlain was to supervise the organization of black troops in Kentucky from headquarters in Louisville. Chetlain's approach was to send a Negro company into a section with orders to bring in all able-bodied blacks, using force if necessary. By July 4, 1864, he had assembled a full regiment in Louisville, and two other regiments were more than half filled. His method raised a storm of protest from the citizens and congressmen of Kentucky. On one occasion a black regiment intending to march through the city of Louisville on the way to a picnic ground found its permit revoked. As recruitment proceeded, crops suffered, and a committee of citizens went to Washington in late July to protest a labor shortage that was, they claimed, destroying the tobacco industry.37

Sidell complained to Fry that Negro regiments engaged in recruiting were "introducing much trouble and confusion." The provost marshal system had been set up by the Conscription Act of March 1863 to administer the enlistment and draft under the law, but Sidell said that his work was complicated, and the resistance to black enlistments increased, by confusion resulting from the existence of three authorities supervising the draft of blacks in Kentucky.38

When General Burbridge had first been charged with responsibility for raising black troops in Kentucky, he had sent them to Louisville without delay, placing most of them in the early period of enlistment on garrison
duty so as to free white troops for active service. The general now complained to Thomas about the marauding by recruits under the command of Chetlain's officer. Burbridge argued that black enlistments conducted by him would create less hostility because he was a native Kentuckian and a large slaveholder and because the men he put in charge of black regiments were natives of Kentucky. The provost marshal general apparently agreed and reaffirmed Burbridge's authority in a communication to Thomas dated July 3. Thomas was asked to aid Burbridge in carrying out his plans, Chetlain was withdrawn from Kentucky, and Col. James S. Brisbin became superintendent of colored troops in Kentucky. Although three authorities in Kentucky had now been reduced to two, confusion continued to contribute to the difficulties involved in enlisting blacks in the state. 39

Regardless of the agency responsible for black recruitment, the regulations governing the age and fitness of conscripts were applied very loosely. It was assumed that the young slaves did not know exactly how old they were, and it was generally suggested in Kentucky that no one be taken who looked younger than sixteen (as noted above, the regulations provided for recruits between the ages of twenty and forty-five). If an older man seemed to be in good health, the upper age limit was not strictly observed. Thomas had suggested that men who were not considered sufficiently fit could be used by the engineers, quartermasters, and commissary departments and this practice was followed. Although blacks were not to be compelled to enlist, only force of the crudest sort drew censure. Sidell recommended that blacks unwilling to volunteer be brought to headquarters nevertheless and be ordered to mark or sign the form to indicate that they were volunteers. After all, slaves were accustomed to doing as they were told. 40
When the army had firmly established its power with respect to the recruitment of blacks, attention shifted to the tendency of many to enlist outside the state. As soon as the slaves learned that they could enlist without the consent of their masters, they came to headquarters in a steady stream. But they quickly realized that it was safer to cross the border and enlist elsewhere, and by July 5, more than 12,000 had done so. Other blacks left Kentucky to avoid being drafted. The largest number went to Tennessee, where the superintendent of black troops in June admitted having received 340 slaves from Southern Kentucky. Benjamin Bristow and others from Todd County urged the provost marshal of Tennessee to order all the Kentucky slaves camping around the post at Clarksville to be returned to their owners. Sidell estimated that there were 2,000 Kentucky blacks in Tennessee and 500 in and about Clarksville who had fled from Christian County, on the border between the two states. The commander of the Clarksville post claimed that there were 125 Kentucky slaves nearby, most of whom were unfit for military service. The issue became so bitter and controversial that Bramlette appointed an agent to take a census of the slaves who had enlisted outside the state. According to the provost marshal of Kentucky, proof existed that 594 slaves from Trigg, 210 from Todd, and 147 from Logan County had enlisted at Clarksville. Although these individuals had been enrolled in Kentucky, the records showed that they had enlisted in Tennessee, and the provost marshal general permitted Kentucky to take credit for them. The War Department echoed Sidell, requesting that a complete tabulation of slaves enlisting in Tennessee be made for all Kentucky counties.

On the northern border of Kentucky, Evansville and Cincinnati attracted fugitive slaves. Cincinnati offered a local bounty, and many whites as well as some blacks from Campbell and Kenton counties crossed the river to collect between $100 and $300. The provost marshal of Kentucky reported that Campbell County had not received credit for 542 men who had enlisted in other jurisdictions. The situation in Campbell and Kenton counties was made more difficult because they had very few blacks, and they, too, found it advisable to offer local bounties. Negroes began to rush from Central Kentucky. Eventually army officers from Northern Kentucky were authorized to recruit slaves in the larger slaveholding counties in the north and to enlist them in Campbell and Kenton counties. The non-slaveholding whites became entirely reconciled to the movement of Negroes to Covington to enlist; as more blacks enlisted, fewer whites would be needed.
In July 1864 a second draft called for 16,805 men from Kentucky, and fewer than 4,000 met their obligation by personal service, substitution, or payment of commutation money. It would obviously be necessary to fill the quota with blacks, and the resistance of slaveholders and proslavery men was expected to intensify. On July 5, 1864, Lincoln issued a proclamation establishing martial law in Kentucky. He asserted that combinations had been forming in the state for "the purpose of inciting the rebel forces to renew" their operations in Kentucky. Burbridge began making arrests which terminated the day after the November election with the apprehension of Wolford and Jacob, (Jacob had been making speeches advising armed resistance to the enlistment of blacks). By the end of July, Holt estimated that 10,000 black troops had enlisted for the July draft call. Slaves were coming in at the rate of about 100 per day despite the fact that they were often severely beaten when caught running away. Recruiting was particularly active in Henderson, where several hundred slaves were enlisted in August 1864. The adjutant general of Indiana had recruiting officers in Henderson and Owensboro, and Kentucky ultimately claimed 1,000 recruits in Evansville. Eventually the first flush of enthusiasm of the new recruiting drive began to fade away. Officers took blacks by force at a fair in Louisville and compelled the able-bodied to enlist. In some counties, including Shelby, public meetings were held by the citizens to build up support for filling the quota from black enlistments, and many counties did so. By the end of August, the editor of the National Unionist was sure that half the counties would ultimately take this course. Less than a month later, 14,000 blacks had enlisted in Kentucky. Lorenzo Thomas was sure their total number in Kentucky would reach 20,000.

On June 28, 1864, Lincoln had signed a law repealing the Fugitive Slave Law that had passed Congress after bitter opposition by Mallory, Davis, and Powell of Kentucky. The repeal accelerated the decline of slavery and removed an important check on kidnapping. Bounty scalpers became numerous in Kentucky. They induced blacks to enlist for a small sum and carried them to the Northwest, where they were sold as substitutes for a large profit. Some of the provost marshals also provided slaves for the nefarious work of the substitute brokers. To prevent brokers from the Northwest from operating in Kentucky, troops and gunboats had to be stationed along the Ohio.
The order permitting blacks to be substituted for whites made it possible for the provost marshals to operate independently as bounty scalpers among Kentuckians who desired to avoid the draft. To curb the substitute brokers coming from abroad, the Kentucky legislature made it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of $1,000 and one year of imprisonment, to remove a substitute from the state. No such penalty was imposed on operations within the state. Seventeen counties ultimately offered bounties for substitutes, and blacks became the most available source of supply. In September 1864, Gen. J. M. Schofield made an inspection of Kentucky and found instances of gross corruption in the administration of military affairs. "The provost marshal's department in Louisville and the military police of the District of Kentucky appeared to have been mainly engaged in trading Negro substitutes and extorting fines for violation of petty regulations," he reported.

Since all slaves who enlisted were made free, 25,000 gained their freedom in 1864, and their families as well were legally free. By the end of 1864, the army was well on its way toward making emancipation a reality in Kentucky."
The new aggressive program about which the governor complained was being conducted by Colonel Brisbin, who had been appointed by General Burbridge to be superintendent of colored troops in Kentucky. Brisbin was an antislavery man from Pennsylvania who kept closely in touch with the antislavery politicians. The colonel issued General Orders No. 6 early in 1865 to modify the provost marshal general's Orders No. 25 of July 25, 1864, which permitted owners to have their slaves who were fugitives drafted into military service without the blacks' consent. Brisbin's new order permitted his recruiting officers to arrest as vagrants and to enlist in military service all Negroes who had left their masters. The provost marshals were also asked to "encourage masters" to put their Negroes into the army and "to persuade" the blacks to enlist. In order to avoid conflict with General Orders No. 5, issued on August 3, which prohibited the use of force in recruiting slaves, Brisbin included a paragraph providing that "no officer will force, deceive, or inveigh any negro into the service of the United States."  

One of the most decisive blows delivered to slavery was the act freeing the families of black soldiers. The army had urged Congress to pass it as a measure necessary to strengthen the morale of the black soldiers and to encourage recruiting by allowing the army to furnish security for the black soldier's family. The army claimed that the proposed legislation would reduce absenteeism and desertions. The measure was approved by Congress, Lincoln signed it, and Stanton issued an order to the army to enforce it. On March 10, 1865, the commander in Kentucky issued General Orders No. 10, which informed state authorities that he would declare a marriage to exist when two blacks recognized each other as husband and wife. Writing from Camp Nelson, Kentucky, where he could observe the effects of the law, John Fee reported to the Louisville Press that General Orders No. 10 had "really lain the axe at the root of the tree." Fee agreed with the army commanders in Kentucky who believed that the new act would encourage voluntary enlistment by slaves who had formerly remained at home. Since the wives and children of slaves would be protected by law, Fee believed, the men would enlist in great numbers, and those who were already in the army would "fight with more zeal and devotion." It was estimated that two-thirds of the remaining slaves in Kentucky were granted freedom by the act. Some army officers did all they could to enlarge the number freed by encouraging black single females to marry a black soldier.
One of the first acts performed by Palmer after he became commander in Kentucky was to issue General Orders No. 7 on March 4 instructing the post commander of Louisville to suppress all slave pens and other private establishments for confining blacks. The able-bodied slaves who were released were invited to enlist in the army and were given the $300 city bounty that had previously been pocketed by their owners. Slaves in municipal and county jails not charged with a misdemeanor or felony were also ordered released. Palmer addressed a letter to the judge of the police court in Louisville on May 15 informing him that blacks were not to be confined without being charged with a crime, and he sent an officer to make an investigation of the jail. Similar action was taken in reference to the Louisville workhouse. Palmer required post commanders to report on the enforcement of the order, and by March 8 a report had been submitted to him announcing that the slave pens had been suppressed and the jails cleared of blacks not guilty of wrongdoing. Palmer next acted to deal with one of the most visible marks of servitude. He authorized commanders to arrest any master who was charged with whipping the wife of a black soldier. Near the end of March, the general made himself even more disagreeable by attending a Negro church and telling the congregation that they were free, that their masters were no longer obligated to take care of their families, and that they must provide for their own households.  

When the slave left the master’s service to take refuge in the city, the owner often advertised in the newspapers warning that anyone who hired his property would be prosecuted. Enough individuals were prosecuted to discourage farmers and entrepreneurs from hiring fugitives from service. The public also frowned on the hiring of slave labor without the consent of the owner. As a result most of the black refugees who gathered in the towns and cities were destitute and could not find employment. As early as April 9, the mayor of Louisville requested that Palmer rid the city of “vagrants (Negroes) who had left their masters.” On May 11 the mayor and a committee of the city council of Louisville complained to Palmer about the presence of large numbers of blacks in the city and again urged him to enforce the vagrancy law against them. Palmer observed that the state needed to adopt new laws which treated Negroes as free people; blacks should be allowed to migrate at their pleasure and to seek employment wherever it could be found. As matters stood, however, they congregated in Louisville but were forbidden to cross the Ohio River and to look for work in the Northwest. The state laws prohibited the captains of boats from transporting them. Vagrancy was voluntary idleness, Palmer explained, and the only crime of the refugees from slavery was poverty which came because even men seeking laborers dared not employ them.
Palmer ordered that rations be provided for the refugees in Louisville and issued General Orders No. 32 to the effect that passes should be given to blacks who wanted to leave the city to seek work elsewhere. Steamboats and railroads were required to transport anyone having a pass from an army commander and the required fare. The slaves believed that Palmer could free them. On May 25 and 26, nearly 400 passes were issued to slaves to travel abroad to seek employment, and from May 18 to June 6, 2,571 were issued in Louisville.

Agricultural stagnation was general throughout the state because of the upheaval and the shortage of labor. In the last year of the Civil War (1864–1865) tobacco crops dropped from 127 million pounds to 54 million; wheat from 8 million bushels to 3 million; hemp from 10 million pounds to 2 million; barley from 161,000 bushels to 137,000. But the harvest of corn, which was largely produced by white labor, increased from 39 million bushels to 58 million bushels.
Palmer believed that the events of July 4 practically ended slavery in Kentucky. Before the end of July, 5,000 blacks had crossed the Ohio River at Louisville. The general detailed six extra guards to patrol the streets of Louisville to protect the slaves in their new freedom of movement. 39

By General Orders No. 49, on July 20, Palmer extended his policy of issuing passes throughout the state so that all slaves who applied for them could seek employment. Under the extended order, large crowds gathered at army posts in Camp Nelson, Lexington, Bowling Green, and Munfordville to secure passes. A correspondent for the Colored Tennessean in Nashville reported that the post at Camp Nelson was “actually besieged” by applicants. During the first three weeks in June, 671 received passes in Louisville, and in September, 2,230 more did so. By the middle of October, it was reported that 10,000 had left Kentucky to go north of the Ohio River. 40

In the summer of 1865, instead of resolving pressing problems that blocked progress, Kentucky was fighting a battle in a war that had already been settled. Before confirmation of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, Maryland and Missouri had begun to abolish slavery, but Kentucky failed to move along the path that was being cleared in the border states. It was true that the problem was not as great in Maryland and Missouri, which had 87,189 and 114,931 slaves in 1860, respectively, while Kentucky’s slaves numbered 225,488. 8
By the end of 1863, large numbers of slaves in Kentucky were refusing to labor without wages. They were abandoning the fields in favor of the villages, county seats, and cities or were crossing the Ohio River to look for work in the North. A planter in Lexington recalled in 1865 that he had summoned his servants in 1863 and told them they were free. He offered them fifteen dollars per month if they would stay, and all remained with him. Peter Bruner, a black residing in Estill County, fled from his owner in 1862 and worked for wages only when employers agreed to pay him by the day. In 1863, he made an agreement to work a farm for half of what he produced. Some few farmers accepted the changing circumstances and paid the slaves. Two years of contract with the army had taught the Negroes much about the wage system. Even when the earnings of slaves hired to the army were paid to the owner, as in the case of railroads in Kentucky, incentive payments were made to the blacks. Those who were contraband were permitted to work for private employers under a system that was controlled by the army. On March 11, 1864, Gen. Lorenzo Thomas issued a set of contract rules for contrabands throughout the Military Division of the Mississippi that provided minimum monthly wages of ten dollars for men and seven dollars for women. Housing, clothing, and medical care were also furnished by the employer, but he could “make deductions from wages for sick time, indolence, insolence, disobedience of orders and crime.”
The farmers had greater success in retaining blacks who had not yet decided to leave. A great number of slaveholders in Kentucky decided to acknowledge that slavery no longer existed. They made contracts and thereby checked the departure of the laborers from their farms. By September 1865 many farmers had reported that the wage system was beneficial to both white and black. 5

Many antislavery men in Kentucky were convinced that any kind of wage system would ultimately reduce the blacks to a new form of servitude. They believed that the ownership of land afforded blacks their only hope for freedom. John Fee proposed that liberals in Ohio and elsewhere form a company to buy and sell land to blacks, by which means the freedmen might obtain economic security. With the help of other reformers, Fee organized an agency, purchased 130 acres of farmland in Central Kentucky, and resold it in small tracts. By 1891, there were forty-two free families who had established a farm village on the tract. 12 Although Fee's venture was significant and successful as a pilot experiment, it was not extensive enough to alter the economic position of blacks in Kentucky.
The Kentucky state legislature repealed the laws that were a part of the slave code of Kentucky and passed new ones validating contracts between white and black persons. The contracts had to be written and witnessed by a white person, and if either party violated the agreement, the other party would be considered to have fulfilled it. The law tended to work to the disadvantage of blacks because no provision was made to protect the weaker party. This was particularly true, since the legislation conferring civil rights on the blacks prohibited blacks from testifying against whites. The act stipulated that the contract could be drawn up so the parties could be held to it "as entire." This arrangement permitted the employer to withdraw from the agreement near the end of the season if the tenant committed a petty infraction, and in such cases the freedman forfeited all of his labor. A new vagrancy law was also adopted, making it illegal for blacks to loiter or ramble without having means of support. Finally, the legislature passed a bill making it a misdemeanor to persuade, attempt to persuade, or entice a Negro to desert the place of employment before the expiration of his contract for service. This act gave the employer, usually the former master, greater control over the freedman, because other farmers tended to avoid employing the tenant even though the former owner considered the contract forfeited.

The bureau did not begin full operations in Kentucky early enough to exert much influence in the negotiation of annual contracts in the rural areas for January 1866 except in the case of Western Kentucky, where it had been established in 1865 as a part of the District of West Tennessee. In the eastern half of the state, most farmers refused to make written contracts with the freedmen in 1866, and those who preferred to negotiate such agreements with laborers usually refused to hire blacks who insisted on registration with the bureau. The bureau district that included the north central counties of Harrison, Grant, and Pendleton was an exception to the general attitude in the eastern half of the state: more contracts were registered in the Harrison district than in most other counties despite the fact that the officers of Harrison County bitterly opposed the bureau. The freedmen sometimes hesitated to enter into contracts, particularly annual ones, because they feared being reduced to slavery. The bureau therefore negotiated many monthly agreements for freedmen in Kentucky even though the agents urged the blacks to sign annual contracts as the best insurance of full employment throughout the year.
The annual wages contracted by the freedmen in 1866 were generally less than fair, particularly in view of the critical labor shortage still existing in Kentucky. Most contracts called for a sum well below the hiring price that had obtained for slaves. The bureau in Kentucky made no attempt to require that the pay equal that which the slaveholders had received for labor hired out before and during the war, but the superintendent used his authority to raise rates in counties where contracts in 1866 provided monthly wages well below the average for the state. For example, in Carroll and Cumberland counties the average wage in April was only eight dollars and ten dollars per month for adult male field hands, while the average for the state was fifteen dollars per month for men. The superintendent ordered the Carroll and Cumberland agents to "obtain a higher rate" for the freedmen in future contracts negotiated in their districts. By the summer of 1866, most freedmen were gainfully employed for wages that averaged twenty-five dollars per month for adult male field hands in the tobacco region and twelve dollars in the rest of the farm belt of Kentucky. Some of the blacks, however, seem to have preferred a life "of vagrancy and idleness." Reports from all sections of the state led the superintendent to estimate that 95 percent of the freedmen were self-supporting. The able-bodied who had not entered into a contract were compelled by the bureau to go to work.

The greatest hindrance to a smooth transition from slave to free labor was the existence of bands of white men, often disguised, who preyed upon the blacks in the rural areas and drove them from their agrarian pursuits. These gangs, known as "Regulators" or Ku Klux Klan, often intimidated farmers or persuaded them not to hire blacks, particularly black soldiers who had recently returned from the war. Another difficulty was that many farmers still believed that force was needed to secure work from the freedmen and continued to whip, flog, and abuse the black workers as they had the slaves. The bureau investigated such mistreatment, issued warnings, and took strong measures against those found guilty. The agents were instructed to make every effort to have all freedmen contract through the bureau offices, especially as the time approached for negotiating the contracts for 1867. Blacks were not forced to use the service of the bureau, however. In some regions the whites still refused to allow negotiation by bureau agents and resorted to an instrument drawn up by themselves or by a lawyer. In some cases the farmer and freedmen relied on an oral agreement or understanding.
By 1867 the wage system for hiring agricultural laborers in Kentucky had superseded the sharecropper system. In 1866, in a limited number of cases, contracts had called for a mixed system whereby wages would be paid for the grain crops, which many farmers generally used for livestock, and a money crop, such as tobacco, would be produced on shares. Only in Madison and adjoining Garrard counties did the sharecropping system survive on a large scale in 1867. In these areas a great many freedmen received one-third of the crops for their labor. But even here sharecropping gave way to the wage system as the decade wore on. In Kentucky the widespread shortage of agricultural laborers enabled the freedmen to demand wages, which they generally preferred. The wage system tended to give black laborers a feeling of greater security in their freedom. For its part the bureau in Kentucky consistently discouraged sharecropping, believing that it was only used by irresponsible employers.29

The greatest threat to the economic security of the freedmen in 1867 came from an industrial recession in the eastern half of the state. During the war large numbers of slaves from western Virginia had settled in the northeastern part of Kentucky along the Big Sandy—the only region of the state that gained in black population during the war. The area's principal industry was the iron works, which closed down periodically after the war. In the autumn of 1867 the Sandy Valley furnaces stopped operation for the remainder of the year, and many blacks faced the winter without means. In the region of Lexington and Frankfort large numbers of freedmen were thrown out of work by the closing of the hemp and bagging factories. In Northern Kentucky, in the region of Covington, more blacks were unemployed than ever before. The low level of the Ohio River added to the numbers of the jobless.31

The situation became more critical as the recession reached its low level during the winter months. Prices had increased to such an extent that food, clothing, shoes, and fuel were beyond the means of most blacks. The congestion in the towns and villages had also reached a new high, and many who were unemployed were quartered with those who had some source of income. The overcrowding came about also because incorporated communities offered a freedom of movement and a social and fraternal life that
ECONOMIC DISTRESS AMONG BLACK WORKERS 1867

v howard, black liberation, 1983

were missing in the country. The towns offered the protection of numbers from the outrages of the Regulators and better opportunities for the education of black children.32

Early in 1868 the economic conditions improved considerably. The hemp and bagging factories resumed operation in Central Kentucky, and the iron works in the Eastern Kentucky piedmont fired up their furnaces. There had never been an oversupply of agricultural labor, although there was a seasonal decrease in the needs. By April 1868 large numbers of blacks had obtained employment in the country and left the towns.33

LEX BLACKS HELP PLACE UNEMPLOYED IN JOBS, 1869

v howard, black liberation, 1983

Not enough blacks left Lexington to satisfy the Negrophobes, however. Since Fayette County was the center of the Blue Grass region, which contained the largest concentration of Negroes during the antebellum period, Lexington became the chief center of concentration for rural blacks who left the soil in Central Kentucky. A census taken early in 1868 showed that Lexington's population numbered 10,745 blacks and 10,196 whites. In 1860 the U.S. census had listed the city's white population as 6,241 and the black population as 3,280. The Bureau of the Census reported the black population of Lexington for 1870 at 7,171, an increase of 218 percent since 1860. An extremely large number of the resident Negroes were unemployed. The Lexington Observer and Reporter carried on an intolerant campaign against the blacks, who were described at best as vagabonds and a grievous nuisance. Many citizens took up the cry, and the legislature was bombarded with demands that it pass laws to remedy the city's problems. In 1869 the Kentucky General Assembly gave Lexington jurisdiction over vagrancy within the town limits and authorized a penalty of six months at hard labor, with a double penalty for the second conviction. The law was drawn up in such general terms that it was a crime to be unemployed. Lexington's white population had increased by 22 percent since 1860, so that whites were also unemployed, but society was intolerant only of unemployed blacks. The leaders of the black community realized the seriousness of the repeated, stereotypical charge of vagrancy. To counteract it and to render a service for unemployed Negroes, black war veterans called a public meeting in Lexington. There the freedmen passed resolutions expressing their willingness to enter into labor contracts with the whites. The former soldiers set up a labor and employment agency which placed more than 3,000 Negroes in jobs during the first half of 1869. This office was said to have "sent a laborer into every cornfield and almost every occupation of trust in Kentucky."34
Many blacks became uneasy about the possibility that they might be at least partially replaced by Chinese. A Negro convention met in Louisville in July 1869 and advised “the young men and youth of our State” to “learn trades and engage in agricultural pursuits as a proper mode of supporting themselves and giving encouragement to mechanics and agriculture.” A meeting of blacks in 1870 in Frankfort expressed strong opposition to bringing Chinese into the state “for the purpose of supplanting us as a laboring class, and placing us in a false light before the world as unworthy.” They looked “with distrust upon all parties who would thus supplant us, when our labor and that of our ancestors have made them rich and opulent.”

The meeting adopted resolutions to “earnestly recommend to our people industry, economy and a faithful observance of contracts when correctly and strictly made.” The general alarm proved unfounded; no steps were ever taken in Kentucky to secure Chinese labor.

p 105/ "The legislature of 1871 responded by adopting measures that freed black laborers from terms of the contract law of 1866, which had left Negro tenants at the mercy of their employers. The same terms now applied to both white and black tenants. A law was also passed which, except in the case of schools, prohibited taxing black citizens at a higher rate than whites."
Before 1873, the blacks had suffered severe legal restrictions as they strove to improve their economic conditions. Some nevertheless succeeded, despite discrimination. By November 1867 taxable property in Kentucky owned by Negroes was valued at $976,956, which was taxed at the rate of $3.661. In November 1869 the value had increased to $2,016,784, an increase of $3,661 in one year. In 1869, for example, some black farmers in Kentucky owned as much as 112 acres of land. Others had thirty, forty, or fifty acres in Oldham County, and sixteen Negroes had become owners in Mayville by 1869.61

Unlike the prewar fugitive slaves, who usually fled alone, when the black refugee families escaped from servitude, if circumstances permitted, they often took with them property of the slaveholder to facilitate their existence as a free family—horses or mules or money or other valuables. More often the refugees took enough grain to supply rations for several days while they sought shelter.
The army was initially unprepared to help the fugitives. General Rosecrans continued Buel's policy of excluding contraband families and unemployable men from the military camps, and General Boyle did the same in Western Kentucky. Everywhere in the state, however, the soldiers followed the dictates of humanitarian conscience and pragmatism on many occasions instead of heeding general orders. As one soldier recalled: "They [slaves] could not be kept out, for they came in spite of orders . . . when they came our officers could no more find it in their hearts to drive the poor things away than a mother or father could drive children forth from their home into a driving storm."1

At Columbus, Kentucky, the commanding general issued an order in August 1862 which barred all women from the camp lines unless they were granted special permission. The purpose seemed to be the regulation of morals, but the primary consequence was hardship for the wives of many black employees. Because many male slaves had chosen to abandon their owners and to work for the army, their spouses were forced to seek refuge within the army lines.2 General Boyle's order banning slaves from the camps was extended by Gen. H.M. Judah, commander at Bowling Green, in March 1863. Judah not only excluded black males and females from the camps under his command but also prohibited them from residing nearby.3

The measures taken to enforce the regulations sometimes included whipping and other forms of violence, but in spite of such adversity the slave family persisted in maintaining its unity as it sought freedom.

As early as 1862, the army in Kentucky recognized that when the movements of soldiers unsettled the slaves, the refugees fled in family groups. Such groups also dominated the large refugee camps that sprang up spontaneously within the Union lines as blacks desperately sought food, shelter, clothing, and protection. The number of fugitives at Columbus and Paducah, Kentucky, and at Cairo, Illinois, became so large that the army was forced to view the refugee camps as inevitable in the war zone.
In 1863, when the Emancipation Proclamation was in effect, the army accepted primary responsibility for feeding and housing the destitute blacks. Even so, the comfort of the uprooted families was scarcely assured. Ration issues constituted the military's greatest charitable contribution. Laborers usually received a generous portion equivalent to that of a soldier, but refugees were given a reduced allotment. The blacks depended on the benevolence of the commissary department for adequate supplies of food, which was provided on an emergency basis and not as a permanent service. The missionaries and benevolent societies exerted their influence in Washington, but not until January 1864 did Secretary of War Stanton set up shelters for refugees in the vicinity of all army camps in the Federal occupational zones. Even thereafter the ration offered at the shelters continued to be significantly smaller than the soldier's.

Housing for refugees was usually improvised. Abandoned barns and stables near the army camp became makeshift facilities. The available tents were often those the soldiers had cast aside as worn out and were often so tattered that they provided little actual shelter. In time the camps acquired barracks which were built by the contraband themselves from lumber furnished by the army. The Freedmen's Aid Societies helped by donating supplies of clothing. Many of the fugitive slaves entered the Federal lines wearing rags. The army lacked legal authority to purchase clothes for contraband, so the refugees had to rely entirely on the benevolent societies. The adult males could be given uniforms discarded as worn out or taken from dead Federals or simply rejected by the quartermaster. The children often wore adult garments cut down to fit. Most of the apparel was furnished and distributed by the Western Freedman's Society.
The slaveholder often resented the enlistment of the male slaves and vented his anger on the wife and children. The black soldiers showed great concern for the welfare of their families, and the greatest obstacle to the recruiting of slaves soon became the lack of security for the soldiers' dependents. As blacks became more informed concerning the circumstances of the war, they more frequently asked recruiting officers what would become of their wives and children during their own military service. In November 1864 the colonel of the Seventy-second U.S. Colored Infantry at Covington reported that a large number of slaves had "offered to enlist," provided that "they had assurances" that their families would be freed by the government or at least protected by the army. The provost marshal of the first district (Paducah) in Kentucky informed his superior in Louisville, "Attend to their wives and families and they will immediately rush to arms." 

When distance prevented the black recruits from seeing their wives during a short furlough or from slipping away and returning without being missed, the soldiers persisted in their efforts to keep in touch by writing letters or, more commonly, since many could not write, by having letters written for them. Many of the noncommissioned officers could write and often helped the enlisted men in the evening. The demand for writers was so great that a fee was frequently charged for the service—until post commanders restricted the amount to the value of the material furnished. While the Twelfth U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery Regiment was stationed at Bowling Green, it was not an uncommon sight to see Sgt. Elijah P. Marrs, a black soldier, sitting at a desk "surrounded by a number of the men" of the regiment, "each waiting his turn to have a letter written home." At Camp Nelson in July 1864, soldiers crowded around John Fee in the evening seeking help with their writing. Other blacks took advantage of the willingness of the Sanitary Commission officers to compose letters for them while they were stationed at Camp Nelson. The Camp Nelson Sanitary Commission superintendent estimated that he and his staff wrote at least 5,000 letters for black soldiers in less than a year.
Speed Smith Fry, who replaced Clark as commander, also opposed the presence of the black families. He vigorously condemned the refugee shelters as places for "wholesale license . . . devoid of a sense of moral obligations." After consulting with his superiors, Fry continued to bar runaway women from camp. On June 20, 1864, Burbridge instructed Fry to establish quarters for the women and children so that they were not left to starve. When Fry inquired about a permanent policy, Burbridge referred the problem to Lorenzo Thomas and secured instructions that the post should "discourage as far as possible Negro women and children from coming into camp" but should provide for them when they came. The problem was also becoming more chronic and critical in other places where black troops were stationed in Kentucky. At the end of June 1864, the commander at Munfordville reported that women and children arrived daily with the black recruits, and he asked General Burbridge for instructions. In September the same question came from the colonel of the Thirty-ninth Infantry, commanding at Louisa, on the Virginia border.

On July 7, the day after Thomas issued his order to remove the women and children from the camp in Kentucky, Col. H. W. Barry, commander of Fort Anderson, Paducah, reported to Gen. A. L. Chetlain, who was in charge of the recruitment of black troops in Western Kentucky, that a large number of women and children belonging to the soldiers of the Eighth Regiment, U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery, had gathered in the vicinity of the fort. Since he could not issue rations to them, there was much suffering. He asked for instructions. "If any relief can be afforded them, I respectfully ask it may be done," he added. Colonel Barry was told to send the slaves home, but he refused to do so, maintaining that Order No. 24 conflicted with the articles of war prohibiting the rendition of fugitive slaves. Thomas instructed the colonel's commander to explain Order No. 24, and thereafter, if the colonel still persisted in his course, to arrest him for trial by a court-martial for disobedience. Barry refused to yield and was arrested, but the slaves eventually won when the War Department decided late in July that the dependents at the fort in Paducah were not to be dispersed but should be dealt with as were all other fugitives in the Department of West Tennessee. Barry was subsequently released and restored to his command.
Hall constructed a permanent refugee camp which was set apart from the soldiers' quarters. The quartermaster's department furnished the material, and the soldiers built barracklike structures intended to house several families. The buildings were not ideal, but John Fee agreed that at least they offered women greater protection at night than a tent would. Fee from the beginning had urged the army to shelter the families. To his consternation, however, an epidemic broke out and quickly spread among the children. Although 250 to 400 refugees who had been expelled in November returned, 102 eventually died in the dormitory. Fee insisted that cottages would be better, since they would promote health as well as morals, and he was later able to secure approval to have units built for the families who had children.

DEC 1864 ORDER TO SHELTER BLACK TROOPS' FAMILIES

On December 15, 1864, Lorenzo Thomas issued Order No. 29, which required that the families of black soldiers be promptly sheltered in all camps in Kentucky. The order explained that without proper care of dependents, slaves would not enlist. Thomas made Burbridge responsible for seeing that the humane intentions of the federal government respecting the blacks were executed. Burbridge was ordered to have suitable buildings erected at Camp Nelson and at all other points in Kentucky where black recruits were received, and he authorized the Quartermaster Department at Camp Nelson to furnish transportation so that A. Scofield, an AMA agent, could go to Syracuse to obtain clothing. Since the instructions from the surgeon general prohibited the issuance of medical supplies to refugees, Burbridge secured authority directly from the War Department to supply destitute families of black soldiers with medicine.

By the end of December 1864 the new policy was in full effect, and Adjutant General Thomas admitted that there could be no other solution to the refugee problem.
"The fugitive slaves who gathered at other posts in Kentucky where Negro soldiers were stationed never received the protection and security they received at Camp Nelson. In some places black soldiers' wives and children were suffering for the necessities of life as late as September 1865,..."

The act freeing the families of Negro soldiers brought about the hoped-for increase in black recruits. In some cases female slaves encouraged their husbands to enlist in order to secure freedom for their children. On March 9, 1865, a Louisville family reported fairly typical circumstances: "On Thursday last, Eliza, our cook, prevailed on old Jesse to enlist and she is free and has left us. Kizzy's husband was drafted and she is free and has left us—so you see with cook and wash-woman both gone we are in a fix." Few other families may be supposed to have accepted the situation with such grace."
Clinton B. Fisk had already drawn up Circular No. 5 on February 26, 1866, in accordance with the law of the Kentucky legislature, to regulate marriage of the freed people in the state. The bureau's policy in Kentucky was to refer freedmen to the county court for the marriage license. If the county court clerk refused to issue a license and certificate, the superintendent of the bureau in the district was authorized to do so and to solemnize the marriage. The superintendent was ordered to summon freed people who were living together so that they might take the necessary steps to become legally married. All persons who refused to comply were to be held guilty of a misdemeanor and were to be punished by a fine and imprisonment.  

When Jeff C. Davis replaced Fisk as the assistant commissioner of Kentucky, he supplemented the marriage regulations of the bureau in Kentucky by adding Special Orders No. 23, issued on June 26, 1866, which established procedures. Many agents reported on the status of marriage of the freedmen and submitted to county authorities a list of those who were living together in violation of bureau regulations. In counties where the authorities disregarded the status of the freed people's marriage, the agents licensed ministers and issued marriage licenses and certificates. This was the circumstance in McCracken County, where the clerk of the county court initially refused to issue marriage licenses to freedmen. But in July 1866 the county judge of McCracken County took on the responsibility and the superintendent of the bureau ceased to be active in this work. In other places when the agents referred the matter of marriage licenses and licensing ministers to the county court clerk, that officer assumed the entire responsibility, and the bureau agent limited his activity to furnishing the freedmen with information.

Among the newly freed Negroes each party to the marital union was usually satisfied with one partner. Adultery was seldom reported, although the superintendent in charge of the Maysville district observed that "the 'taking up system' is practiced by a very large majority of them." He recommended that the parties be arrested, brought before an agent, and compelled to take out certificates of marriage. The civil authorities of Mason County did not concern themselves with the marriage of blacks. In many districts freedmen who refused to secure a certificate of marriage because they would be compelled to live with the woman all the time were arrested and were made to choose between securing a certificate or being charged with adultery. In some districts freedmen were said to have seduced black women with the promise of marriage. When the women gave birth to children, the bureau disposed of the cases "in the same manner as they would be by county judges in similar cases where both parties" were white.

Both parties were not always black. In many cases which came before the bureau courts, black women brought paternity charges against white men. The charges against the men were hardly ever denied, and they were always settled by a small payment sufficient only to support the woman during her confinement. In at least one interracial case, an infant of mixed parentage about eight months old was left on the doorstep of a black family. Investigation revealed that the white mother had fled to parts unknown, and the
bureau paid an elderly black woman to keep the child until the matter was settled. The bureau insisted that the black father support the child, but he resisted on the grounds that "the woman made him do the devilment." It is also recorded that the agent in Montgomery county persistently complained about casual cohabitation of blacks in his district, although he agreed that stable marriages in the black community were much more prevalent than during the slave days. The agent in Montgomery may not have been a disinterested witness, since serious charges were made against him of lacking devotion to his work among the freedmen.

The Court of Appeals of Kentucky gave a very liberal and just interpretation to the marriage law of February 1866 and decisively modified the harshness of the decisions of the lower courts. Its opinion of December 14, 1866, limited the rights which a spouse in a customary marriage might claim. In one case, a slave claimed that a woman had been his wife by cohabitation; they had been recognized as a couple for more than fifteen years, until the woman’s death in April 1866. The court held that since the two had not married as prescribed by the act of 1866, their union was not legally valid, and therefore the man’s claim to be the dead woman’s administrator was superseded by that of her brother. The court also held that following the adoption of the Revised Statutes, there could be no such thing as legal marriage by cohabitation and recognition alone; marriages not solemnized by contracts in the presence of an authorized person or society were void.

The court took a humane position in cases involving children of slaves whose marriage had not been legalized by securing a certificate according to the law of 1866, ruling that children of such a union did not suffer a loss of inheritance. In 1868 the court of appeals ruled that if both parties were slaves at the time of birth, there could be no case for bastardy. In 1874 the appellate court held that children were legitimate under a customary slave marriage even though the parents were not living together as man and wife at the time of the passage of the act of February 14, 1866.

In the counties where the local authorities were not willing to legalize slave marriages and the bureau took charge of certifying them, the local authorities refused to recognize the bureau’s action. In addition, some Negro preachers who received licenses from the bureau were not recognized by the state. In 1868, the court of appeals considered a case in which a black man had obtained regular marriage licenses under two different names, had married two women, and had lived with each for a short time. The defendant claimed the marriages were not legal because the first minister to solemnize his marriage had had no license, while the second minister had had only a license from the bureau, which was not recognized by the state. The court of appeals held that if the marriage ceremony was "pronounced by a person professing to have authority," and such was fully believed to be the case by either party, the marriage was consummated and was valid. By this action the court of appeals legitimatized all that the bureau had done to secure freedmen legal marriages during its existence in the state. Concerning marriage rights and the rights of Negro children to inherit property, the interpretations of the court of appeals were completely free of any prejudice against the Negro, and the court went a long way toward rectifying the injustices of the lower courts.
A different set of problems related to custody. During the last year of the war, after the army had begun to recruit and draft slaves, some slave mothers left their children with slaveholders and followed husbands to military establishments. They returned later after the act of March 1865 to claim their offspring. In some cases children and parents were owned by different masters. In many cases the slaveholders resisted efforts of the parents to claim children who had been freed by the military service of the father. There was so much resistance to giving up custody of members of black soldiers' families that a post commander at Lebanon warned that troops would have to be deployed to force masters to acknowledge the freedom of soldiers' dependents. The persistence of black parents in demanding custody of their children despite strong resistance is convincing evidence of the cohesiveness of the slave family in Kentucky and of its determination to secure total freedom. Since the father of a slave child was often viewed as having performed only a biological function, and as lacking paternal identity with the slave family, it is noteworthy that fathers of slave children in Kentucky made at least twice as many charges as mothers against whites who would not release slave children freed by the father's military service.

When the father died in service and the mother was dead or had been sold out of the state, grandparents complained to the Freedmen's Bureau about the refusal of the white families to surrender the grandchildren to their nearest relatives. Grandparents often pressed a claim even when they had had no close contact with the grandchild. Occasionally the complaints were filed several years after the war, probably after a long search had been made to locate relatives. Many former slaves from Kentucky traveled long distances for weeks and months searching for members of their family who had been separated by sale or by the wartime upheaval. At eighty-four years of age, Will Oats recalled that after the war had ended, his aged grandmother had walked from Monticello in Wayne County to Camp Nelson to obtain the papers freeing her children, grandchildren, and herself. Late in 1865, before the Freedmen's Bureau was established, General Brisbin ordered slaveholders not only to surrender custody of children freed by the act of March 1865 but also to pay children retained in slavery wages from March 3 to the date of delivery to their parents. Brisbin brought slaveholders who refused into court and forced them to pay. The black parents, however, were interested more in the first provision than in the second.
Parents who filed complaints to secure custody often claimed that they were able to support the children and sometimes urgently pressed the case because they wanted to send the children to school. Education had become a matter of fresh concern. Before the bureau was in full operation in Kentucky, the state legislature passed a new apprenticeship law which required that white apprentices, but not black, be taught to read and write. When the bureau turned its attention to the matter, the commissioner issued an order that his agency would recognize state apprenticeship laws only if the laws made no distinction between the races. The assistant commissioner of the bureau in Kentucky further instructed agents not to recognize any indentures which did not make provisions to teach the apprentice to read and write or did not secure the consent of the parents or proper guardian.

The apprenticeship law of Kentucky required that preference be given to former slaveholders by the county courts in granting apprentice indentures. Some masters used the law and their influence to force the apprentices into a form of slavery in disguise. Most judges of the county courts sympathized with and supported the former slaveholders under the authority of the Apprenticeship Act of February 16, 1866. There were even cases in which the apprenticed black was hired out for wages that were claimed by the master.

Black parents not surprisingly viewed the apprentice indenture with distrust. Since most county courts did not consult them, many freedmen petitioned the bureau to break the indenture and restore their children to them. If there was evidence that the parent had been under duress at the time that consent was given to bind the child to an indenture under a white master, the bureau returned the child to the parent. After wage disputes under labor contracts, complaints involving apprenticeships were the most numerous type of case brought before the bureau courts.

In areas where the county courts flagrantly disregarded the bureau's requirements that the master take the responsibility for educating black apprentices and that the parent's consent be secured before an apprentice indenture was valid, the assistant commissioner of Kentucky had the agents investigate every apprenticeship. The superintendent of the Maysville district of the bureau, which included fourteen counties in northeast Kentucky, had at least one county agent investigate all of the apprenticeships that were processed by the county court. The parties were then required to come into the bureau office and to agree to a new indenture providing that the apprentice "be taught to read, write and cipher." In January 1867 the assistant commissioner of Kentucky directed the agent of Warren County to investigate and report to the assistant commissioner's office "all cases where children" had been "apprenticed without the consent of their parents or guardians." Following such wholesale investigations hundreds of children were released from apprentice indenture. The bureau apprenticed the child of a black parent to a master over the parent's objections if the bureau court found that the parent was not morally fit to have custody of the child or that extreme poverty rendered the parent incapable of providing support. In January 1867 a black mother went before the Bourbon County Court and asked for a writ of habeas corpus to restore her child to her on the ground that the apprenticeship by the bureau restrained the child's liberty. The Bourbon court ruled in favor of the parent on the grounds that the bureau had no legal existence in Kentucky.
other decisions to the same effect were handed down by the Harrison County Court. The Harrison cases involved instances in which the bureau had canceled an apprenticeship because the consent of the parent had not been secured. Like the Bourbon court, the Harrison County Court had ruled against the black parents on the ground that the bureau was unconstitutional in Kentucky.\(^76\)

The assistant commissioner was determined that these decisions would not stand as binding even if it was necessary to use U.S. troops to enforce the authority of the bureau.\(^77\) In preparation to challenging the decision of the state judges in federal court, he consulted the wishes of each child's nearest blood relative. If neither parent was living, the relative might be a grandparent, a brother, an uncle, or a stepfather. Many individuals with such kinship ties petitioned the bureau for custody of black children because the county courts had refused to consider blood relatives at the time when the orphan was apprenticed. When apprentices fled from their masters, they almost always sought and joined a relative if their father and mother had not survived. In one such case, the bureau officers of Bowling Green took under consideration a freedman's petition for custody of his twelve-year-old sister, who had been bound to their former master until she was twenty years old.

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John Fee's account of a Fourth of July celebration in 1865 at the refugee home in Camp Nelson suggests the blacks' patriotism as well as the depth of their family ties. On the morning of the Fourth, while the soldiers were detained for a grand review, the women, who had been free for fewer than six months, set up tables and brought out bread, meat, and pies that they had been preparing. After the military review had been dismissed, the soldiers, women, and children quietly assembled before the speaker's platform at the call of the chairman. A soldier was called on to offer up a prayer, and the schoolchildren entertained the audience singing songs. A noncommissioned officer read the Declaration of Independence, and a sergeant and another black soldier addressed the assembly. Not a single white participated in the program. The short addresses were followed by martial music, after which the audience marched in good order to the picnic tables, found places in family groups, and waited quietly for grace to be returned. "Not a drunken man was seen among all the thousands. . . . Not a single row, nor a single arrest of a single individual" was seen. Fee was sure that an equal number of whites anywhere in Kentucky would show less orderly conduct. The ease with which black men and women made the transition from slavery to freedom, when not prevented by forces beyond their control, demonstrates how well prepared they already were.\(^79\)
360: Affidavit of a Discharged Kentucky Black Soldier

Louisville, Ky. Jan. 2nd 1867

Abraham Riley (Colored) being duly sworn says, I live at Lagrange Oldham County Ky. Two weeks ago I was discharged from the Army and returned to Lagrange where I lived previous to going into the Army. Three men named, James Fitzgerald, William Wells, and William Hite (white) met me and asked me what I came back there for, saying that no "Damned Blue Coat Nigger should live there, that either I or they must leave the place, and gave me three hours to get out of town. They said that none of Abe Lincoln's free niggers could stay there and that I must go into a free state. They said that they would burn my house and drive my family away. I have not left Lagrange, but am afraid that these men will come and drive me off.

Abraham X Riley


367: Petition of Kentucky Former Black Soldiers to the U.S. Congress

[Kentucky. July 1867]

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, respectfully present this our petition, to humbly ask your Honorable Assembly to grant us the right of Suffrage.

Your petitioners beg leave to say that they are residents of the State of Kentucky, by whose laws they are denied 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 frequently murdered in cold blood by white citizens, and as we have not the right to testify against them, the criminals go unpunished.

They further beg to say that they are now and always have been loyal to the United States, and this unquestioned Loyalty subjects them to the malevolence of the friends of the "Lost Cause." It is objected by the opponents of Republicanism that we Negroes are too ignorant 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 considered a bar to the ballot in their case. It is believed that men vote their political convictions, not their intellectual acquirements. We are poor, but not paupers. In addition to all other tax, we pay tax on the following property, much of which has been acquired since freedom came to us: Fayette County, $91,800; Bourbon, $17,275; Boyle, $35,450; Jessamine, $8,500; Franklin, $53,730; and so in proportion through the entire State.

It is feared by friends and boastfully claimed by opponents, that if enfranchised, the negro would vote against the party that saved the Government. It is answered that many of your petitioners were Soldiers, they think they fought on the right side; they see no reason to change sides and vote against the Liberty for which they fought. It is believed by your petitioners that their enfranchisement will arrest the cruel spirit of robbery, arson and murder in Kentucky, as it most evidently has done in more Southern States.

Hoping that this our humble petition may be kindly received, and our prayer granted, we will ever pray, &c.

William Major et al. to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives, [July 1867], HR.40A-H.10.3. Committee on the Judiciary. Petitions & Memorials, ser. 506, 40th Cong., RG 233 [D-10]. The printed form contains columns in which each signer listed his county of residence and his former regiment and company.

1 Unlike the states that had seceded and joined the Confederacy, Kentucky escaped inclusion in the Reconstruction Acts of March 1867, which, among other things, conferred the suffrage on black men. As a result, black men could not vote in Kentucky until ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870.
350: Affidavit of the Mother of a Deceased Kentucky Black Soldier

Mary Fields (colored) being duly sworn, states that she is the mother of Frank Walker (deceased) late Private Co "F" 28 U.S.C. Troops, and that she sold her claim for arrears of Pay and Bounty due her son Frank Walker, to J. H. H. Woodward Claim Agent at Louisville Ky. in January 1867, for the sum of one Hundred and fifty (150) Dollars, and that it was her understanding that if when the claim was allowed by the 2nd Auditor of the Treasury, it amounted to more than the sume above mentioned, She was to have all over that amount, except such amount as Mr Woodward was by law entitled to receive as fees for collecting the same, and that neither Mr Woodward or his Clerk explained to her that she would not receive any more than one hundred and fifty (150) dollars, if more than that sum was allowed by the 2nd Auditor. She further states that she has been informed that her certificate was No 282,428 and for $359 10/100, and that Mr Woodward has been paid the same.

She further states that neither Mr Woodward or his clerk explained to her that she was selling her claim, and she was not aware of the contents of the paper she had signed, until a short time after the transaction had been conducted, when she was informed by Mr A. A. Burkholder claim agent, that she had sold all interest in said claim.

She further states that she has been married to her present husband about ten (10) years, but that he is not the father of Frank Walker, who was the son of her first husband.

Mary X. Fields

Affidavit of Mary Fields, 30 July 1867, F-248 1867, Letters Received, ser. 1068, KY Asst. Comr., RG 105 [A-4352]. Sworn before a Freedmen's Bureau officer. The 28th USCI was organized in Indiana. Mary Fields's son was from Kentucky but crossed the Ohio River to enlist in Jeffersonville, Indiana, on March 28, 1864, before black recruitment was permitted in his home state. (Service record of Frank Walker, 28th USCI, Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations: Civil War, ser. 519, RG 94.)
Sir. I have the honor this morning to address a few lines to you.

Concerning the condition of our Families of Kentucky, a humble Good and faithful Soldier. The few remarks I wish to say is this, the condition of our Families at home sum of them are Suffering for wanting of help and needing of retention... and reason Why I wish to inform of this, is because that. I know that my own Family is Liven in old Kentucky under just as much Slave as the was when I left her or before the war broke out... and great man of other Men's Families is Liven the Same Life... Now Mr President and Ceterry. When we in Listed in this great and Noble cause, we did not hastperate the least. But we came out like Men and Stud with in the lead. with Vengengs against the amny in-ten-cely [intending] to gather to ful-fi our Duties and to obey all orders that was agreeable to Milllerry or to the regulation of the United States en it not for victory so we did intended to wanded in Blood upto our chins... Now Mr President and Ceterry. we all can Say this much and we do not Say it just for a Prise nor for a large Name here after. for every word that is Spoken in this Letter is true. the 116. U.S. Col's Regiment She has done her duty, and I thinks cording to the regerations that is given by the House of Congress of War we has ben Prompest to all Duties in the local or on Picket duties or Girson or fertig or any other duties that may be Put before us, and I dont think the quarters is Shorn to us that is intended for us. it is very true thire has ben furlowes cashder [f0008], but a Mighty few of them. What has ben cashder thay was cashder to the Men that the Officers Like the best. and the good and duble [dastful?] Soldier had to Stand Back. thire is a great Parshalage Shored in among the Men out here. thire was a few furlowes cashder to 116 US Col Inf about 17th of this. month and I dont think it was don justis. [for] thire was only two men a lad out of a Company of the 116. Regiment. U.S. Col Inf, and we has not any way to send our Money home... the men that gos home they lives in adfrent part of the State, and thire is no Purson that we could trust for we has sent large amounts of Money to our famulays, and they has not got it... and I barns that thire is a Numbers of our famulays has ben turned out of Doors, and they has no Place to lay thire heads and we has no way to help them... Now Mr President and Ceterry I think that a duble Regiment as we has ben and has Prove it to the World, and then to have no more quarters Shorn to us than what has ben I dont.
It is true that all soldiers should obey all orders with the 116th Regiment. U.S. Col Inf. has done ever since we have been in the field. Only one thing I suppose you know all about it that happen at any point of Va., but you know how that is. Where there is a hundred sheeps there must be a black one. But this is what I mean. We have stood like men for man, in the time of action in the field of Va. and never has fallen nor Dreded the time up to this Present moment. M' President and Gouvernor, allow a moment to think what a condition we Kentucky, came out upon the condition that we left our families, yes. But the way was opening that is very true, that we poor nation of a colored race might come out in our native state to attend for our sells and the next generation to come. See how gladly we come, and left our States our Wives and homes and children in such a way that they may do the best they can and to take care of thire sells. ye. what kind of text is it to. Now the old servent he has no property he has no money he has no house to put them in to. What is they to do now then there is turn out of house and home. I would like to know how would they go about taking care of thire sells and children, when this poor old soldier had nothing to leave with them. No house

to put them in to. the old servent has spent the best of his days in slavery, then must these poor cutchens be suffered to lie out of doors like beasts or sum brute. I says no. if our governor is for us a poor unhappy soldier which has stood with in rights and sholder, to sholder Marching boldly in the field, and then suffer his soldiers families and parents to suffer with such punishment is that I thinks not. Now M' President and Gouvernor, you need not to think that we hold you all asponerful [responsible], for such treatment for we do not. We belive the governor is just, and if our local officers and company Commanders would use the laws a corden to the law of the regerlations that is gaven to them by the House of Congress, why we dont think that such treatment would be don and - M' President, is it Law-ful for a company officers to detail men soldiers, out of thire companys to wait upon them as a servent, and boot-blind or a cook and keep them. I dont think thare is any such law is there. in the regerlations and then at the same time gave them the power to punish them at the full extent as if a General comt marshal might punishment a soldier when he has done a great crime. Now M' President and Gouvernor I hope that there is no harm in doing this I shall close I remain your true believer and well wisher

G. E. Stanford  
W. P. Southwith  
M' Mear  
John Dannius  
Mc Feallins  
William Berry
Capt. G. E. Stanford et al. to Mr. President and the Ceterry of War, 30 May 1866, P-163, RG 59, Letters Received, ser. 369, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B-272]. All six signatures appear to be in the same handwriting as the petition. The military ranks of the signers are given as a captain, two sergeants, two corporals, and a private. However, the register of officers who served with volunteer regiments lists no captain named Stanford as having served with the 116th USCI. (Official Army Register, pt. 8, p. 237.) On July 5, 1866, four soldiers of the regiment addressed another petition to the President. Although employing similar—indeed, at points nearly identical—language, none of the signers of the July petition was the same as the above, with the possible exception of a "Sargent McNear." (See Freedom, ser. 2, doc. 333.)

1 In May 1865, at City Point, Virginia, two black sergeants of Company "I," 116th USCI, led a group of men in refusing to serve any longer under their captain because he customarily punished the men by tying them up by the thumbs. The two sergeants were convicted of mutiny and executed. (Proceedings of the general court-martial in the cases of Sergeant Doctor Moore and 1st Sergeant William Kease, 18-19 May 1865, MM-2494, Court-Martial Case Files, ser. 15, RG 153 [H-571].)
KY BLACKS PROTEST CONDITIONS OF FAMILIES 1866: LOSS OF BOUNTY

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families—now these poor nation of colour have spent the best part of his days in slavery—now then what must we do—must we turn out to steal or get a start—we left our wives and Children no place for them to lay their heads—we left them not counted on equal footing as the white people—they where looked on like dogs and we left them with a willing mind to execute our duty in the army of the United States war to gather and to make us a nation of people—cither in this generation or the next to come—now Mr President i wish you to assure this letter and let us know we are to do as this Regiment is labouring under a great mistake until you let us know what we are to do and you will relieve our mind a great deal and we will remain your affectionate Brother Soldier. Direct to

Test Sergeant W. White
1. Do Mr Mead
2. Do Taylor

Sergeant Wm. White et al. to Dear President, 1 July 1866, P. 199 1866, Letters Received, ser. 366, Colored Troops Division, RG 112 [R. 2221]. Encl. 5. A letter to the President, 11 July 1866, from the Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen's Bureau for the District of Kentucky, for the Headquarters of the Kentucky and Tennessee Freedmen's Bureau Assistant Commissioner, addressed to the President of the United States. The letter requests that certain measures be taken to ensure the safety of freedmen and their families. The President is asked to provide assistance and protection to the freedmen in Kentucky and Tennessee. The letter also asks for additional troops to be sent to the area to provide support to the freedmen.

POST C W VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACKS: NEED F B 1866

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331: Freedmen's Bureau Chief Superintendent for the District of Kentucky to the Headquarters of the Kentucky and Tennessee Freedmen's Bureau Assistant Commissioner

Louisville Ky April 9th 1866.

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 Maj. Genl Palmer Comdy, Depart 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 under command of a commissioned officer, were posted at Maysville & Covington.

The presence of these troops caused a marked change for the
better in the sentiments of the people toward the Bureau, and gave
good confidence to the many good men (white people) who accept the
present condition of affairs, and are willing when assured of
protection, by the United States authorities, to aid by their
influence and action, in the just and proper administration of the
laws of the U.S. establishing this Bureau. These troops are also
employed to protect the colored people in many of the counties of
that sub Dist. particularly in Scott Owen Harrison Nicholas Bath,
Montgomery, Estell and Madison, from the flagitious 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
rebels soldiers of the lowest grade of white humanity, working at
no respectable employment, the graduates of the corner groceries
and grog dens of their regions.

The outrages committed by these people have been numerous;
many of them have resulted in death, a special report of which was
furnished to the Assistant Commissioner, by his special Agent
Peter Bonestrel Esq. Since the rendition of that report and before I
moved my Head Quarters to this place, two murders, one of which
was a colored soldier, who had been discharged from the 11th
U.S.C.I. have been reported from Montgomery County, by the
Superintendent H. C. Howard at Mt. Sterling who states that the

good people of the County, are rendering him valuable assistance
to procure the arrest of the murderers, and that the civil
authorities have recently signified their willingness to co-operate.

The Freedmen are in the main well employed, at fair wages,
throughout that sub Dist. and were it not for the terrorism incited
by the lawless bands heretofore mentioned there would be no
difficulty in finding good homes and competent employment for
every freedman in that section. As yet however, many of the well
disposed white people who reside at places remote from the
stations where troops are posted are afraid to employ black men,
particularly those recently mustered out of the U.S. Military
service for fear of injury to their persons or property, by the self
styled regulators.

(Signed) John Ely.
Company Officer in a Kentucky Black Regiment to the Headquaters of the Regiment

Battery Rodgers, Va. - November 15th 1865

Sir: I have the honor to make the following statement, relating to Serg't Tho' M'Dougal of Co. "F", 107th U.S.C.I. who received a Furlough of thirty days on the 1st of October 1865, to visit his family in Ky.; and would respectfully request that it be forwarded to the proper authorities in order that justice may be done in his case.

After reaching Louisville Ky. Serg't M'Dougal got an order from Gen'l Palmer, - in charge of the Freedman's Bureau of Kentucky, - to move his family to Louisville. - His wife is living with her old master Hillary Johnson, Judge of the county of Laru K'y, and living in the town of Hodgenville. He is an old rebel and one of some note in that County. "Serg't M'Dougal was arrested by Johnson soon after reaching Hodgenville, his order taken from him and he lodged in the County jail, where he has been confined since October 24th 1865, on account of trying to free his family from bondage.

The above is a true statement of the case as it has reached me.

Serg't M'Dougal is a superior Non-com, Officer and his services are much needed in this Company. I am sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

F. B. Clark

[Endorsement] 107th U.S.C. Inf'y Fort Garorov V. Nov 21 1865 Respectfully forwarded. Quite a number of instances have occurred where men of this Regiment have been incarcerated in prison upon the most frivolous pretences. The Regiment was organized in Kentucky and when the men return home to provide for their families they are often shamefully treated by their former masters. Especially is such the case in the interior districts of the state, where the disloyal element strongly preponderates, and where it is impossible for colored soldiers to obtain justice from magistrates who despise the Federal uniform particularly so when worn by their former slaves. I would respectfully request that some action be taken to have Serg't M'Dougal released, so that he can return to his regt as soon as practicable.


[Endorsement] H'd Qrs Dept of Ky. Louisville Nov 30 1865 Respectfully returned to Col C W Foster AAG with the remark that the case of Sergeant M'Dougal illustrates in an eminent degree the peculiar ideas of loyalty honesty, and justice which animates certain of the judicial officers of Kentucky. The facts as I have ascertained them are substantially as follows. M'Dougal went to the house of Johnson who is county Judge of Larue County Ky and formerly owned M'Dougals wife and demanded her. Johnson refused to give her up without my order which was promptly given. He then removed his family from Johnsons house and in doing so inadvertently took with them the clothes of some other colored child of the value of 75 cts as I
am advised When these clothes were demanded of him he said "There they are take them" I knew nothing about them supposed they belonged to my children" which I am assured by respectable people is true. Judge Johnson however had him arrested for larceny brought before himself and committed him to jail in default of bail" (The Judge it is reported takes the astute distinction that though the act of Congress may free the wives and children of soldiers "it does not divest the owner of the title to the clothes they wear") I at once took steps to investigate the case found the facts as before stated with the additional fact that a loyal man had become M'Dougals bail and the court just at hand As the soldier was in civil custody upon colorable process authorized for a scandalous purpose in a rascally way I determined to wait the action of the Court trusting that justice would be done. The court met on last Monday The result of its action will be promptly reported.

I may add that the colored soldiers who return to this state are persecuted and outraged in many ways. John M Palmer Maj Genl Comdt.

Capt. E. B. Clark to Lieut. E. T. Lamberton, 15 Nov. 1865 C-771 1865 Letters Received, ser. 300. Colored Troops Division, RG 94 B-2271. Other endorsements. In January 1866 General Palmer, commander of the Department of Kentucky, reported that the grand jury of Larue County had failed to indict Sergeant McDougal, who was then living with his family in Hodgenville. (Major General John M. Palmer to Col. C. W. Foster, 26 Jan. 1866, vol. 2 DKy, Letters Sent, ser. 2164, Dept. of KY, RG 494, Pt. 1 C-41441)

AFFIDAVIT OF KY SOLDIER'S WIFE 1866

Catherine Riley living. That she has ever been faithful in marriage relations. And that the said Norman Riley afterwards and while he was so married to this affiant as aforesaid to wit in the year 1865 at the City of Nashville in the State of Tennessee he the said Norman Riley feloniously & unlawfully did marry & take to wife one other colored woman whose name is unknown to this affiant this affiant his former wife being then & now living, against the power & dignity of the State & contrary to the forms of the Statute in such case made & provided—Wherefore affiant prays that he be arrested & dealt with according to law.

Catherine X Riley mark

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[In the margin, in another hand] This man works at Roaring Springs Ky. This is such a flagrant case that it is desirable to send this to Gen Fisk— Will Dr Cobb please swear this woman & send this to Gen Fisk.

5th day of May 1866

Affiant further says that she presented the above affidavit to Dr Cobb Bureau Agent of the freedman here who refused to swear her to it. She further says that the above affidavit is true & she prays that Gen Fisk will help her. She says that Dr Cobb told her that if her husband when arrested should swear that the children were not all his, it would send this affiant to State Prison.

Catherine X Riley

[Endorsement] Bureau R P and A Lands Office Supt for Montgomery County Tennessee Clarksville May 24th 1866 Respectfully Returned with the following statements. That sometime in April last the colored woman in question (Catharine Riley) made to me substantially the statements contained in the paper herin enclosed marked A. But knowing that some of Catharine's children were bright mulattoes, and some quite black, I could not see how she could sustain these statements.
AFFIDAVIT OF KY SOLDIER'S WIFE 1866

PROBLEMS OF FAMILIES, 1865

On the 9th ult I gave Catherine Riley, the wife of a soldier, an order to James Riley of Logan Co Ky, for her child which the said Riley still claimed as his slave. She got the child & started on her return to this place & when about three miles from said Rileys, he overtook her, & did unlawfully beat her with a club, & left her senseless on the ground after which he returned home with the child. Catherine Riley reported to me the following day, and substantiated the above facts by competent witnesses & at the time was all (covered with blood) could scarcely talk & was barely able to stand alone. The above facts have also been told to me by a neighbor of the said James Riley -- I sent a guard for him but he could not be found, as he had gone from home & taken the said child with him, as he remarked, to a neighbor, to "put the child out of the reach of the d---d Yankees" Not long since this same man Riley shot a negro soldier, & ran away from home to prevent his being arrested.
Letters between a Kentucky Black Soldier and His Wife

Nashville Tenn Aug 12th 1865

Dear wife

I Received your letter that was written on the 8th to day and was glad to hear that you was well and that the children was well also. I am well as to health and well Satisfy all to Seeing you and as I can't tell when I can come to see you my wishes is for you to come and See me. I am in arnis a bout you coming and that as Soon as possiable it is no use to Say any thing a bout any money for if you come up here which I [hope] you will it will be all right as to the money matters. I want to See you and the Children very bad and my love for you and the Children is as great to day as it ever was. I can get a house at any time I will Say the word So you need not to fear as to that. So come wright on just as Soon as you get this. I also wish you to get George to give you Some money to bare your expences here. and if you cant get off you must write to me a gain and I will try and Send you Some money. I want you to tell me the name of the baby that was born Since I left that is if you can't come up here. and I want you to bring my son George with you for I want him. and if it Suits you you can leave your daughter Elizabeth there with George. I am your affectionate Husband untill Death

Write Soon

Nashville Tenn Aug 12th 1865

Norman Riley
Dear and affectionate Wife. I Seat myself to write you a few lines to let you know that I am well hoping that these lines may find you the same. Dear wife I would like you to come down if you possible can I wrote to you some time ago to come and you did not come and I dont know the reason for I have not got any letter from you to hear how you was nor to know cause of you not coming. I cant tell when I shall get out of service and I want to see you very bad and if you [hear] to see me you will have to come and see me and I would like for you to come for I think that you can make a great deal more here then you can. and you George I think very hard of you for not coming and Seeing me for you know that I cant come and See you and therefore you ought to come and See me and if you dont feel like coming down here I want [you] to come and bring my family and you can go back if you choose.

Now if you cant come I want you to write me an answer to this as soon as you receive it. I have nothing more at present but I remain your Most affectionate Husband Untill Death.

Dorret your letter as headed above in care of Capt. F. P. meigs

Norman Riley

Write soon yes I have got a house all Ready for you and if cant come I Shall rent it out a gain in the course of ten days so good by

Mrs.

Clarksville Ten. Aug. 28. 1865

Dear husband. It is with pleasure that I Seat myself for the purpose of writing you a few lines. acknowledge the receipt of your letter which came to hand in Dew time. it finding [wa] very well as I trust this may find you. I am sorry to inform you that your brother George is very badly Wounded. he went out after my things and Jessie Boyd also. Jessie went with him. he was also shot, but not so bad as Geo. and George wants that you should come down to see him if you possible can. so do I thinks that if you cannot come now you need not to come at all for he is very badly wounded. I guess you would like to know the reason why that I did not come when you wrote for and that is because that I had not the money and could not get it. and if you will send me the money or come after me I will come they sent out Soldiers from here after old Riley, and they have got him in jail in Boling Green K Y. and one of his Sons. Kerneanous I think was wounding by the Colored Soldiers. and they have his brother Elias here in jail. dear husband if you are coming after me I want you to come before it get too cold, that I cant Travel. I dont want you to Rent that house out. for if there is a better chance to make a living there. then what there is here. I want to get up there.

George was badly Shot through the back. the shot still remains
Mr Dear Wife:  I again the pleasure of writing to you To let you know that I am in the enjoyment of Good health.  I would like to know the reason why you did not answer my last two letters.  I am very anxious to hear from you, and particularly to know if you are coming Here.  if you are coming I would like for you to come immediately, as there is a man here about, to buy a house and he has no person to go into it to take care of the things.  also let me know if George has got well or not I am very anxious to hear from him.  I want you to write to me inside of an hour after you receive this and let me know what you are going to do.  I will now conclude hoping to hear from you soon.  I remain your affectionate & loving Husband

Norman Riley

Nashville Tennessee Sept 22nd 1865

in him and Jessie boyd was shot through the thigh. I seen Uncle Moses Riley Sunday and he told me to give you his best respect, and tell you that he was well and doing very well.  dear hush I havenot yet my things from home yet but I shell as soon I can.  having nothing more to Write. I shell close hoping to hear from you soon.  I Remain as ever your affectionate and Loving Wife

Catherine Riley

Norman Riley to Dear wife, 12 Aug., 26 Aug., and 22 Sept. 1865, filed with R-105, 1866, Registered Letters Received, ser. 5579, TN Asst. Comr., RG 105 [A-6171], endorsements; Catherine Riley to Norman Riley, 28 Aug. 1865, M-80 1865, Registered Letters Received, ser. 5579, TN Asst. Comr., RG 105 [A-6171]. Norman Riley apparently took his wife's letter describing the shooting of his brother George and another man to his company officer, who forwarded it to the Tennessee and Kentucky Freedmen's Bureau assistant commissioner, asking bureau action against the former master if the civil authorities should fail to prosecute. (Endorsement by Capt. F. P. Mengs, 4 Sept. 1865.)
Dear Husband

I set my self down to write you a few lines to let you know that Mr. Reed troke to me and my three children to live with him to live and R. L. Moor and Mr. Frank Coward come hear to day and beat me nearly to death  he says that he will kill any man that will take me in to a house to live with him  Pharoah this is roast by Sarah M Reed  i want you to hand this to your captain Stranger  i want to know of all you that is a friend to the cullard people that you have got that husband in survice i want you to come to greens burg and treat old Coward just like he did Pharoah wife to day  and he said that if i said one word that he would scarce me the same way  he knocked hear down and old dick more hell hear and Coward beat hear nearly to death  he took the older girl with him home and he said to me that before she should live with me he would killer de[ad] and all of the Reeds that was on top of earth in less than one week  i would eap you wife but R L moore says that he will kill every woman that he knows that has got a husband in the army  he said that i was no better than a negro rage and i think that i am just as good as he is  i never treated nothing as he did Pharoah wife to day  i want you to come to greens burg and let me see you and tell you all about it  i think we will have to leve hear on the acount off the rebels that is hear for if a man ever leaves his

wife and children at home by that selves they are abusd by some one of tham  you must do some thing for Mr. Frank coward in return to his treatment to day to Pharoah wife  i never was so abused in my life by no man  my husband is not at home to day  i have two children in the union army and we have two children that was killed in the union army and i think that ought to have some peace at home when my husband leaves me at home  do pray do come to our relief at home  nothing more but this  your wife

jane coward

jane coward to Dear Husband, [6] July 1865, Letters Received, 125th USCI, Regimental Books & Papers USCT, RG 94 (G-175). Endorsement. Coward's husband was Private Pharoah Marshall of the 125th USCI.

1 At this point in the letter the voice changes from that of Jane Coward, wife of the black soldier Pharoah, to that of Sarah Reed. The latter, who penned the letter, was evidently the wife of the Mr. Reed who had taken in Jane Coward and her three children.
PROBLEMS OF RETURNING SOLDIERS, FAMILIES 1865

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503: Indiana Black Recruiter to the Secretary of War

New Albany, Ind. April 1st 1865

Sir, H. G. Moses: take my pen in hand to inform you of the hardships and troubles of Colored Soldiers' Wives here. It makes my heart bleed to see how they are treated. Some are starving. Some are robbed out of all their poor husbands leave for them. These persons are the so-called Contrabands. They have made their way to this place and no men with them or the greater part of them, the most of them have come from Kentucky. We, the Colored people of this place do all we can to help these poor people and I thought by applying to you that we would be a great deal better off if such conduct could by any means be prevented if one Colored Man had Military Orders to see after such persons this would be stopped, such as Kidnapping and carrying Soldiers' Wives and Children back into Kentucky and going into their houses stealing what they have and because the Colored Women have not got a White Witness they can do anything they can stand and look at their own property but can't get it because they have no White Witness or Military Man to speak in their favor. As fast as Contrabands come they will take him and put him in jail and tell him he can't get out unless he goes as a Substitute and sell him for one thousand dollars and give him one hundred or one hundred and fifty, then tell them they will give him two hundred dollars until he is Mustered in and then pay him what they please. He may have a Wife and Children then they will say to him give me your Money and I will give it to your

PROBLEMS OF RETURNING SOLDIERS, FAMILIES JULY 1865

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Family or I will give you fifty dollars and carry the balance to your family but not a dollar will the Family get and so they go. I can tell you (see how hard it is) I know you will put a stop to this if you will give me orders I will go any length for such poor people. I was licensed by J. H. Allen, to recruit for the 9th and 10th Regiments of Colored Volunteers. I will send you my license and you can see what I have been doing. You will please to return them to me again, and if your (Honour) will send me such papers I will be pleased to serve for the Benefit of the Colored population of this place. If ever the poor Colored people wanted a Benefactor it is here. Your humble servant

H. G. Moses

H. G. Moses to Secretary Stanton, 1 Apr. 1865, M 248 1865, Letters Received, ser. 366, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B 170]. An enclosure from New York City, on stationery printed "Headquarters Connecticut," authorizes Moses to recruit black soldiers. (Win. H. Craig to H. G. Moses, 9 June 1864.)
in this prostrate and helpless condition he continued to whip me endeavoring at one time to tie my hands and at another time to make an indecent exposure of my person before those present. I resisted as much as I could and to some extent thwarted his malignant designs. In consequence of this whipping suffered much pain in my head and sides. The scar now visible on my neck was inflicted at that time. After such treatment I determined to leave my master and early on the following morning—Thursday March 9th 1865—stealthly started for Lexington about seven miles distant where my sister resided. On my arrival there I was confined on account of sickness produced by the abuse I had received from my masters son as aforementioned.

During Friday March 10th 1865 I sought a lodging for myself and children—Towards evening I found one and about 7 o'clock at night I left for my masters intending to take my children away. About 9. O'clock I arrived there much fatigued, went to the Cabin where my children were, no one but the colored folks knowing that I was present got my children with the exception of one that was too sick to move, and about 10 o'clock P.M. started for a neighboring Cabin where we remained during the night. At day break next morning I started for Lexington. My youngest child was in my arms, the other walked by my side. When on the Pike about a mile from home I was accosted by Thopolus Bracys my masters son-in-law who told me that if I did not go back with him he would shoot me. He drew a pistol on me as he mad this threat. I could offer no resistance as he constantly kept the pistol pointed at me. I returned with him to his (Bracys) house carrying my children as before. I remained at Bracys all
My sick child was moved there during the day. I tried to find some chance of running away but Bracey was watching me. He took my eldest child (about seven years of age) and kept her as a hostage. I found I could not get away from Bracey's with my children, and determined to get away myself hoping by this means to obtain possession of them afterwards. I knew Bracey would not give me my children or allow me to go away myself so at daybreak on the following morning Sunday March 12th I secretly left Bracey's, took to the woods in order to elude pursuit, reached Lexington and subsequently arrived at Camp Nelson. My children are still held by Bracey. I am anxious to have them but I am afraid to go near them knowing that Bracey would not let me have them and fearing least he would carry out his threat to shoot me. And further the deponent saith not.

(Signed) Frances X Johnson

[Enclosure]  

Dear husband,

I receive your letter dated December the 7, 64 which gave me much pleasure to hear that you are alive and well. I trust that I and mother and the children are all well having that these few lines may still find you well still. I am at home and far as well as usual. I shall content myself and wait for the time to come as you thought you could not get a furlough. I must state that there is another one was born since you left but I suppose you heard of it. If you have not I will tell you her name is Ellis as they call him can run half as fast as you can and fat as ever. Your sisters are all well. John's mother states that she wish that John would write and if he won't write when you write again send all the particulars about him whether he is living or dead.

N.B. you stated in your letter that you sent me too letters and your picture but I never received either.

So I must conclude my short letter by saying that I send my love to you all and keep the best part for your self, so no more till death.

Yours,

Lucethia

[Enclosure]  

Union, Ky. January 10, 1865

When your letter came to hand it was red and answer and when I went to put it in the office there was another at hand equal as insolent as the other so I concluded to send you a few lines upon my own responsibility and, not to write any more with our

you will have some respect for me if you don't they will not be red or answered. My darkes has too much Sense to be bold in such a way. She has been a great many woman and children have left and returned back again one instant in my neighborhood. Henry Corben's molly you nod her dan had encry'd her and six children over in Cincinnati out on Walnut Hill and there she and three children starved to death. The oldest that could travel came home and got his master to bring them home to keep them from starvation and too of the youngest had ate flesh of their fingers. N.B. Lucethia don't belong to you I only gave her to you for wife during good behaviour and you have violated your pledge. My darkes always tells me when they want to love me. They will tell me they say that if they ar to be deliberated they want it done honorab-le.

This letter was wrote the 22 of December but taken it back to answer you my self I neglected to put it in the office till now this being the 10 of January 1865. But my darkes is as well now as when you was hear now they are waited on when you was hear they had you to wait on so no more in

[Jerry Smith]
Col: I have the honor to submit the following statement relative to my Regiment as regards pay. The enlisted men have not been paid since Oct 31, 1864 now nearly 10 months. A very large number of the men have families now residing in Paducah Ky. dependent upon them for support.

The soldiers having formerly been slaves and recruited at a time when the sentiment in Kentucky was bitterly opposed to the arming of colored troops their women and children were driven from their homes and followed their husbands to the recruiting depot at Paducah Ky. and therewith became dependent upon the wages of the husband and the soldier to supply them with the necessaries of life; and to my own knowledge they are constantly writing to them to send them money and having no means to satisfy their demands it has a tendency to discourage the soldier.

I am confident that if these men can be paid they will not only be much more cheerful and happy but will also prosecute the work of building the Military Rail Road upon which they are now engaged with much more vigor and energy.

I would therefore most respectfully and earnestly request in

behalf of these men, that you use your influence towards having them paid. I have the honor to be Colonel Very respectfully Your Obed Servant

H W Barry

Col. H W. Barry to Brevet Col. W. H. Greenwood, 12 Aug. 1865, Letters Sent, 8th USCHA, Regimental Books & Papers USCT, RG 94 [G-26]. Colonel Barry commanded the 8th USCHA, recruited in the Paducah, Kentucky, area. In late September 1865, Barry reported that his men had still not been paid. The approach of "the indolent season of the year" prompted him to reproach the paymaster: "shall the soldiers of my Regt have to submit to hear the pleadings of their wives and Children without being able to give them anything, to keep them from freezing & starving."

(For more information see Col. H W. Barry to Chief Paymaster Military Division of the Gulf, 23 Sept. 1865, Letters Sent, 8th USCHA, Regimental Books & Papers USCT, RG 94 [G-26].)
Harriet Ann Bridwell colored being sworn says that some eight years since she married Harrison Smith.

That they were married according to the usages and customs among slaves. That by him she had two children one of which is dead and the other now over seven years of age and the one in controversy between Minta Smith and herself. That after her husband Harrison Smith enlisted in the army she could not keep up and support herself and her child and she under these circumstances was induced to accept the offers of protection made by James Bridwell sometimes called Downes and she is now living with and keeping his house as his wife although they have not been married by license obtained from the proper authority.

She further says she is willing to Deliver the child to his Father and does not want others to have him before the Father comes home. She says that she asked Minta Smith more than once for the child and Minta would answer her that she (meaning me) was not able to take care of the child and to let her [keep] him until the Father came home.

Her
Harriet Ann x Bridwell
mark


The Father now serving in the Army asks that the child be kept for him by claimant, so as not to be ruined by its Mother's shame. Under the circumstances I recommend that the child be delivered to claimant until its Father's return, before its ruin is complete. In the absence of C. H. Frederick 1st Lt. 45th Inf. Supt. Louisville Sub Dist Ky A. Benson Brown 1st Lt. 43rd Inf. Asst. Supt.


[Endorsement] Child in question turned over to Minta Smith 8th April 67 Brown

Affidavit of Harriet Ann Bridwell, 3 Apr. 1867, filed with #169 1867, Letters Received, ser. 1208, Louisville KY Supt., RG 105 [A-4509]. Sworn before a Freedmen's Bureau officer.
Fort Bliss, Texas March 9, 1867

My dear sister, I write you this letter to let you know I am well. Mintey I ask of you in this letter to go and take my boy from my will as she is not doing. Write by him take him and keep him until I come home. If she is not willing to give him up to the freedminded bureau [Freedom's Bureau] and shoe this letter it is my request for you to have him - I do not want her to have my child with another man - she is not living to raise the children. I feel for my child because I now have aged mother. I would like for my child to be raised well. Take good care of him. I will be home next fall if I live. Asholder stand a bad chance but if God spares me, I will be home. I have nothing more to say but I still remain your true brother.

Harrison Smith

Harrison Smith to my dear sister, 9 Mar. 1867, filed with #169 1867. Letters Received, ser. 1208, Louisville KY, RG 103 [A-1599].

Louisville, Ky. April 3, 1867

Minta Smith colored being sworn says that she is married to a man named Alexander Smith and lives in the city of Louisville. That her husband's brother Harrison Smith enlisted in the Army some time in March or first of April 1865. That Harrison Smith had one child a boy now about seven years old. That same time about the first of December 1864 she asked the mother's permission to take the child to her house for a while, and she agreed to it.

That a short time afterwards the mother was taken down with the small pox and by the authorities was sent to the Pest house and was there about one month. That after getting from the Pest house she (the mother) frequently came to the house of this affiant to see her and to see the child and once during the first of this year she asked that the boy be returned to her. This affiant said to her she was not able to take care of the boy and as the Father had several times expressed the wish that the boy should remain with her she hoped that it would be done. That during the last high water the houses in the neighborhood where they were living were all overflowed and the most of the tenants had to remove to other houses and during the time of removal from the overflow the mother again got possession of the boy and will not let her the affiant have him again.
That about ten months since the mother of the boy commenced living with a man by the name of James Downs colored and that for the last four months they have kept house and lived together as man and wife without being married.

"That Harrison Smith sent his wife the mother of the boy money at different times until he heard that she had taken up with and was living with the man Downs and that soon after he heard that he wrote to this affiant to take his boy and take care of him until he the Father came home. This last letter is dated at Fort Bliss Texas March 9/67 and is herewith filed.

HIS

Minta X Smith
mark

Affidavit of Minta Smith, 5 Apr. 1867, #169 1867, Letters Received, ser. 1208. Louisville KY Supt., RG 105 [A-1509]. Sworn before a Freedmen's Bureau officer.

Sarah Fields, a Kentucky Black Soldier's Wife, the Soldier, and a Witness

[Louisville, Ky.] 6th day of July 1866

Sarah Fields (colored) being first sworn says that she was married to Jackson Fields (a colored man) about three weeks before Christmas in the year (as she supposes) 1864 that she had one child by him in the regular time of nine months to first August 1864 that eleven months after the child was born her husband enlisted in the army. During all the time named they slept together without missing but very few nights. That the child spoken of above died in a short time after Jackson enlisted. That she now has another child by him which is about one year old. That she has known no other man since they married. That she has resided in Woodford County ever since and learning that her husband after his discharge was living in Louisville Ky. and she came down and on yesterday found him living with another woman to whom he says he has been legally married. She went to his house (situated in the suburbs of the city known as Limerick) and he would not recognize her as his wife and did not recognize the fact of his being the father of the
child she alleges to be his and took hold of her and showed her off
his lot into the street. That her husband enlisted in the month of
October in the army
her
Sarah X Fields
mark

[Louisville, Ky.] 6th day of July 1866

Jackson Fields (colored) being sworn states that he enlisted in the army in September 1864 and that he was discharged in April 1865. He says he did live with Sarah Fields as his wife before going in the army and that he has not seen her since until yesterday. That after he was discharged from the army he concluded to remain in Louisville. That he wrote one letter to Sarah while he was in the army and that he got other soldiers who were writing home to their friends to say to her as his wife that he was well. He states that Susan Taylor a cousin of Sarah came to the camp at Munfordsville to see her husband and told him that his wife was acting badly and was living with another man named John who then belonged to M' Baford of Woodford County. That after being in Louisville after his discharge he saw another woman and asked her to marry him to which she consented and he applied to the County Court Clerk

of Jefferson County Ky and procured a License and they were
married and are now living together
his
Jackson X Fields
mark

[Louisville, Ky.] 7th day of July 1866

Susan Taylor (Colored) being first sworn says that she has been acquainted for many years with Sarah Fields and Jackson Fields. That she witnessed their marriage in the usual manner of slaves marrying between three or four years since that he continued to live with her as his wife until he enlisted in the army. That she never heard any reports that Sarah was unfaithful to Jackson during the time he was with her, that since he enlisted she has heard it said that Sarah was unfaithful but she cannot say anything of her own knowledge. She never witnessed any wrong conduct on Sarah's. That when she visited her husband while his regiment was at Munfordsville she saw Jackson who was in the same regiment and he asked her concerning the conduct of his wife...
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and she answered that she had heard that she was not doing right, but she had not seen any wrong conduct herself.

Susan X Taylor

Affidavits of Sarah Fields, 6 July 1866, Jackson Field, 6 July 1866, and Susan Taylor, 7 July 1866, Letters Received, ser. 1208, Louisville KY Supt., RG 105 [A-4486]. Endorsements. Sworn before the Freedmen's Bureau superintendent for the Louisville subdistrict. On July 7, 1866, the superintendent gave judgment that Jackson Field pay $50 to the plaintiff Sarah Field "to assist in supporting her child of which he is the father." (Entry 26, 7 July 1866, vol. 152, p. 117, Register of Complaints, ser. 1216, Louisville KY Supt., RG 105 [A-4486]). Not satisfied with that decision, Sarah Fields on the same day entered a complaint at the Office of the Assistant Commissioner of the Kentucky Freedmen's Bureau, also in Louisville, swearing that her husband had deserted her and married another woman, "and that she wants to get her husband back to help her make a living for herself and two children." The Assistant Commissioner's Office referred the new affidavit to the Louisville bureau agent, who reported that he had already decided the case; the assistant commissioner then confirmed the earlier decision. (Statement of Sarah Fields, 7 July 1866, #68 1866, Letters Received, ser. 1208, Louisville KY Supt., RG 105 [A-4486], and endorsements.)

BLACK SOLDIERS AT C N 1865

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261: Chaplain of a Kentucky Black Regiment to the Adjutant General of the Army

Camp Nelson, Ky. Nov. 31, 1865

Dear Sir: I have the honor of making and forwarding to you my 1st Monthly Report.

The 110th was organized in Kentucky, and about half the men are freedmen of Ky. There are perhaps 400 men in the Regt. from other States, Tennessee, N. & S. Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia are all represented. So far as I am acquainted more than half the men have families. Since my connection with the Regt. it has so often been much scattered, that I had not opportunity of sending more than three companies, which were stationed at Jeffersonville, Ind. During the month of November I wrote 150 letters for the Soldiers to their families, and friends, preached on all seasons occasions, distributed all the reading matter that could be made use of, and spent an average two hours each day in teaching the men to read & write. School books are furnished by Freedmen's Aid Com. and sold at prices which will cover cost. It is thought better to teach the men to spend a part of their money judiciously in buying books &c. than to give the books to them. Nearly all the Freedmen are eager to learn to read and write. Many of the 110 have already learned to read, without any instructor, quite a number are advanced to the 3d and 4th Readers, 6M Gothic.
The discipline of the Army seems necessary in training them to correct habits. The question appears to be "will it not be cheaper to keep the Freedmen in the Army, than to turn them loose without either experience of education." There certainly is an intention, on the part of a numerous class in Ky to do all they can to harass and oppress the Freedman and his family. If discharged from the service, many of them would go to their old homes, and masters, and would be virtually under a worse system of servitude than that from which they have just emerged. If taught to read and write, and he have the benefit of experience and discipline, when he is discharged, will take his family and go where he can be an independent man. The standard of morals is above what I conceived it to be. Perhaps 1/5 of the Regt. are members of some evangelical church, and there are to be found examples of sound piety. So far as I am able to judge all the officers are practically and sentimentally moral. I am sorry to report that several of the Officers occasionally indulge in uncalled for profanity. Several Officers are exemplary professors of the Christian faith.

Officers of the Regt. have afforded me every facility for the discharge of my duty, and appear ready at all times to Co-operate with the Chaplain.

There are officers in the 119th, who in the estimation of Military Men, are worthy of promotion. All the Officers, so far as known to me, are on intimate terms with each other. I know of no clashings or jealousies. All of which make the chaplaincy of the 119th a pleasant position. I am Sir, Most respectfully Your ob's.

Servant

J. R. Reasoner

Chaplain of a Kentucky Black Regiment to the
Adjutant General of the Army

Brownsville Texas, Sept. 14, 1865.

General, I have the honor to send you another monthly report. To do so is not only an incumbent duty, but also a peculiar privilege of which I shall always with profound pleasure avail myself. In a periodical production which has special though not exclusive reference to the moral condition of men much variety cannot be reasonably expected, but it shall be our endeavor to render it as attractive and as interesting as we possibly can. There has been as you are by this time doubtless aware during the last month an unusual amount of sickness in Camp and as a legitimate consequence much suffering has been experienced and many deaths have occurred among the men of this Regiment. The most prevalent disease with which these Soldiers were affected was [Scurvus] which for a while assumed an epidemic and alarming character threatening to render unfit for duty a large portion of this excellent Regiment. Disease suffering and mortality have been among us to an extent without precedent in our military history and by these afflictive dispensation of Divine Providence we have been taught a solemn and instructive lesson, which all would do well to remember, and which some [I am] persuaded will not soon forget. By the use of appropriate remedies especially the Aspirin, the health of the Regiment has for some weeks exceedingly improved, some of the most obstinate cases have yielded to judicious medical treatment and many who recently seemed the hopeless victims of ineradicable maladies are now getting better and by the Goodness of God will soon be well again.

There is an indistinct and universal desire among these men for books, especially those of an elementary character. Books of this sort cannot here be procured, the desire of these Freedmen cannot be gratified, and we are consequently obliged to use to the best advantage the few facilities now within our power. Many of these Colored men possess minds of the very highest order, and were they placed in circumstances favorable to mental Culture and intellectual development they would exhibit such talents such aptness to acquire useful knowledge make such proficiency in the arts and sciences as would forever confound their implacable enemies, and gladden the hearts of their genuine friends.

Nearly all the men of my Regiment can spell and read with more or less accuracy, many can write with considerable mechanical excellence and carry on an epistolary correspondence with their friends at home. This valuable attainment is not only a
gratification to me but by it I am also relieved from an amount of labor in the form of letter writing which when I became Chaplain of this Regiment was almost intolerable oppressive. Though these men have improved as much perhaps as could be expected since their chains were broken and since they entered the Army of the United States, are still as a general thing lamentable ignorant, their literary and theological attainments are narrow superficial, and often preposterously absurd and it will take a consider time under the most auspicious circumstance before they can intelligently discharge the duties which devolve on all American Citizens. The moral condition of this Regiment still continues comparatively Good. The means of grace are regularly dispensed and are generally attended by a large congregation of attentive and devout worshippers. My whole time is devoted to the mental the moral culture the temporal and eternal welfare of these men, and my prayers to God daily are that with all other favors recently and I may so say wonderfully conferred, they may possess moreover the glorious liberty of the sons of God. For sobriety attention to orders, the diligent and conscientious performance of duty for good discipline military and religious attainments this Reg. will favorable compare if not altogether excell any other now in the celebrated Army of the Rio Grande.

This Regiment is now commanded by Colonel Thomas L. Sedgwick an accomplished and excellent Officer who is ever willing to render me prompt, and effectual aid in the discharge of my manifold and arduous duties. To his cordial and generous cooperation I am greatly indebted for whatever success has attended my labors among both officers and men. I have the honor to remain your obedient servant

Thomas Stevenson

Chaplain Thomas Stevenson to Brig. Gen. L. Thomas, 11 Sept. 1865, S-2274 1865, Letters Received, ser. 12, RG 94 [K-545]. Endorsement. Stevenson served with the 114th USCI.
Nashville Tenn. October 8th, 1865

Sir: I have the honor to call your attention to the necessity of having a school for the benefit of our regiment. We have never had an institution of that sort and we stand deeply in need of instruction, the majority of us having been slaves. We wish to have some benefit of education to make of ourselves capable of business in the future. We have established a literary association which flourished previous to our march to Nashville. We wish to become a people capable of self-support as we are capable of being soldiers. My home is in Kentucky. Where prejudice reigns like the Mountain Oak, and I do lack that cultivation of mind that would have an attendance. To cast a cloud over my future life after having been in the United States service. I had a leave of absence a few weeks ago on furlough and it made my heart ache to see my race of people there neglected and ill treated on the account of the lack of education being incapable of putting their complaints or applications in writing. For the want of education totally ignorant of the great good workings of the Government in our behalf. We, as soldiers, have our officers who are our protector. To teach how to act and to do. But Sir, what we want is a general system of education in our regiment for our moral and literary elevation. These being our motives. We have the honor of calling your very high consideration. Respectfully submitted as your most humble servant.

John Sweeney

1st Sergeant John Sweeney to Brigadier General Fisk, 8 Oct. 1865, S-82, 1866, Registered Letters Received, ser. 3179, TN Asst. Comr., RG 105 [A-6332]. Endorsement. Pencilled on the letter is the notation "Will send Teacher as soon as possible." Sweeney, a free black from Green County.
Superintendent of the Organization of Kentucky Black Troops to the Adjutant General of the Army

Lexington Ky Oct 20/64

General I have the honor to forward herewith a report of the operations of a detachment of the 5th U.S. Colored Cavalry during the late operations in Western Virginia against the Salt Works.

After the main body of the forces had moved, Gen'l Burbridge Comdg District was informed I had some mounted recruits belonging to the 5th U.S. Colored Cavalry, then organizing at Camp Nelson and he at once directed me to send them forward.

They were mounted on horses that had been only partly recruited and that had been drawn with the intention of using them only for the purpose of drilling. Six hundred of the best horses were picked out, mounted and Col Jas. E. Wade 6th, U.S.C. Cav'y was ordered to take command of the Detachment.

The Detachment came up with the main body at Prestonburg Ky and was assigned to the Brigade Commanded by Colonel R. W. Ratliff 12th O.V. Cav.

On the march the Colored Soldiers as well as their white Officers were made the subject of much ridicule and many insulting remarks by the White Troops and in some instances petty outrages such as the pulling off the Caps of Colored Soldiers, stealing their horses etc. was practiced by the White Soldiers. These insults as well as the jeers and taunts that they would not fight were borne by the Colored Soldiers patiently or punished with dignity by their Officers but in no instance did I hear Colored soldiers make any reply to insulting language used toward [them] by the White Troops.

On the 2d of October the forces reached the vicinity of the Salt Works and finding the enemy in force preparations were made for battle. Col Ratliff's Brigade was assigned to the left of the line and the Brigade dismounted was disposed as follows. 5th U.S.C. Cav. on the left. 12th O.V. C. in the centre and 14th Mich. Cav. on the right. The point to be attacked was the side of a high mountain, the Rebels being posted about half way up behind rifle pits made of logs and stones to the height of three feet. All being in readiness the Brigade moved to the attack. The Rebels opened upon them a terrific fire but the line pressed steadily forward up the steep side of the mountain until they found themselves within fifty yards of the Enemy. Here Col. Wade ordered his force to charge and the Negroes rushed upon the works with a yell and after a desperate struggle carried the entire line killing and wounding a large number of the enemy and capturing some prisoners. There were four hundred black soldiers engaged in the battle, one hundred having been left behind sick and with broken down horses on the march, and one hundred having been left in the Valley to hold horses. Out of the four hundred engaged, one hundred and fourteen men and four officers fell killed or wounded. Of this fight I can only say that men could not have behaved more bravely. I have seen white troops fight in twenty-seven battles and I never saw any fight better. At dusk the Colored Troops were withdrawn from the enemies works, which they had held for over two hours, with scarcely a round of ammunition in their Cartridge Boxes.
On the return of the forces those who had scoffed at the Colored Troops on the march out were silent.

Nearly all the wounded were brought off though we had not an Ambulance in the command. The negro soldiers preferred present suffering to being murdered at the hands of a cruel enemy. I saw one man riding with his arm off another shot through the lungs and another shot through both hips.

Such of the Colored Soldiers as fell into the hands of the Enemy during the battle were brutally murdered. The Negroes did not retaliate but treated the Rebel wounded with great kindness, carrying them water in their canteens and doing all they could to alleviate the sufferings of those whom the fortunes of war had placed in their hands.

Col. Wade handled his command with skill bravery and good judgement, evincing his capacity to command a much larger force. I am General Very Respectfully Your Obd. Servant

James S. Brisbin


SLAVE'S FORMER OWNER PLEADS FOR IMPRISONED SOLDIER'S FREEDOM L866

1900: Former Master of an Imprisoned Kentucky Black Soldier to the President

Greensburg Ky Apl 16th 1866
Dear Sir: Among the thousands, of "prayers & petitions" from, as many, of the citizens, of the United States, of America, please receive, this, from one, of your many endorsers, in behalf, of an old servant, of mine, and my house, who it seems, from "disobeying some order", in the army, was sentenced, to hard labor, at Fort Pickens, Florida, for the term, of Eighteen months. The charge, preferred against him, was the cutting loose, of a fellow soldier, who was, inf., by command, of an officer, fully exposed, to the fire, of the enemy, near Richmond. Believing, he would most assuredly be killed, by the enemy, this negro soldier, for whom, I petition, ventured, to cut him loose, for which cause the sentence as, above. He was among, the first, who left in Kentucky, and although, he ran away, from me, his lawful owner, yet I would do what I can, for his release. There was, a strong affection, between master, and slave. His name, is Shelton Penick, and is in confinement, at Fort Pickens—Pensacola, Fla, where, he, has served, about, one year, of the time, for which, he, was sentenced. Should, this elicit, any notice, and should you, in your mercy, see proper, to pardon, the offence, for the remainder, of the time you will have added, one more, to your many, good deeds, and will much oblige. Your Petitioner—

B. W. Penick.

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SLAVE'S FORMER OWNER PLEADS FOR IMPRISONED SOLDIER'S FREEDOM 1866

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Endorsement] War Department Bureau of Military Justice June 3rd 1866. To the Secretary of War For the President:— The within named Sheldon Penock, 9th Co. "D", 109th U.S.C. Infy, was tried by a G.C.M. convened at Indianola, Texas, convicted of "violation of the 7th Article of War" & sentenced, "To forfeit all pay & allowances now due or that may become due him. To be confined at hard labor during the remainder of his term of service, & to have a twenty four (24) pound ball attached to his right leg by a chain four (4) feet long during the first six (6) months of said confinement, at such place as the Commanding General may direct and to be dishonorably discharged the service at the expiration of his term of service". This sentence was confirmed & "Fort Pickens, Pensacola Harbor," designated as the place of imprisonment.

The offense of which the accused was convicted was the cutting loose prisoners tied up for a military offense on board the Sloop "Thomas Scott" and aiding & encouraging others to mutinous conduct.

His former master petitions for the remission of his sentence, representing that it was in the belief that the soldier cut loose would be killed— the being exposed to the fire of the enemy—that he committed the offense & that he has served out about one year of the time for which he was sentenced.

It appears from the proceedings that the prisoner was sentenced, October 10th 1865, he has consequently been confined less than eight months. There is nothing in the record to sustain the

allegation of the petitioner that the soldier who was cut loose, was exposed to the fire of the enemy. Admitting however such to be the fact, the impulse of humanity which led this soldier to the violation of the military law, may be received as a palliation of the offense.

In this view of the case, and in consideration of the severe imprisonment he has already suffered, it is respectfully recommended that the remainder of his sentence be remitted. J. Holt. Judge Advocate General

B. W. Penick to Honor. Andrew Johnson, 16 Apr. 1866, filed with A-111 1866, Letters Received, ser. 350, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B-209]. Other endorsements, including that of President Andrew Johnson (7 June 1866) remitting the unexecuted portion of Sheldon Penock's sentence and ordering his release from confinement.

1 "Any officer or soldier who shall begin, excite, cause, or join in, any mutiny or sedition... shall suffer death, or such other punishment as by a court-martial shall be inflicted." (Rev. Army Regulations, appendix, p. 486.)
172: Anonymous Kentucky Black Soldier to
the Secretary of War

Bryant Station, Lexington Ky, Oct. 22, 1865

Mr. E. M. Stanton: We are here and our wives and children are laying out doors and we have no chance to get a home for them. We have had six days furlough to see our wives and we have been in the army fourteen months. These officers are laying here and learning us nothing. Instead of them learning us something, they are robbing us out of our money. They are taken our rations and selling them and are keeping the money. I think it is mighty hard for us to stand after just coming from under bondage, our men that has never had the chance to learn anything. They will give them change for a one dollar for fifty dollars in stead of teaching them better, that is the way they treat them. We come in three years or sooner discharge. We would be willing to serve three years longer under these circumstances it would dishearten any one and half to pay thirty dollars for a ten days pass when our wives comes to the camp to see us, they are not allowed to come in camp and we are not allowed to go and see them. They are drumped off! and the officers says go you damned bitches, you know that it is to much they are treated. So by these officers they ought to be a friend to us and them to the major makes his bragges that he will keep these damn niggers in until he makes a fortune. They have us cleaning up farms and cutting up Stumps for these citizens and

they pay the officers for it and they are allowing these citizens to run over us. If we say anything to them we are put in jail, and two or three months pay docked from us. If you please to allow us the privilege of going home to situate our families for the winter we hate to see them laying and strolling around but we can't help our selves. We are able to situate them by labor if they will allow us the privilege we have payed nine hundred dollars for the raising of our brass band, now they want to claim the instruments off of us. It is more than what I masters would have done. The lost of this fifth regiment is over thirteen hundred dollars by these officers. I think it is mighty hard for us to lay here and they fool with us that way and when they tell of us being mustered out they says that they will right to Washington and they will hold us. They say if they can hold us any other way they will move us out of the State. Shame shame shame. How we are treated. They will not let us treated out side of the sutlers. If we do they want to punish us things that the sutler has got that is only worth a dollar they charge us Seven or eight dollars if you want to by anything out side they say know them you go to the sutlers and by

I must bring my letter to a close. 5. U.S. "C." Cavy your most devoted Soldier until death.

Unsigned to Mr. E. M. Stanton, 22 Oct. 1865, A-120 1865, Letters Received, ser. 360, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B-200].
168: Court-Martial Testimony by the Commander of a
Kentucky Black Regiment

[Louisville, Ky., May 29th, 1865]

You gentlemen who have been raised with Negroes know their
disposition, know that they are treacherous by nature, & difficult
to command. They were armed right among their former masters,
for instance a slave would come in to day & enlist, to-morrow, he
would be upon the Picket Post, and halt his master & demand of
him a pass before he could get into Town. This thing was very
unpleasant, to the people of the southern portion of Ky. they did
not like it & I must acknowledge myself that I would rather be
halted & questioned by a white man than by a negro, especially if
that negro had formerly been my slave. The most serious

specification I say is in regard to permitting, allowing, & giving
permission to my men to fire indiscriminately through the Town,
endangering the lives of citizens. You have heard the testimony in
regard to this point. I have adopted every measure in my power
to prevent it, & it cannot be expected that I could arm a lot of
slaves among their former masters & bring them down to strict
military discipline all at once. When I went to Henderson the last
time I took 50 men & 3 officers, there was a detachment there
of the 118th Regt U.S. Colored Infantry. I had some difficulty
with these men. Men coming from the East & New England
States looked upon us who were raised in the state of Ky as
disloyal men, & upon the state of Ky. as a disloyal state. The
officers of the 118th were disposed to let their men trespass & do
every thing that was wrong. We were rebels. I kept them in
subjection until they were relieved & my own men were armed
among their former masters— Until then you did not hear of a
complaint.

I have had some experience in commanding colored troops. I have
been a resident of the state of Ky for 15 years, & have had a great
deal to do with negroes, & you will find it a great deal easier to
command troops already disciplined than to take charge of
illiterate, ignorant revengeful, blood-thirsty negroes, & bring them
down in the space of 2 or 3 months to regular disciplined soldiers.
I can explain the reason for a great deal of this firing. The hardest thing in the world to learn negro soldiers is to learn them to shoot with that accuracy of regular soldiers—they are more awkward with a gun than with anything else. I had orders to expend as much ammunition as I deemed necessary in target practice, in teaching my men how to shoot, we had a good deal of target practice firing & besides the guard discharged their guns at 9 o'clock in the morning. They went down to the river & shot into the bank—Of course the noise may have offended or unstrung the nerves of some Union ladies in Henderson who were very much in favor of negro troops & officers—Yet it is singular that so many outrages have been committed by my troops & no body hurt, except young Wortham, & I considered that a very great outrage. When I have said that I have not controlled my troops, I had reference to that particular affair. The testimony is that I would & could control them— I knew it would take very severe measures, which measures I adopted.

Excerpts from exhibit "C", proceedings of general court-martial in the case of Lt. Col. John Glenn, 120th US Col. May 1865, MM-2404, Court-Martial Case Files, ser. 15, RG 153 (H-10). According to the charges and specifications, Lieutenant Colonel John Glenn permitted the enlisted men of his regiment "to be guilty of lawless and outrageous conduct," and he "was unable to control his men." The judge advocate, in his summation to the court, asserted that "the very worst thing for our cause is this running at large of negro soldiers throughout the state with inefficient officers in command permitting them to do as they choose. . . It requires a man of more ability to com'd a regt of negro troops than of white ones, and requiring a man of ability none but such should have the position, and inefficient men should be got rid of as fast as possible." The court found Glenn guilty of "conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline" but sentenced him only to forfeit rank, pay, and allowances for two months.
KY BLACK JOINS ARMY TO BE CHAPLAIN; DOES NOT GET IT

i berlin, ed., freedom: doc. hist., series II, black mil hist, 1982

1456: Black Chaplain to the President

City Point V.A. May 12th, 1865.

Your Excellency, I have the honor to communicate, at this fitting season, the dawn of peace the following story of the circumstances of my enlistment and my position as a Soldier. thinking that, I could serve God my race & country best in the sphere which I considered my true calling a minister, I determined upon the enlistment of colored troops in my native state—Kentucky to enter the army as Chaplain if I could but as a soldier, if not. to this end, I visited Colonel Hammond Com'd'g Taylor Barracks Louisville Ky who assured me I could be appointed Chaplain, but that I must enlist to receive such appointment, not knowing the law on the matter and confiding in his word I enlisted June 23d, 1865. [1865] After enlistment I need only to say that my hopes built upon the promises made me were blasted, as color sergeant I served with my regiment performing the duties of Chaplain & post master also even after the Chaplain Rev. Mr. Tarr, has taken his office until the 2d of December, 1864, at which time I was assigned to duty as Chaplain of the Regiment by the Colonel, General Butler having appointed & commissioned me to the office, upon the representation, of the facts to him. I filled my office honorably and industriously as my Colonel himself acknowledged up to the 25th February 1865, when upon a declaration being made by him to the War department it was revoked, and I was reduced to the ranks by order of Maj. General Ord. I have the name of doing my duty faithfully in every position And I have been offered the position of Hospital steward and orderly sergeant, by the Colonel of my regiment, but I refused to accept it for the sake of the service, because it would look bad to see a man who had been a commissioned officer on his staff and whose only dishonor was the color of his skin, holding the place of a noncommissioned officer, therefore knowing as I do that alarm and distrust exists among the Colored Troops who have witnessed these proceedings, and to convince them that Justice holds sway, and that this the hour of peace, is the hour of Judgement do appeal to you to grant me an honourable position, in the army as I do not by any means which to leave the service until I have shown what I can do, and that a colored man, is capable of doing anything under proper instruction that a white man can do. I am twenty four years of age, and within I send you my church Letter, as a sort of credentials Very respectfully Your obe't se'vt

Francis A. Boyd

[Enclosure]

Louisville Ky Feb 22d 1865.

We the undersigned accredited ministers of the Christian Church do hereby certify that Francis A. Boyd is a regularly ordained Minister of Said Church, of present good Standing and we do hereby recommend his appointment as a Chaplain in the Military Service of the United States. Said Francis A. Boyd, is a member of the Christian Church, Corner of 4th & Walnut streets in the City of Louisville Ky.
Private Francis A. Boyd to Your Excellency [Andrew Johnson], 12 May 1865, enclosing a statement by Pastor D. P. Henderson et al., 22 Feb. 1865, filed with V-134 1864, Letters Received, ser. 362; Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [N-133]. Documents in the same file contain additional information regarding Boyd’s case. In February 1865, Colonel Orion A. Bartholomew, commander of Boyd’s regiment, obtained a War Department order revoking Boyd’s commission as chaplain on the grounds that he had not been elected to the position by the field officers and company commanders of the regiment, as regulations prescribed. Boyd returned to the ranks as a private. In November 1865, the officers elected him chaplain, but, because the regiment had fallen below strength, he could not be mustered into the office. Boyd left service with his regiment in March 1866, still ranked as a private, even though he claimed that he had performed chaplain’s duties from November 1865 until the regiment’s muster out. Additional information in the file indicates that in 1867 Boyd claimed retroactive chaplain’s pay for the time he served in that capacity. The claim dragged on for over twenty years. In 1886, former General Benjamin F. Butler wrote to the War Department on Boyd’s behalf, and two years later a Kentucky congressman introduced a resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives to grant Boyd the pay he claimed. The bill apparently died in the House Committee on War Claims.
CHAPLAINCY, NOT RECEIVED


"oppressed but truly loyal people. With great respect Your most
obed'nt serv't

Francis A. Boyd

Chaplain Francis A. Boyd to Major General B. F. Butler, 5 Jan. 1865, service record of Francis A. Boyd, 109th USC I, Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations: Civil War, ser. 519, RG 94 [N-G]. The statement that Boyd refers to as having been sent to Colonel Bartholomew on January 4 is not in the file: the enclosures from Louisville, which are in the file, include a letter from Boyd's half-brother, George Taylor, describing his efforts to

gather the necessary documentation of Boyd's ordination, and letters of testimony from prominent white church leaders in Louisville. Boyd also wrote repeatedly to President Lincoln about his commission, referring to the President as "the patron of universal Liberty," whom "the Colored people, look upon . . . as their Friend." (Chaplain Francis A. Boyd to A. Lincoln, 12 Jan., 25 Feb., and 9 Mar. 1865, all filed with V-114 1861. Letters Received, ser. 360, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B-114]). In the letter of February 25, Boyd described a conversation with the adjutant general of the military division under which his regiment served. The adjutant general offered Boyd a position as clerk, which Boyd refused because the War Department had not yet ruled on his appointment as chaplain. Boyd then informed the adjutant of his regiment about the clerkship offer, declaring it "an insult to me, and my race, and that my race, were the only people, who were loyal as a class in the United States. Therefore, if any among them rose upon their merits, no one had a right to try, to defraud them out of their office. . . ."

BLACK EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS APRIL 1865

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112: Commander of an Army Recruitment Rendezvous to the Commander of the Department of Kentucky

Mayville, Ky., April 25 1865

Sir: The civil authorities are doing all in their power to annul Genl. Order No. 10 Head Quarters Dept. Ky. by permitting cases to be tried, where parties have employed the wives and children of colored soldiers made free under the provisions of said order, and the courts here have in one instance given damages to the amount of one thousand dollars ($1000.00).1 There are in this city about fifty (50) wives and children of soldiers who are employed by parties who wish to keep them but cannot as they are liable to a heavy fine for doing so under the state decisions.2 These parties ask, of me, protection. How shall I give it. Shall I arrest the party who brings suit. The officer who serves the writ, the Jury who give damages, or the Judge who charges the Jury to find damages

The effect of these decisions is to drive every person from the State who claim freedom under the order. I am Genl. Very Respectfully Your Obedient Servt.

W. A. Gage
SLAVE DESCRIBES RUNNING AWAY TO ARMY, PROBLEMS 1865

Camp Nelson, Ky — March 29, 1865

Personally appeared before me J.M. Kelley Notary Public in and for the County of Jessamine State of Kentucky William Jones a man of color who being duly sworn according to Law doth depose and say I am a soldier in the 124th U.S.C. Infantry. Before enlisting I belonged to Newton Craig Scott County Ky. My wife belonged to the same man. Desiring to enlist and thus free my wife and serve the Government during the balance of my days I ran away from my master in company with my wife on Saturday March 11th between nine and ten o'clock at night. Our clothes were packed up and some money we had saved from our earnings we carried with us. On our way to Camp Nelson we arrived at Lexington about three o'clock next morning Sunday March 12th 1865 where we were accosted by the Capt of the night watch James Cannon, who asked us where we were going. I told him I was going to see my daughter. He said I was a damned liar, that I was going to Camp Nelson. I then told him that I was going to Camp whereupon he arrested us, took us to the Watch House where he searched us and took our money from us taking fifty eight (58) dollars from me and eight (8) dollars from my wife. I told him that the money was my own that I desired to have it. He told me that he would send it with the man who would take us back to our master and when we got there we should have it. I said I would rather die than go back to master who said he would kill any of his negroes who went to Camp. Cannon made no reply but
A spirited historical controversy has raged around the issues raised in the preceding two paragraphs. Because of the cultural connotations of the word black and because of rampant English ethnocentrism, was America born "racist" in the sense that Africans were automatically considered inferior and slaves because of their race or color? Or did slavery evolve primarily in response to labor and economic forces, and only afterwards, because Africans were the ones most conveniently enslaved, did blackness come to be synonymous with lifelong bondage? In other words, did slavery come first and racism emerge as a consequence, or did racism precede and make possible slavery? Did the two—racism and slavery—develop symbiotically, each reinforcing the other? It is clear, as the 1624 and 1625 censuses indicate, that a profound prejudice against blacks as an ethnic group existed from the beginning, but this did not instantly lead to the enslavement of all blacks, nor did it preclude a white-black fraternization that suggests a degree of lower-class biracial harmony seldom experienced in American history.
GENERAL ORDERS, No. 10. The General commanding announces to the colored men of Kentucky that by an act of Congress passed on the 3d day of March, 1865, the wives and children of all colored men who have heretofore enlisted, or who may hereafter enlist, in the military service of the Government, are made free.

This act of justice to the soldiers claims from them renewed efforts, by courage, fortitude, and discipline, to win a good name, to be shared by a free wife and free children. To colored men not in the army it offers an opportunity to coin freedom for themselves and posterity.

The rights secured to colored soldiers under this law will, if necessary, be enforced by the military authorities of this Department, and it is expected that the loyal men and women of Kentucky will encourage colored men to enlist in the army; and, after they have done so, recognize them as upholders of their Government and defenders of their homes, and exercise toward the helpless women and children made free by law that benevolence and charity which has always characterized the people of the State. 

BY COMMAND OF MAJOR GENERAL PALMER:

1866. Bishop Smith, Kentucky: "I have had occasion to allude twice
to St. Marks African Church on Green street—to the ordination of its mini­
ter, and the first Confirmation there. The mission and the high school
connected with it, which was chartered by the Legislature last winter, with­
oun much encouragement by the clergy......Almost remarkable have been the
providences which brought the minister and the teacher here (Mr. and Mrs.
Atwell) who are now carrying on the work so well and so successfully, and
which have supplied from abroad the greater part of the means to sustain
the enterprise, until such time as this Convention and this community
shall be aroused to some just conception of the solemn responsibility which
rests upon us to take care of this class of Christ's neglected poor among
us under the sheltering wing of the Church we love so well."

GENERAL: MASTERS CARED LITTLE FOR WHAT WENT ON IN THE CABIN

p 44/ "But what slaves did in their cabins after sundown--the tales they
told, the songs they sang an dances they danced, the way they talked, how they
named and disciplined their children, the patterns in the baskets they wove,
their characteristic gestures and loose, disjointed way of walking--the
master cared little for such matters."
Endorsement by a Post Commander, Enclosing Affidavits of Kentucky Black Soldiers

Henderson Ky. May 31st 1865.

Respectfully forwarded. The complainant, Mr. E. H. Green is one among the many notorious Rebel sympathizers of Henderson Ky. and a bitter enemy towards the organization of Colored Troops. It seems from the records of this office that the men referred to were enlisted by Lieut Col. J. Glenn of the 120th U.S.C. Inf. There are no officers present who know anything concerning the matter. Refer to affidavits herewith enclosed.

Jas. N. M'Arthur

[Endorsement] State of Ky. Co of Henderson 30th day of May 1865

Humphrey Green private Co "D" 120th U.S.C.I. being duly sworn deposes and saith that I was asked by Lt Col. John Glenn to enlist. I replied I had rather not, I had the rheumatism. He then told me he would have one of his officers put me in jail, if I did not. and that he guessed I would enlist when I got out. I then told him I would rather enlist than be put in jail. Lt Col. Glenn gave us (myself, Richmond and Charles,) whiskey to induce us to enlist. I do not want to be discharged. I will not go back to E. H. Green. No price would induce me to go back to my master. I never went to Mr. Green to ask him to get me out

His

Humphrey X. Green
mark

[Endorsement] State of Ky. Co of Henderson 30th day of May 1865

Charles Green, Corp "D" Co. 120 U.S.C.I. being duly sworn deposes and saith that on or about the 20th day of January 1865, some colored soldiers came to the residence of E. H. Green, in the Co. of Hopkins State of Ky. and found me at a pond back of the house, asked me if I wished to enlist in the service. I replied "No Sir." They then said well come up town (meaning Nebo) and see the Colonel meaning Lt Col. Glenn. They then took me up to Lt Col. Glenn, who told me to fall into line which I did. He then brought me to town and put us in quarters with the other men. When Col. Glenn wanted me to enlist he had me brought up to his office. I told him I did not want to enlist. Lt Col. Glenn asked me "What in hell was the reason," I did not
want to go. He then turned around to the Sergeant who stood by and told him to "take this damned nigger to the jail," that I was but a damned Screech nigger anyway. I then replied, "Well rather than go in jail I will jump." I was mustered at Louisville by Capt. Womack. I made no objection to being mustered in. I do not want now to be mustered out. I am perfectly satisfied. On or about the 18th of May 1865, E. H. Green asked me how I was getting along, and was I satisfied. I replied I was very well satisfied. Mr. Green then replied I am glad. I never went to Mr. Green or anyone else and with tears in my eyes beseech him to see justice done me. I never cried to anyone but my mother. I would not take five hundred dollars and go back to E. H. Green as a slave.

his
Charles X. Green
mark

"Slaves quickly perceived that, other things being equal, they were better fed and housed, and less apt to be separated from their families, on more prosperous plantations. And of course a plantation's economic well-being was ultimately in their hands." 

"In the final analysis the horror of slavery is not to be measured in dietary insufficiencies or work routines or even survival rates, but in the absence of freedom, especially in a land where, relative to most of the world, economic and political liberty flourished as never before. The black response to the American Revolution, in which perhaps as many as 50,000 blacks fled to the British, reveals both the slaves' longing for liberty and the caution with which they held in check that desire until propitious occasions offered reasonable success."

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**Affidavit of a Kentucky Black Soldier**

Camp Nelson, Ky. November 26, 1864

Personally appeared before me E. B. W. Restieux Capt. and Asst. Quartermaster Joseph Miller a man of color who being duly sworn upon oath says:

I was a slave of George Miller of Lincoln County, Ky. I have always resided in Kentucky and am now a Soldier in the service of the United States. I belong to Company L 124 U.S.C. Inf. 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 ages respectively ten nine seven and four years. On my presenting myself as a recruit I was told by the Lieut. 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 slowly
recovery. My wife had no place to go and so remained until
morning. About eight o'clock Wednesday morning November 25th
a mounted guard came to my tent and ordered my wife and
children out of Camp. The morning was bitter cold. It was
freezing hard. I was certain that it would kill my sick child to
take him 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 my wife
and children had no place to go and 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 that if they did not get up into the wagon which
he said he would shoot the last one of them. On being thus
threatened my wife and children went into the wagon. My wife
carried her 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 one
was poorly clad. I followed them as far as the lines. I had no
knowledge where they were going. At night I went in
search of my family. I found them at 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 number of colored people huddled together by the soldiers. I

found my wife and children 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

his

(Signed) Joseph Miller

Affidavit of Joseph Miller, 26 Nov. 1864, filed with H-8 1864, Regis-
tered Letters Received, ser. 3379, TN Asst. Comr., RG 105 [A-6148].
Publication of this and other affidavits in the Northern abolitionist press,
together with protest through military channels, resulted in the establish-
ment of a "refugee home" at Camp Nelson for black soldiers' families.
106: Affidavit of a Kentucky Black Soldier's Widow

Camp Nelson, Ky. 25th March 1865

Personally appeared before me J M Kelley Notary Public in and for the County of Jessamine, State of Kentucky Persay Leach a woman of color who being duly sworn according to law doth deposing and say: I am a widow and belonged to Warren Wiley of Woodford County, Ky. My husband Julius Leach was a member of Co. D 5th U.S.C. Cavalry and was killed at the Salt Works Va. about six months ago. When he enlisted sometime in the fall of 1864 he belonged to Sarah Martin Scott County Ky. He had only been about a month in the service when he was killed. I was living with aforesaid Wiley when he died. He knew of my husband enlisting before I did but never said any thing to me about it. From that time he treated me more cruelly than ever whipping me frequently without any cause and insulting me on every occasion. About three weeks after my husband enlisted a Company of colored soldiers passed our house and I was there in the garden and looked at them as they passed. My master had been watching me and when the soldiers had gone I went into the kitchen. My master followed me and knocked me to the floor senseless saying as he did so, "You have been looking at them durned Nigger Soldiers!" When I recovered my senses he beat me with a cowhide. When my husband was killed my master whipped me severely saying my husband had gone into the army to fight against white folks and he my master would let me know that I was foolish to let my husband go he would "take it out of my back," he would "Kill me by piecemeal" and he hoped "that the last one of the nigger soldiers would be killed" He whipped me twice after that using similar expressions. The last whipping he gave me he took me into the kitchen tied my hands tore all my clothes off until I was entirely naked, bent me down, placed my head between his Knees, then whipped me most unmercifully until my back was lacerated all over, the blood oozing out in several places so that I could not wear my underclothes without their becoming saturated with blood. The marks are still visible on my back. On this and other occasions my master whipped me for no other cause than my husband having enlisted. When he had whipped me he said "never mind God dam you when I am done..."
HOSTILITY TO BLACK TROOPS, HANCOCK CO, JUNE 1864

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Major. I have the honor to report to you that on last evening an Enrolling Officer for Hancock Co., Ky. presented Thirty (30) Negroes at these Head Quarters for Enlistment— I ordered the negroes out of the street into the Public Square, which I had used as a Rendezvous because I could not rent a Building for the purpose, when about One Hundred (100) six months men, raw & unorganized, who were encamped there, were drawn up into line by their Recruiting Officers, with their guns cocked ready to shoot any one who should attempt to enter positively asserting that the negroes should not enter— This demonstration was made in the presence of some Three Hundred (300) some of whom excited Citizens who had been encouraging the enlisted men to resistance by giving them the assurance of assistance to the extent of One Thousand (1000) men if necessary. I received this information from reliable, loyal men who were in the Crowd observing what was going on— I consulted with Lt. Woodward, who has the Command of the Camp, as to what course to pursue & he said that he could not control his men in this matter— I immediately placed the negroes in a large, well ventilated room in the Jail for safety. An hour after this the Sheriff demanded & obtained the Jail Keys from the Jailor, & took them out of town. The negroes cannot be enlisted, & can only be fed by conveying the food through a grated window. With an excited community & a
demoralized & unorganized body of raw Recruits to contend with, I feel that the lives of the Surgeon & myself are in imminent peril, Head Quarters endangered & the interests of the Government at the mercy of Guerrillas & the opponents of the Negro Enlistments. The forces sent here for temporary duty remained but about Three (3) weeks, & by the time their influence had obtained quiet, they were ordered away— I make this communication from a sense of duty, & think that the interest of the Government demand immediate notice & protection— While writing the above, I have received a message from the Citizens that the negroes will be released from Jail if I will enlist them & send them off immediately— This speaks for the community which surrounds me, & it would seem that my official acts require their approval— I am Major Very Respy. Your Obt. Servt.

J. R. Grissom


"Six months men" were white Union troops recruited in Kentucky for a six-months' term of service.

Fort Anderson Paducah Ky July 20th 1864

Sir: I have the honor to make the following statements in reference to my arrest. — On the 16th inst. I recd. special Order N° (101) from Post Hd. Qrs. Paducah Ky.— and immediately visited Colonel Hicks, to have an understanding in reference to said Order. — In the Course of the Conversation I inquired, if the Carrying out of the order was to be general: and if the wives and Children of Colored Soldiers in my Command were to be returned by me to their masters. — He answered, "the order includes all: further you in person, with the assistance of your officers and men shall Search your Camp, and vicinity thereof, and investigate all Cases Sent to you by me; and return to their masters; all persons implied in this order." — I remarked "Colonel, I cannot return to Slavery, the wives and Children of men, whom your acknowledge fought so gallantly, and saved yourself and Command, from marston, and further, I was sent here by, and through the influence of Hon. Lucien Anderson, for the purpose of protecting union people, whether Black or white, with the assurance, that with his influence in my favor I Should not be deterred, although opposition was expected from officers in administration." —
further declared that I could not consistently comply, and assist in
the enforcement, of the order. - I was then by His order, (Col
Hicks) placed in arrest. - I have the honor to be General very
respectfully Your Most Ob'dt Servt.

H. W. Barry

Col. H. W. Barry to General [E. A. Paine], 20 July 1864, enclosed in
1864, Letters Received, ser. 3869, Dist. West TN, RG 91 Pt. 2 No.
154, RG 91 (G-223). In the covering letter, General Paine expressed surprise
"that the wives and children of some of the colored soldiers who fought so
bravely here, had been forced out of the lines and forced... to return to
rebel masters." Paine also enclosed Colonel S. G. Hicks's Special Order
No. 101, dated July 14, 1864, requiring that Colonel Barry "cause all the
aged, and infirm negro men, those unfit for duty as soldiers, and all the
women and children pertaining to or apparent to his command to be at
once returned to their masters." On July 21, the War Department in-
structed Adjutant General Thomas to disperse the black dependents at
Paducah, and the next day Thomas so instructed Colonel Hicks and
ordered Colonel Barry's release from arrest. (Adjutant General Lorenzo
Thomas) to Colonel S. G. Hicks, 25 July 1864. L. Thomas Letters Sent,
Generals' Papers & Books, ser. 159, RG 91 IV-164.)

FUGITIVES NOT TO BE RETURNED TO OWNERS july 1864

General, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your
telegram of the 26th instant, and in reply thereto I am directed by
the Secretary of War to say that although the law prohibits
the return of slaves to their owners by the military authorities, yet it
does not provide for their reception and support in idleness at
military camps. The interests of the service and the preservation of
discipline would therefore seem to require that indigent colored
people should be discouraged as much as possible from casting
themselves upon the military authorities for a support. A sound
discretion in this matter should be exercised by all
officers commanding rendezvous. I have the honor to be, General,
Very Respectfully, Your Ob'dt Servant,

C. W. Foster
Assistant Adjut. Gen'l. C. W. Foster to Brigadier General L. Thomas, 28 July 1864, A-93 1864, Letters Received by Adjutant General L. Thomas, ser. 563, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [V-56]. Thomas's July 26 telegram had questioned the War Department's new policy: "Am I to receive all the indigent colored men women and children coming into the Camps in Kentucky?" (Adjutant General [Lorenzo Thomas] to Colonel E. D. Townsend, 25 July 1864, L. Thomas Letters & Orders, Generals' Papers & Books, ser. 159, RG 94 [V-6].) The copy received by the Bureau of Colored Troops is dated July 26 and omits some of Thomas's words. (A-251 1864, Letters Received, ser. 360, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B-43]).

Henderson Ky. Sept 17th 1864

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 16th inst. in which complaint is made by Mr Ira Delano that men belonging to this Command have been Stealing Negro Women and Children and Shiping them across the River.

Immediately upon our arrival at this Place (Monday Morning the 12th inst Col. Moon foresaw that trouble would be likely to arise on that point and immediately took measures to prevent it. He issued Orders to the Ferryman and Fisherman in this vicinity prohibiting them from carrying Persons across the River without a permit from these Head Qrs. and there has been no permit granted to Colored Men Women or Children.

As Recruiting has been very brisk here many Women and Children follow after their Husband's and Father's laboring under the impression that they would be allowed to accompany them but when they were informed of their error many have taken my advice and returned to their Masters of their own accord and all others that have been found wandering in this vicinity have been promptly returned to their Owners. On the 15 inst I was informed by Mr M Priest that two Skiff's had been procured and took ten Women and Children across the River. I immediately
had all the Boats collected at one point and placed them under
Guard. (Since I have heard of none crossing.
Notwithstanding we are Recruiting from forty to sixty Men daily
we have no runaway Women or Children around our Head. Qrs.
as those who have returned have discouraged others from coming.
It would be well for me to State that 90% of the inhabitants are
very much prejudiced against Colored Troops and Negro
enlistment, they do not hesitate to throw all the obstacles in our
way that they can without committing themselves. The County
appears to be filled with roving Bands of Guerrillas which prevent
many from coming in to Enlist. I have made ten reconnaissances
since I have been here for the purpose of dispersing these
marauding Bands but owing to their fleet Horses I was unable to
Capture any of them but it paid me well for my trouble as it
opened the way for the Colored men to come in. Col Moon left
Night before last for Owensboro Ky with one hundred and forty
Recruits since he left we have Recruited one hundred an four
making in all two hundred and forty four.
I have the honor to report that the discipline of this Command
is strictly enforced and I have been frequently complimented for
the good conduct of both Officers and men by the few well
disposed Persons in this vicinity. Among the number is, Ex. Gov.
Dixon Mr Wm S. Holloway and Mr Priest and others. Mr Dixon
told one of my Officers that the Colored Troops behaved
themselves better than the White Soldiers did. Such a confession
coming from a disinterested Person I trust will go far to show that
the complaint made by Mr Ira Delano has been greatly exaggerated
on account of a few Servents entering the Service.
I have told Him as well as all others in this vicinity I should be
happy to have Him report any misconduct on the part of this
Command and I would punish the offender's accordingly. I would
be thus enabled to correct the evil. And rest assured that I shall
endeavor to do my duty so as to Command the respect of my
Commanding Officer's. Also the well disposed Citizens of this
Place. Very Respectfully you Obst Serv

John L. Bullis
Population of Russellville 1821

Russellville Weekly Messenger, Jan 20, 1821

3 (3) population of Russellville, KY 1,716

- White males: 618
- White females: 421
- Slave males: 326
- Slave females: 340
- Free persons of color
  - Free males: 7
  - Free females: 4

Slaves Bartered for Land, Russellville, 1822

Russellville Weekly Messenger, fragment, n. d.  [Feb. 1822]

350 acres for sale on Big Whippoorwill in Logan Co: Price $13 per acre, in advance, the remainder in 12 months, or in likely young Negroes or Kentucky bank stock. Land owned by Daniel Mayes.
Black Woman Shouting For "Union" in Elizabeth, Pa., at Camp Haywood

Cincinnati Daily Gazette (Sat. Mor.) Nov. 23, 1861, p. 1.

"Upon arriving in town our attention was drawn toward an old negro woman as she was shouting for the Union. She was parading along the streets crying "Hurray for de Union."

Shouting For Lincoln

New-York Tribune, Jan. 23, 1862, p. 6
DISTURBANCES AMONG THE NEGROES.

From The Franklin (Ky.) Yenian, Jan 17.

We have just learned of a trustworthy gentleman of New Castle the circumstances of a very unusual occurrence in that place just before Christmas, which we deem it proper should be placed before the people of Kentucky. Some forty or sixty negroes, all slaves, had been engaged in killing hogs on the farm of Mr. W. F. Stanley. About that time, and after the work was over, they paraded the streets of the town in a body, between the hours of 10 and 12, uttering all sorts of disorderly sounds, singing political songs, and shouting for Lincold. They seemed to take special pains to make their abnormal and disorderly demonstrations in front of the residences of one or two prominent Southern Rights citizens. They continued their tumultuous proceedings for an hour or two without interruption from either officer or citizen, and finally dispersed of their own accord.

We deem it due to the peace and security of the Commonwealth to give this information to the public, in order that other communities may be put on their guard and be prepared to suppress in their infancy all such dangerous movements on the part of the slave population.

We also learn, from the same gentleman, that about the same time, or shortly after, a gang of slaves in Henry County, belonging partly to Union and partly to Southern Rights men, made off from the county, taking with them a wagon and horses, with a full idea that they were free of the system of slavery. They were immediately pursued by their owners into Indiana and overtook them, but the owners were not able to reduce the population, so they should not arrest the slaves, and in fact, were themselves ordered to leave the State without delay. A second shot of the same sort was fired, and other parties, with proper certificates, as the gentleman who gives us the facts is informed, were made, with the same result.

We are also informed that numerous horses and barns belonging to residents of Henry County have recently been fired and burned to the ground by the negroes, and that, in consequence, a general feeling of insecurity prevails throughout the entire community.
ELIZ. COLEMAN’S CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION FOR SLAVE ENLISTEE
SLAVE ROBERT JOHNSON, ENLISTED MARCH 24, 1864

Copy, In “Coleman Family Business Transactions and Correspondence, 1812-1865,” folder, in Catherine and Howard Evans Papers, folder 162, MSS Division, UK Library

FEE JULY 4, 1865, SPEECH

Louisville Daily Union Press, July 7, 1865, (Friday), p 1, c. 3
The Fourth of July at the Refugee Home in Camp Nelson, Ky.

[Correspondence of the Union Press]

What could a company of women and children do—women and children who were slaves six months since? The managers said, we will let them try. Within the camp were husbands to many of these women, and fathers of their children. These were encouraged to come together, form among themselves an executive committee, composed of men and women. The speakers chosen were of their own color, and from the soldiers then in Camp.

Up to Thursday previous, it was supposed the soldiers would be taken out of Camp on the 4th.

When it became known that they would remain, the women and men set to and raised hundreds of dollars, the soldiers pledging their checks, not having been paid off.

By these women, meats and bread were prepared, an immense variety of pies, cakes, candies and raisins in abundance. Early on the appointed day long rows of well spread tables were prepared. A new supply of bright tin, with knives and forks, with bread cakes and candies, made a brilliant and an inviting appearance.

An unexpected grand review of the soldiers on the morning of the Fourth, detailed the soldiers, until noon. Notwithstanding the exhaustion of the review on that extremely warm morning in which many, overcome with heat, fell out of the lines, true to the instincts of liberty, the thousands came to a grove near the Refugee Home, where the women and children, with hundreds from the surrounding country were waiting.

The chairman for the occasion, a colored soldier, called the assemblage to order. Prayer was offered, then singing from Mrs. Damon's school. This was followed with a spontaneous burst of applause. Then marshal music; then reading of the Declaration of Independence by a colored soldier; then singing again from the school—then address. The address of Sergeant Knox, a colored soldier, was full of appropriate and stirring thought, showing that the old flag was a reality, and his mind was acquainted with the leading features of our national history. From reading something of the immortal history, and the narrative of the Bible he early formed the belief that slavery, in this country, would be abolished.

His address in the discomfited rebel, the sudden burst of liberty—this first observance of the 4th of July, by the colored people of Kentucky here in the very heart of Kentucky, a State vainly trying to hold on to slavery, "when her power was but as a cobweb!" All these sentiments were, from time to time, received with bursts of applause from the listening thousands. He expressed his admiration of the old flag, the emblem of liberty; his desire to see it. When shown one floating from the topmost limb of a tall tree (which he, coming in suddenly, had not seen), no language can describe the enthusiasm that glowed in his countenance, nor the almost electrifying shouts that came from the multitude.
Could it be that the way slavery ended in Ky; that is, by unsure pronouncements--not covered in eman, proc., the statements of Palmer to blacks on July 4, 1865, etc, the final proclamation in Dec 1865, etc, actually hurt the freedmen because of "certain disrespect for the law" which was exhibited. That is, it seems that Palmer and others were issuing a challenge to white Kentuckians.

Territories of Washington, New Mexico, Nebraska, Colorado, Dakota; Veteran Reserve Corps, U. S. Veteran Volunteers, (First Army Corps,) U. S. Volunteers, U. S. Colored Troops.

Published by Order of the Secretary of War, in Compliance with the Joint Resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, Approved March 2, 1865.

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, July 16, 1867.
PART VIII.

TERRITORIES OF WASHINGTON, NEW MEXICO, NEBRASKA, COLORADO, DAKOTA; VETERAN RESERVE CORPS, U.S. VETERAN VOLUNTEERS, (FIRST ARMY CORPS,) U.S. VOLUNTEERS, U.S. COLORED TROOPS.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR, IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APPROVED MARCH 2, 1865.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, July 16, 1867.
SIXTH REGIMENT.

This regiment was organized at Camp Nelson, Ky., on November 3, 1863, to serve one year. It was mustered out of service May 10, 1865.

Colonel.
James W. Blake, M. B. 19 Sept., 64

Lieutenant Colonel.
James S. Brinton........... 20 Feb., 66

Major.
Adon A. Bowen............. 4 Nov., 65

Frank Y. Cunningham..... 18 Jan., 65

James B. Day.............. 1 May.

Captains.
W. Albert Watrous........ 1 Nov., 64

Joseph T. McKeever........ 14 Nov., 64

Peter Kelloher............. 15 Jan., 65

Daniel Crow................. 1 Feb., 65

Samuel H. Moffett......... 21 Feb., 65

Patrick O’Neill............. 1 Apr., 65

John R. Heywood........... 2 May, 65

Isaac D. Nichols............ 8 Jan., 65

E. Howard Smith............. 27 Jan., 65

E. M. Blankett............ 9 Mar., 65

Henry W. Wade.............. 10 Mar.

First Lieutenants.
Benjamin P. Brainard, 3rd U. S. C. S. 1 Nov., 64

Harry Bright, Adjutant......... 4 Nov., 64

Benjamin F. Keyser......... 22 Dec., 64

James Powell............. 22 Feb., 65

Frank E. Clark............. 28 Apr., 65

Roscoe W. Whipple.......... 16 Oct., 65

William P. Gillock....... 9 Mar., 66

William H. Barker......... 9 Mar., 66

David H. Ahern.............. 5 Mar., 65

Edward J. Callaway....... 9 Mar., 65

James A. Andrews......... 9 Mar., 66

James N. Smiley.......... 9 Mar., 66

William P. Shoop, S. M. 10 Mar.

Second Lieutenants.
Hamilton K. Redway........ 20 Jan., 66

Saralde Battered........ 20 Jan., 66

Alonzo D. Haverkam..... 7 Mar., 66

Louis W. Noumen............ 22 Mar.

Amsos A. Kellog............. 25 Mar., 66

Sergeant.
John Ridgeley.............. 17 July, 65

Assistant Surgeons.
Charles H. Riley............ 20 Oct., 65

William S. Robbins........ 1 Dec., 65

Chaplain.
Henderson Aud......... 12 Mar., 66

List of battles, &c., in which this regiment participated, showing loss reported in each:

OFFICIAL ARMY REGISTER VOLUNTEERS 1861-1865.

U. S. COLORED HEAVY ARTILLERY.

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EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Captain Albert Rutledge, August 24, 1864, to Major 1st regiment Florida cavalry.


Discharged. (1)

Colonel James N. McArthur, December 2, 1864.

Lieutenant Colonel Peter De Beaus, January 16, 1865.

Captain Braham H. D. Talbot, March 14, 1865.

Captain R. H. Amos, July 5, 1865.

Captain John Seelisch, August 25, 1865.

First Lieut. Wm. H. H. Adams, (Brevet Major June 24, 1865.) June 26, 1865.


Sergeant Alexander Mecklenburg, January 23, 1865.

Sergeant James Thompson, September 23, 1865.

Assistant Surgeon George L. Rice, May 3, 1865.

Died. (3)

Captain Edward McCollum, February 16, 1864, of wounds received in the battle of Missionary Ridge. First Lieut. Robert A. Johnson, in action at Fort Donelson, Tennessee, November 11, 1864.

Dropped from rolls. (23)

Capt. Edmund Bartlett, March 1, 1864.

Capt. John Hall, December 1, 1865.

Appointments revoked. (6)

Colonel Charles H. Adams, January 8, 1864.

Lieutenant Colonel William B. Bate, October 15, 1863.

Lieutenant Colonel William B. S. Sherrill, October 12, 1863.

Capt. Justin B. Durin, March 7, 1864.


Second Lieut. Henry C. Dennis, March 7, 1864.

Discharged. (1)

Captain William Grant, December 21, 1863.

Deserted. (1)

First Lieut. Edward D. Herndon, December 7, 1864.

List of battles, &c., in which this regiment participated, showing losses reported in each:


"FORT ARTHUR," killed, E. M. 1; wounded, E. M. 2.

*For 7th colored heavy artillery, see 11th U. S. C. T.
### Official Army Register, Volunteers 1861-1865

#### U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Ht.</th>
<th>Color of Eyes</th>
<th>Color of Hair</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Enlisted</th>
<th>Mustered Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William W. March</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>5'8&quot;</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>October 16, 1863</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This page contains a list of names associated with the U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery regiment.*

**U.S. Armies:**
- U.S. Volunteers (First Army Corps)
- U.S. Volunteers (Second Army Corps)
- U.S. Volunteers (Third Army Corps)
- U.S. Volunteers (Fourth Army Corps)
- U.S. Volunteers (Fifth Army Corps)

*Published by the U.S. Department of War in compliance with the joint resolution of the Senate and House approved March 2, 1865.*

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**FOOTNOTES:**
- [Footnote 1](#): List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part II: 1861-1865)
- [Footnote 2](#): List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part III: 1861-1865)

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**APPENDIX:**
- **Appendix A:** List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part I: 1861-1865)
- **Appendix B:** List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part II: 1861-1865)
- **Appendix C:** List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part III: 1861-1865)

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**INDEX:**
- **Index A:** List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part I: 1861-1865)
- **Index B:** List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part II: 1861-1865)
- **Index C:** List of battles, etc., in which the regiment participated. (Part III: 1861-1865)

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**ABBREVIATIONS:**
- U.S.: United States
- Vol.: Volunteer
- Corp.: Corps
- Div.: Division
- Reg.: Regiment
- Col.: Colonel
- Lt.: Lieutenant
- Capt.: Captain
- 1st: First
- 2nd: Second
- 3rd: Third
- 4th: Fourth
- 5th: Fifth
- 6th: Sixth
- 7th: Seventh
- 8th: Eighth
- 9th: Ninth
- 10th: Tenth
- 11th: Eleventh
- 12th: Twelfth
- 13th: Thirteenth
- 14th: Fourteenth
- 15th: Fifteenth
- 16th: Sixteenth
- 17th: Seventeenth
- 18th: Eighteenth
- 19th: Nineteenth
- 20th: Twentieth
- 21st: Twenty-First
- 22nd: Twenty-Second
- 23rd: Twenty-Third
- 24th: Twenty-Fourth
- 25th: Twenty-Fifth
- 26th: Twenty-Sixth
- 27th: Twenty-Seventh
- 28th: Twenty-Eighth
- 29th: Twenty-Ninth
- 30th: Thirtieth
- 31st: Thirty-First
- 32nd: Thirty-Second
- 33rd: Thirty-Third
- 34th: Thirty-Fourth
- 35th: Thirty-Fifth
- 36th: Thirty-Sixth
- 37th: Thirty-Seventh
- 38th: Thirty-Eighth
- 39th: Thirty-Ninth
- 40th: Fortieth
- 41st: Forty-First
- 42nd: Forty-Second
- 43rd: Forty-Third
- 44th: Forty-Fourth
- 45th: Forty-Fifth
- 46th: Forty-Sixth
- 47th: Forty-Seventh
- 48th: Forty-Eighth
- 49th: Forty-Ninth
- 50th: Fiftieth
- 51st: Fifty-First
- 52nd: Fifty-Second
- 53rd: Fifty-Third
- 54th: Fifty-Fourth
- 55th: Fifty-Fifth
- 56th: Fifty-Sixth
- 57th: Fifty-Seventh
- 58th: Fifty-Eighth
- 59th: Fifty-Ninth
- 60th: Sixtieth
- 61st: Sixty-First
- 62nd: Sixty-Second
- 63rd: Sixty-Third
- 64th: Sixty-Fourth
- 65th: Sixty-Fifth

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**NOTES:**
- This page contains a detailed list of personnel associated with the U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery regiment, including names, ranks, and enlistment and muster-out dates.

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**REFERENCES:**
- Official Army Register, Volunteers 1861-1865, Vol. VIII.
- U.S. Department of War.
OFFICIAL ARMY REGISTER VOLUNTEERS 1861-1865

U. S. COLORED HEAVY ARTILLERY. 163

THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

(This regiment was organized at Camp Nelson, Ky., June 23, 1865, to serve three years. It was mustered out of service November 15, 1865.)

Casualties.

Promoted, (2)
Assistant Surgeon Josiah Abbott, April 26, 1865, to Surgeon 110th U. S. C. T.

Resigned, (2)
First Lieut. D. U. Woodman, June 12, 1865.
Second Lieut. William W. Douglass, June 8, 1865.

Discharged, (17)
Captain James H. F. Foss, July 11, 1865.
Captain William C. Atwood, September 26, 1865.
Second Lieut. Charles C. Beery, October 19, 1865.
Second Lieut. William B. Conn, October 21, 1865.
First Lieut. William H. Todd, September 26, 1865.
First Lieut. D. F. Cates, December 30, 1865.
Second Lieut. James D. Bennett, October 21, 1865.
Second Lieut. William C. Mowen, September 26, 1865.
Second Lieut. Henry Powers, October 2, 1865.
Second Lieut. James H. Hick, October 5, 1865.
Second Lieut. Thomas W. Johnson, October 13, 1865.
Second Lieut. Woodford Johnson, October 13, 1865.
Second Lieut. Woodford Johnson, October 21, 1865.
Second Lieut. John Sturgis, October 21, 1865.
Second Lieut. Selden A. Smith, October 21, 1865.
Second Lieut. Selden A. Smith, October 21, 1865.
Second Lieut. John W. H. Hart, a.m., a.m., a.m.,

Surgeon.
Frederick W. Ferris, December 5, 1864.

Assistant Surgeon.
Willam W. Pong, June 24, 1865.

Selden F. Neal, November 30, 1865.

Chaplain.
George W. Johnson, August 18, 1865.

OFFICIAL ARMY REGISTER VOLUNTEERS 1861-1865

U. S. COLORED INFANTRY. 245

SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

(This regiment, composed of five companies, was organized at Covington, Ky., from April 18 to 22, 1865, to serve three years. It was ordered to be discontinued May 3, 1865, the commissioned officers ordered before a board for examination, and the enlisted men transferred to other regiments.)

Colonel.
John N. Duncan, May 7, 1865.
First Lieut. James M. H. McClellan, March 10, 1865.
Second Lieut. Martin Moore, September 6, 1865.
Assistant Surgeon Frank Carter, May 16, 1865.

Lieutenant-Colonel.
George Parker, 15 July, 1865.

Major.
George L. Parker, May 7, 1865.
First Lieut. James M. H. McClellan, March 10, 1865.
Second Lieut. Martin Moore, September 6, 1865.
Assistant Surgeon Frank Carter, May 16, 1865.

Transferred, (13)
Colonel Alexander Duncan, July 22, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. George Parker, June 30, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. James M. H. McClellan, March 10, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. Martin Moore, September 6, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. Martin Moore, September 6, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. James M. H. McClellan, March 10, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. James M. H. McClellan, March 10, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. Martin Moore, September 6, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. James M. H. McClellan, March 10, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.
First Lieut. Martin Moore, September 6, 1865, to 12th U. S. C. T.

Casualties.

Resigned, (4)
First Lieut. John N. Duncan, May 7, 1865.
First Lieut. James M. H. McClellan, March 10, 1865.
Second Lieut. Martin Moore, September 6, 1865.
Assistant Surgeon Frank Carter, May 16, 1865.

Lieutenant-Colonel.
George Parker, 15 July, 1865.

Major.
James T. Walker, 12 Jan., 1865.
E. Howard Smith, 8 July,
William A. Pope, 1 Nov.

Captains.
George E. Sutherland, 24 Aug., 1865.
William H. Hopkins, 7 Sept.
Willard C. Porter, 8 Sept.
Jacob A. Snider, 17 Oct.
Foster M. Dealeig, 17 Nov.
Isaac D. Neill, 17 Nov.
L. V. P. Plummer, 30 Nov.
(Direct Transfer, 13 March, 1865.)

First Lieutenants.
Lyman S. Carver, 29 Aug., 1864.
Harriett Smith, 7 Sept.
George Aikin, 1 Jan., 1865.
J. Howard Harmon, 22 Apr.
John F. Melton, 30 Apr.
Charles W. Wirt, 10 May.
Lionel Chapman, 1 July.
George F. Cushing, 13 July.
Morgan H. Foll, 3 July.
George W. Lottman, 7 July.
Isaac M. Fletcher, 15 July.
James M. Marney, 31 July.
Duran Kimball, 15 Aug.
Thomas A. Sears, 20 Nov.

Second Lieutenants.
Isaac M. Fletcher, 25 July, 1864.
Frank W. Clark, 18 Feb., 1865.
Martin Moore, 13 Nov.

Assistant Surgeon.
Frank Carter, 2 Oct., 1865.
Selden F. Neal, 19 Nov.

Chaplain.

NOTE.—The roster of officers is given as it stood May 3, 1865. All casualties are given in the list of casualties up to muster out of the last officer.
Casualties.

Transferred. (1)
Cap. Franklin G. Daggett, August 20, 1861, to 117th U. S. G. T.

Resigned. (1)

Promoted. (1)

Died. (2)
Col. Henry Stone, June 3, 1861.

Resigned. (3)

Promoted. (1)

Died. (2)
Col. John H. Upman, July 8, 1861.

Discharged. (2)
Capt. A. Udell, Oct. 6, 1861.

Promoted. (1)

Discharged. (2)

*Discharged February 20, 1861.
† Discharged January 6, 1861.
‡ Discharged June 17, 1867.
§ Discharged February 1, 1867.

List of battles, &c., in which this regiment participated, showing loss reported in each:

"N. and N. W. R. R.,” killed, E. M., 5; "NASHVILLE,” killed, E. M., 1; wounded, 0, 4, E. M. 41.

* Appointed Captain and A. A. G.
ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH REGIMENT.

(Ths regiment was organized at Louisville, Ky., July 5, 1863, to serve three years. It was mustered out of service February 6, 1866.)

Colonel

Orin A. Harralston 23 June, 1863

Lieutenant Colonel

James T. Bates 20 Jan, 1865

Major

Linley C. Kent 24 May, 1865

Captains

John F. Lammas 8 July, 1863

Samuel W. Campbell 8 July

John B. Kimball 23 July

John C. Kilmer 27 July

Edward D. Kepplinger 11 Aug

Marshall H. Twigg 21 Aug

Joseph P. Clement 22 Sept

James H. Kane 4 Dec

Julius H. Higley 2 Nov, 1865

Charles E. Hart 8 July

First Lieutenants

Edward O. Kennedy 23 July, 1864

James E. Harkins 23 July

Byron A. Stevens 23 July

Frank Chapman 28 Aug

James H. Turnell 26 Sept

Cyrus W. Benbow 6 Oct

Edward D. Saltier 12 Oct, 1865

James C. Lammach 8 July

Second Lieutenant

George W. Phillips 12 July, 1865

Frederick A. Hart 20 Oct

Frederick S. Branch 5 Aug

James H. Kline 27 Sept

Surgeon

L. H. Oostaply 29 June, 1863

Assistant Surgeon

Theodore V. Kinne 20 Oct, 1865

Chaplain

James W. Temple 13 Oct, 1865

Casualties

Promoted, (1)

First Lieutenant, George H. Cook, February 12, 1865, to Captain 83rd U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery.

Reassigned, (1)

1st Lieutenant, John P. Birtwell, March 6, 1865.

Captain Francis F. Collins, February 11, 1865.

First Lieutenant, Charles H. F. Painter, January 14, 1865.

Second Lieutenant, Charles W. Smith, August 30, 1865.

First Lieutenant, Henry Moss, March 12, 1865.

Second Lieutenant, E. W. Williams, April 23, 1865.

Assistant Surgeon Charles C. Grimes, February 10, 1865.

Assistant Surgeon Daniel E. Wells, May 2, 1865.

Chaplain Charles W. Tarr, November 29, 1865.

Discharged, (1)

First Lieutenant, John Hobbs, April 1, 1865.

Appointment revoked, (1)

Chaplain Francis A. Boyd, February 22, 1865.

Discharged, (1)

Second Lieutenant, Francis Heald, November 23, 1864.

Demoted, (1)


* Discharged July 5, 1865.
### Casualties

**Promoted, (3)**
- Second Lieut. Myron Allen, June 30, 1865, to First Lieut. 8th U. S. colored heavy artillery.

**Resigned, (5)**
- Colonel Robert H. Earhart, November 6, 1865.
- Captain W. C. Burrows, April 29, 1865.
- First Lieut. Henry F. Barlow, November 14, 1863.
- Second Lieut. Frank C. Gratz, April 11, 1865.
- Second Lieut. Stephen Y. Woodhull, April 30, 1865.

**Discharged, (1)**
- Captain Jesse D. Snyder, February 16, 1865.

**Died, (1)**
- Captain Charles J. Porter, December 2, 1864, of accidental wound.
- First Lieut. George F. Frost, September 22, 1864, of disease, at Bowling Green, Ky.
- First Lieut. Henry H. Halkill, June 28, 1863, of disease, at Indiana, Texas.
- Surgeon Isaiah L. Pickard, July 19, 1863, of disease, at Indiana, Texas.

**Disbanded, (3)**
- Captain Isaac C. Taylor, March 23, 1865.
- Second Lieut. Jacob W. Parker, November 7, 1864.

**Second Lieut., (2)**
- Surgeon John R. Ham, December 30, 1865.
- Assistant Surgeon Robert C. Walker, November 17, 1865.
- Chaplain Benjamin H. Callis, March 4, 1865.
Official Army Register of the volunteer forces of the United States Army, War Department, 1884. One hundred and sixteenth regiment.

List of battles, &c., in which this regiment participated, showing loss reported in each:

"Great," killed, E. M. 2.

* On board steamer "Missouri" on Ohio river when her boilers exploded; not heard of since.

List of battles, &c., in which this regiment participated, showing loss reported in each:

"Petersburg," killed, E. M. 1; wounded, E. M. 5.

* Discharged March 25, 1865. 1 Discharged February 1, 1867. 2 Discharged August 7, 1867.
U. S. COLORED INFANTRY.

OFFICIAL ARMY REGISTER VOLUNTEERS 1861-1865

List of battles, &c., in which this regiment participated, showing loss reported in each:


* Appointed Assistant Surgeon 116th U. S. C. T.
U.S. COLORED INFANTRY.

Casualties.

Transferred, (1.)

Captain John M. Hunt, August 16, 1863. to 5th U.S. colored heavy artillery.

Discharged, (23.)

Colonel Hubert A. McCaleb, June 30, 1863. (Appointed Lieutenant Colonel 6th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

Lieut. Colonel William A. Gage, October 31, 1863. (Appointed Major 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery November 1, 1863.)


Captain William L. Leverett, June 30, 1863. (Reappointed Captain 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

Captain Isaac D. Nethersole, June 30, 1863. (Reappointed Captain 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

Captain E. Howard Smith, July 2, 1863. (Appointed Major 12th U.S. S.C.T. July 1, 1863.)

Captain William S. Keane, August 16, 1863. (Reappointed Captain 13th U.S. S.C.T. July 1, 1863.)

Captain Frederick Bechtle, September 26, 1863. (Reappointed Captain 13th U.S. S.C.T. July 1, 1863.)

First Lieutenant, Lionel Chapman, June 30, 1863. (Reappointed First Lieutenant 12th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

First Lieutenant, George C. Clapp, June 30, 1863. (Reappointed First Lieutenant 12th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

First Lieutenant, George W. Lettermen, July 7, 1863. (Reappointed First Lieutenant 12th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

First Lieutenant, Daniel B. Smith, September 26, 1863. (Reappointed First Lieutenant 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

First Lieutenant, Oscar A. De Lew, Adjutant, October 31, 1863. (Reappointed First Lieutenant 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

First Lieutenant, Oscar A. De Lew, Adjutant, October 4, 1863. (Reappointed First Lieutenant 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

Second Lieutenant, Frederick A. Jennings, July 16, 1863. (Reappointed Second Lieutenant 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

Second Lieutenant, Marcus B. Felt, November 3, 1863. (Reappointed Second Lieutenant 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

Second Lieutenant, Adolph Ebermayr, December 10, 1863. (Reappointed Second Lieutenant 13th U.S. colored heavy artillery July 1, 1863.)

Assistant Surgeon, J. B. Jackson, October 10, 1863.

Assistant Surgeon, Adolph Ebermayr, December 10, 1863.

Surgeon, Chaplain.

NOTE.—The roster of officers is given as it stood June 30, 1863, date of commencement of muster out. All casualties are given in the list of casualties up to muster out of the last officer.
### Official Army Register

#### Volunteers 1861-1865

**U.S. COLORED INFANTRY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John H. Gage</td>
<td>First Lieutenant</td>
<td>10 Jan, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel H. Murdock</td>
<td>First Lieutenant</td>
<td>10 Jan, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert D. Bowker</td>
<td>First Lieutenant</td>
<td>10 Jan, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles H. Stuart</td>
<td>First Lieutenant</td>
<td>23 Mar, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Bard Rock</td>
<td>Second Lieutenant</td>
<td>10 July, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephraim Tilton</td>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td>10 Aug, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles B. Willis</td>
<td>Assistant Surgeon</td>
<td>6 Oct, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John O. D. Craighead</td>
<td>Chaplain</td>
<td>16 Aug, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aaron Rowe</td>
<td>Chaplain</td>
<td>13 Dec, 64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CASUALTIES.**

- **Promoted, (L.)**
  - Captain Moses H. Taskin, January 10, 1865, to Lieut. Colonel 50th U. S. C. T.
- **Resigned, (L.)**
  - Second Lieut. George Harvey, February 9, 1865.
- **Discharged, (D.)**
  - Colonel J. Ham Davidson, January 17, 1866.
  - Major Alexander A. Mears, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Daniel H. Herr, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain John B. Keyes, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Thomas Harfington, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Alphonso D. Clark, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Samuel B. Coffin, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain William A. Wier, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Oliver D. Ludlow, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. William S. Mckim, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. William A. Greal, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. William B. Dickie, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. Wallace H. Parker, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. Alvin P. Kimball, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. James F. Peters, January 17, 1866.
  - Second Lieut. Return Bone, January 17, 1866.
  - Second Lieut. Sylvanus P. Hallaway, January 17, 1866.
  - Second Lieut. George Gudwin, January 17, 1866.
  - Discharged, (D.)

**U.S. COLORED INFANTRY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captain Daniel Bailey</td>
<td>Resigned, (L.)</td>
<td>July 26, 65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.**

(This regiment, composed of men enlisted and drafted in the State of Kentucky to serve one, two, and three years, was organized at Louisville, Ky., December 2, 1864. It was mustered out of service October 10, 1865.)

**Colonel.**
- Samuel A. Porter, 13 Oct, 64 (Brig. Gen. 2nd March, 1865.)

**Lieutenant Colonel.**
- Smith A. Whitfield, 15 Oct, 64

**Major.**
- James H. Cole, 13 Oct, 64

**Captains.**
- Jedidiah Cole, 14 Dec, 64
- Wallace W. Abbey, 14 Dec, 64
- George H. Travis, 15 Jan, 65
- Oliver S. Smith, 21 Jan, 65
- Thomas Cox, 24 Apr, 65
- Miles Hollister, 5 May, 65

**First Lieutenant.**
- James E. Ross, 7 Oct, 64
- James A. Norton, 10 Oct, 64
- Edwin B. Burton, 13 Oct, 64
- James A. Nay, 15 Oct, 64
- John D. Ball, 9 Jan, 65
- Jerome Massengale, 4 Jan, 65
- Samuel Stuart, 15 March, 65
- Elijah L. Clark, 15 Jan, 65
- George W. Field, 9 Jan, 65
- William P. Hendro, 25 Feb, 65
- Charles H. Rockwell, 26 Apr, 65

**Second Lieutenant.**
- Philip Drake, 30 Oct, 64
- Adam Black, 15 Jan, 65
- Philip Hayes, 31 Jan, 65
- Thompson B. Ballett, 27 Jan, 65
- William Nelson, 21 Feb, 65
- John H. Lackey, 24 Apr, 65
- Isaac J. Wells, 10 June, 65

**Surgeon.**
- Charles L. Fisher, 15 Jan, 65

**Assistant Surgeon.**
- Richard Sweet, 14 Dec, 64

**Chaplain.**
- J. Rice Taylor, 15 Dec, 64

**OFFICIAL ARMY REGISTER VOLUNTEERS 1861-1865.**

**CASUALTIES.**

- **Promoted, (L.)**
  - Major Alexander A. Mears, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Daniel H. Herr, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain John B. Keyes, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Thomas Harfington, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Alphonso D. Clark, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Samuel B. Coffin, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain William A. Wier, January 17, 1866.
  - Captain Oliver D. Ludlow, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. William S. Mckim, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. William A. Greal, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. William B. Dickie, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. Wallace H. Parker, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. Alvin P. Kimball, January 17, 1866.
  - First Lieut. James F. Peters, January 17, 1866.
  - Second Lieut. Return Bone, January 17, 1866.
  - Second Lieut. Sylvanus P. Hallaway, January 17, 1866.
  - Second Lieut. George Gudwin, January 17, 1866.
  - Discharged, (D.)
OFFICIAL ARMED VOLUNTEERS 1861-1865

U. S. COLORED INFANTRY.

Casualties.

Resigned. (6.)
Colonel Charles D. Armstrong, April 9, 1865.
Captain William H. Paul, October 29, 1865.
Captain William H. Paul, October 29, 1865.
First Lieutenant W. W. Wiggins, April 9, 1865.
First Lieutenant Adolph Eberwein, October 29, 1865.
Assistant Surgeon William A. Dotson, November 24, 1865.

Discharged, (15.)
Captain John B. Craig, September 26, 1865.
Captain John F. Hovey, September 26, 1865.
Captain Benjamin A. Hooker, October 7, 1865.
Captain William L. Leverett, April 13, 1866.
First Lieutenant John W. Legrand, September 26, 1865.
First Lieutenant John J. Trumey, September 26, 1865.
First Lieutenant William F. Wakefield, September 26, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Felix J. J. Cobine, September 26, 1865.
Second Lieutenant John H. T. Hinton, September 26, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Thomas J. Ward, September 23, 1865.
Second Lieutenant James H. Allen, September 26, 1865.
Second Lieutenant Jesse H. Smith, February 13, 1866.
Second Lieutenant Isaac P. Allen, April 3, 1866.

Died. (2.)
First Lieutenant Frederick H. Bierbower, died in a battle at Fort Selden, N. M., October 23, 1866.
First Lieutenant William F. Warner, died in a battle at Fort Selden, N. M., October 23, 1866.

First Lieutenants.
* John B. Craig, December 1865.
* William H. Paul, December 1865.
* Benjamin A. Hooker, October 7, 1865.
* John W. Legrand, September 26, 1865.
* John J. Trumey, September 26, 1865.
* William F. Wakefield, September 26, 1865.
* Felix J. J. Cobine, September 26, 1865.
* John H. T. Hinton, September 26, 1865.
* William H. P. Rich, September 26, 1865.
* Thomas J. Ward, September 23, 1865.
* James H. Allen, September 26, 1865.
* Jesse H. Smith, February 13, 1866.
* Isaac P. Allen, April 3, 1866.

Second Lieutenants.
James C. Rousden, January 3, 1866.
John C. Valentine, January 3, 1866.
Frank E. Parren, January 3, 1866.
Carlton W. Bacon, January 3, 1866.
Walter W. Morgan, January 3, 1866.

Assistant Surgeons.
* Discharged October 21, 1865.

Surgeon.
William T. Day, February 5, 1867.

Assistant Surgeons.

Chaplain.

* Discharged November 6, 1865.

20 h
It has already been seen that detailed survival rate calculations are possible in the ante-bellum period only for the 1820s and 1850s. For other decades, nevertheless, growth rate calculations of slave transfers (using Frederic Leriche's method of analysis) are possible, and such calculations point even in the earliest decades of the ante-bellum period to a very substantial inter-regional slave movement. Growth rate calculations suggest for the broad two to eight period a total of some two hundred thousand inter-regional slave transfers — though estimates for this period should be treated with caution because, with extensive emancipations and Atlantic slave trade exports, the US slave population was far from being "closed" in these centuries. It is, however, with the 1820 to 1840 period that we are principally concerned. For that period survival rate estimates have already been made for the 1820s and 1830s, and basic growth rate calculations suggest for the 1820s and 1830s respectively, transfer totals of some 25,000 and 165,000 slaves. Combining these estimates and making some allowance (see note 33) for a declining due to the "mixed" character of certain states, it seems that over the 1820 to 1840 period a total inter-regional transfer of more than one million slaves took place. Evidence already presented has shown that both in the 1820s, a decade of relatively moderate economic performance, and in the 1830s, a decade of very widespread economic prosperity, the trade accounted for the substantial majority of inter-regional slave transfers. The evidence therefore suggests that over the 1820 to 1840 period the domestic slave trade assumed massive proportions, amounting for at least some 50 to 60 per cent of over one million inter-regional slave movements.

The scale of slave transfers was such that for the typical Upper South slave of the ante-bellum period the chance of becoming involved in the inter-regional slave trade was very real. Combining transfers by both planter migration and the trade, the decennial rate of slave exportation from the Upper South was in the 1820s about 9 per cent, in the 1830s about 17 per cent, in the 1840s about 20 per cent, and in the 1850s about 25 to 30 per cent — so that the 1850s exportation rate represented something similar to or a little below the average for the decades from 1820 to 1860. Applying detailed transfer statistics for the 1850s it appears therefore that, of the exporting area slave population which was under ten years old in 1850, up to about 15 per cent would be 1860 have migrated with their owners to the Lower South. Of the same basic exporting area slave population of 1820, at least some 25 per cent would by 1860 have been carried to the importing states in the trade.33

33 For footnote, see p. 729.
The age structure of slave movements indicates therefore that, through the cooperation of traders and slave-holders, the domestic slave trade brought about the inter-regional transference of a very substantial proportion of the Upper South's slave population; and the extent of the domestic slave trade must greatly have exceeded that of planter migration. A trade on the massive scale which has been described must have been one of the basic factors influencing the life of the ante-bellum South. Such a traffic would surely, in the years concerned, have been of fundamental importance in determining the affairs of the slave family and in defining the course of relations between slaves and masters.

35 Since, at about 9 or 10 per cent, the overall inter-regional exportation rate of the 1850s was similar to the rates for the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, the individual age and sex cohort exportation rates of the 1850s are taken as having been approximately typical of those for similar age-sex groups during the three preceding decades. On this basis the accumulated chances of being transferred are calculated for an slave aged 0 to 9 in 1820. The percentage chances which, in the text, are cited for migrating with ones and for being traded are based on the attribution to planter migration of a 45% exportation rate for each decade. Had a 3% exportation rate been attributed each decade to planter migration, the cumulative chance of being traded would have risen to about 32% and that of being transferred by migration would have fallen to about 11%.
Frontiersmen and Planters in the Formation of Kentucky

By John D. Barnhart

The settlement of Kentucky was part of a rapid and extensive frontier movement which took place during and after the American Revolution. Thousands of settlers moved into the western part of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and into the regions that became Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The migration was largely an expansion of the population upland from Pennsylvania through the Carolinas. This part of the "Old West" had been settled by two streams of people. One had moved along the Blue Ridge from Pennsylvania and Maryland, seeking the unoccupied lands of the southern piedmont and the valley of the Appalachians. These pioneers were largely Scotch-Irish and German in origin. As they moved southward they met and mixed with migrants who were being crowded to the frontier from the lowland by rising land values and the expansion of the plantation regime. From these diverse groups came the settlers of Kentucky. They moved along the Wilderness Trail through Cumberland Gap, or, farther to the westward, crossed the mountains and reached Kentucky on the waters of the Ohio.

Somewhat later than the earliest pioneers there came to Kentucky representatives of planter families who established plantation life as nearly like that of eastern Virginia as conditions would permit. They were not numerous, but their family connections, their training and ability, and their wealth often enabled them to become leaders and exert an influence disproportionate to their numbers.
habituants of eastern responsive Indians but effective officials and frontiersmen with fees with need. The appropriated money were made in excess. Jefferson, they because scarcity and taxation. federation. When taxation, state government offices and conventions, 1793-1799, in Hilton, ed., 1769-1799.

Frontiersmen and Planters in Kentucky

21

John Barnhart

Frontiersmen and Planters in Kentucky

John Barnhart

FRONTIERSMEN AND PLANTERS IN KENTUCKY

21

FRONTIERSMEN AND PLANTERS IN KENTUCKY

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FRONTIERSMEN AND PLANTERS IN KENTUCKY

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FRONTIERSMEN AND PLANTERS IN KENTUCKY

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FRONTIERSMEN AND PLANTERS IN KENTUCKY

John Barnhart

ermament, and ask for admission to the Federal Union, but the majority preferred a slower constitutional procedure. During these years the Kentuckians elected delegates to a series of ten conventions, and they in turn adopted resolutions favoring independence of Virginia and petitions to Congress requesting admission to the Union. Their patience and peaceful perseverance against great obstacles should be recognized as proof of their faith and devotion to constitutional government and loyalty to the nation.

Other differences may have been referred to as "discordant opinions" and "jealousies which have infected society." The frontiersmen had come largely from the back country of older eastern states where they had been subjected to discriminations at the hands of the leaders who lived in the eastern counties and who were representatives of the planters and wealthier classes. These discriminations included unequal representation, property qualifications for officeholding and voting, an established church, inequalities in taxation, and the failure of the government to provide adequate defense for the frontier. They were farmers who worked in the fields and who owned but few slaves. They were poorer, more individualistic and democratic, and opposed to the aristocracy of the tidewater. Some were Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, more were not members of any church, but nearly all were

2 Bodley, "Littell's Political Transactions," in loc. cit., 11-39; Robert S. Cotterill, History of Pioneer Kentucky (Cincinnati, 1917), 209-27. The records of these conventions are found in Abernethy, "Journal of the First Kentucky Convention," in loc. cit., 69-78, and in the manuscript journals of the conventions held in July and November, 1788, July, 1789, July, 1790, and April, 1792 (Kentucky State Library, Frankfort). Extracts from the journals of conventions held in May, 1785, August, 1785, and September, 1787, are found in Bodley, "Littell's Political Transactions;" in loc. cit., 62-72, 84-88.

3 The term "frontiersmen" in this paper refers to individuals who had considerable experience on the frontier as early settlers, Indian traders, Indian fighters, or early ministers, particularly those of the more democratic sects. Much the larger number of frontiersmen were farmers. Some of the more successful and acquisitive frontiersmen accepted the ideals of other groups and abandoned the more democratic creed and conduct of the pioneers. When they did this they ceased to be frontiersmen. The term does not include the planters or their allies in politics, business, or at the bar, and it does not include the large land speculators, particularly the speculators who aspired to become planters. It is not denied that the frontier influenced the planters and speculators, but that they as a general rule adhered to a philosophy that was in conflict with the ideals of the frontiersmen.
General J. B. Lewis, the commissioner for the State, says: "The interest manifested by the people is something wonderful. The charitable societies in the north are doing nobly in the work, and, as for the freedmen generally, they are wide awake, and evince the greatest eagerness for an education, considering the long night of ignorance from which they have now awakened."

The statistics are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School report for January 1, 1867.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Day schools</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Night schools</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Schools sustained by freedmen</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Schools sustained in part by freedmen</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers transported by bureau</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School buildings owned by freedmen</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School buildings furnished by bureau</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers, white</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers, colored</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pupils enrolled in day and night schools, male</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pupils enrolled in day and night schools, female</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pupils enrolled last report</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KENTUCKY.

Kentucky presents another instance of advanced legislation in behalf of the education of freedmen.

An act approved February 16, 1866, declares that "all taxes hereafter collected from negroes and mulattoes in this Commonwealth shall be set apart as a separate fund for their use, one-half, if necessary, to go to the support of their paupers, and the remainder to the education of their children."

"In addition to the tax already levied a tax of two dollars shall be levied on every male negro and mulatto over the age of eighteen years, and, when paid into the treasury, shall go into the fund aforesaid."

"The trustees of each school district may cause a separate school to be taught in their district for the education of the negro and mulatto children, to be conducted and reported as other schools are; and when this is done, they shall receive their proportion of the fund set apart in this act for that purpose."

"* * * * No part of said fund shall ever be appropriated otherwise than pursuant to this act, in aid of common schools for negroes and mulattoes."

F. S. — 3
The superintendent of public instruction, in commenting upon this law, gives it a liberal construction. He says:

"The act dedicates one-half—possibly more—of all the taxes hereafter collected from negroes and mulattoes in this Commonwealth, to the establishment and maintenance of common schools for the education of colored children. The schools are to be entirely separate and distinct from the schools established for the education of white children. They are to be under the care of the trustees of the common school districts of the several counties of the State, and are to be conducted and reported as schools for the education of white children are now conducted and reported, and the money realized under this act is to be apportioned and paid out at the same time and in the same manner as that designed for the education of white children.

"Thus the education of the colored people, in view of their changed relations, is beginning to be regarded by most men of reflection, without reference to their present or past political opinion, as a matter of very great importance, and one with which the State may properly concern itself.

"The revenue realized under this act will most probably be small for the current year; but, whatever the amount may be, it will be honesty apportioned to schools which have been taught and reported in accordance with this act."

Criticism, in some particulars, might be passed upon this law, but we could hardly have expected more under present circumstances. Our only fear is that it will not be promptly carried into effect. Should this be done a great impulse will be given to the colored schools of the State.

Most of the schools have heretofore been supported by the freedmen. Their payments, in the aggregate, were about fifteen hundred dollars per month. This was usually by voluntary subscriptions. Hereafter this voluntary method will be superseded by the tax under the above law, whereby the burden will be shared more equally.

"We do not learn that the freedmen, here or elsewhere, oppose taxation. They rather seem proud of such public recognition, it being to them an evidence of their freedom."

Their own color, also, furnishes most of the teachers for their schools. Out of the 82 teachers reported, 69 of them are colored.

The bureau has paid the rent of a number of the school buildings. One such building, at Lexington, has accommodations for 600 pupils. This school is free to all colored children in the city. Major General Jeff. C. Davis says:

"The establishment and success of this school in Lexington is very satisfactory to a large majority of its most substantial and intelligent citizens." In other places in the State, with the exception of Danville and Frankfort, where public sentiment is similar to that in Lexington, there is strong opposition; and, aside from the assistance and protection of the bureau, the colored people meet with but little encouragement in their efforts to establish schools.

Mr. Noble, the recently appointed superintendent, states that there is great difficulty in procuring buildings suitable for school purposes. The places of worship owned by the colored people are almost the only available school-houses in the State; and, but for the protecting aid of the Freedmen's Bureau, schools for the colored children in this State would have no existence. He is now part of the month 1 rented in Louisville, a building for a freedmen's school, it provoked the most violent expressions of hostility. Prominent business men would have no further dealing with it. This hostility even took the form of open violence; the building itself was attacked, the glass broken, the door beaten down, and it was found necessary for a time to place a guard over it. When it became evident that we were determined to open and protect the school, these demonstrations ceased, and it is now in successful operation."

Such violence is to be regretted, in view of the good name Kentucky is gaining by her impartial legislation.

The unprecedented severity of the weather has lessened attendance during the winter. Many of the people are too poor to clothe their children properly, and consequently are compelled to keep them indoors whenever weather is inclement. The aggregate of all done in the State is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Day schools.</th>
<th>Night schools.</th>
<th>New scholars this month.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustained</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by freedmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustained</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in part by freedmen</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Advanced readers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buildings</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owned by freedmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Higher branches.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read and</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Necessities</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>in day</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3,297</td>
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<tr>
<td>and night</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>of schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>whole amount</td>
<td>87,438</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>of tuition</td>
<td>87,438</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>paid by freedmen during the month,</td>
<td>87,438</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of expenses per month for support of above schools by all parties,</td>
<td>87,438</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T. K. NOBLE,
State Superintendent of Education.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we congratulate the government and all friends of the free state that the efforts of this bureau, coupled with the noble educational efforts of the south, have been crowned with signal success. The grateful acknowledgment should rise to God, for whose name we are laboring, that "hitherto he hath helped us." The freedom of the slaves has been universally confirmed, and he has proved himself worthy of it.

The charge that the negro is "too stupid to learn," has passed away with the old cant that he was "too ferocious to live." We shall soon forget the existence of either, or wonder that they could for a moment have had influence. Those freedmen are hereafter to take that place among men so long denied them; the degradation, cruelly imposed by the white race having been itself the only reason urged for its own continuance. Emancipation has suddenly swept away this changing argument. It has suddenly commended its victims to universal favor—a singular event, showing how human blindness is relieved by the light of Divine interference. This people, thus delivered, will be still led by an omnipotent hand. They are to prove themselves worthy of such protection; still more so their children. A seeming inspiration is upon them, as a race. It quickens a vitality they had not been supposed to possess; and we ourselves can but glory with the future which rises before this race, oblivious to past inhuman estimation. A noticeable fact also is, that opposition to
<table>
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<th>Total Value of Property</th>
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<td>Kansas</td>
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</table>

**Consolidated schools report to Bureau of Education, Frederick and Jefferson Counties, 1868.**
FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS.

While plans are underway for education in its widest sense must be furnished. The freedmen must be led out of the wilderness of ignorance, if it takes 15 years. We are under peculiar obligations to these people, which, if not discharged, will come to us through their poverty and crime, and, perhaps, in the case of the popular violence which must be the result.

Fisk School.—At Nashville the Fisk School has grown into the Fisk University, incorporated in the State. The grounds are slightly located. The buildings, formerly used as a military hospital, and, when properly furnished, will accommodate 1,240 to 1,500 pupils. The rooms are large, well lighted and ventilated; the courtyards within the walls handingly sodded, and the whole appearance of the place is neat and attractive. The institution embraces three departments, preparatory, normal, and collegiate, and is under the management of the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Aid Commission, at a cost of $16,000.

Great and permanent good is expected from this rising institution, in furnishing teachers and leading men for the colored population of the nation.

KENTUCKY.

In Kentucky, which did not engage in the rebellion as a State, and where the breviature has, therefore, had but little power, peculiar embarrassments have existed. Local prejudice has been intense. The freedmen, who in great numbers enlisted in the Union army, returned brave and manly, but poor, and many of them homeless.

A large amount of benevolent aid was needed, but little has been received. It was unsafe for the educational associations to spend money where they could not be thoroughly protected. But, through the energy of bureau officers, and especially of the superintendent, Reverend T. K. Noble, the schools have grown, and, at this date, they are nearly equal in numbers and attendance to the best pupil of last year.

All kinds of schools, as reported, 218; pupils 13,950, including 120 regular day or night schools, with 145 teachers and 6,493 pupils; and 83 Sabbath schools with 6,413 pupils. One high normal school with 225 pupils is reported with the day schools.

There are, also, in the whole number, but not regularly reported, eight day or night schools, with 18 teachers and 480 pupils; and seven Sabbath schools with 37 teachers and 661 pupils. Thirty-five of the day schools are graded, viz: primary, intermediate, and grammar.

Of the 200 teachers in charge of the above schools 39 are white and 161 colored.

The average attendance has been 5,220, or 89 per cent.

Tuition, amounting in the aggregate to $6,897, has been paid by 3,973 of the pupils, an average of over $173 per scholar.

The amount from all sources, for the support of the above schools, has been $13,334.91.

This bureau has expended $5,364.99 for roads and repairs, including material for school buildings.

Forty-one of the school houses are owned entirely by the freedmen, and they support all or in part, 117 of the schools.

The yearly report of General Sidney Burbank, assistant commissioner, in October, has a summary of interesting facts:

Continuous struggle.—The freedmen of Kentucky, in their efforts to give their children the rudiments of an education, have had a continuous struggle with poverty. Through the proclamation of emancipation upon their own resources, compelled to assume the responsibilities of freedmen, with no previous preparation or discipline; without friends: without property; bearing on all sides from their old masters the continuous prophecy that their race was certain to die out in a few years; allowed no voice in the assessment of their taxes; cheated, assailed, molested: 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 carry on this struggle with any degree of success.

But poverty and its treatment have not been the only obstacles which have confronted them.

Opposition.—Here has been a special and most bitter opposition on the part of white citizens to the establishment of colored schools, and this hostility is done more to disfranchise the freedmen and thwart the efforts of the officers of this bureau in organizing and maintaining schools. These men have persistently and publicly ridiculed the very idea of educating the negro. There have been schools destroyed by any buildings that the negroes could erect, and I have no doubt, would have carried out their threats but for the presence of United States troops.

There has been still another hindrance to the extension of the educational work, viz.: the small amount of aid rendered by the benevolent associations of the country. The managers of these 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 benevolence an average of more than $6,000 a month, the freedmen of Kentucky have received from the same source only about $200 a month.

Growth.—But in spite of the hindrances above mentioned the work has gone on rapidly. There has been great improvement in the management of these schools; incompetent and unfaithful teachers have been removed and their places filled, as far as possible, by teachers trained for the work.

Only a beginning.—Only a beginning, however, has been made. There are in the State more than 50,000 colored children between the ages of 6 and 15 years. Five thousand only of these are in the schools, while 25,000 are growing up in ignorance.

The only practicable course seems to be, to establish first-class schools at all central points, making them, as far as possible, model schools; and then follow close in 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 supply instruction. The freedmen are able to sustain them if they are teachers of their own race. There must also be schools in the State for the training of teachers for these thousands of untutored children. Here in Kentucky the colored people generally prefer that teachers should belong to their own race. They will accept white teachers, but not after they are prepared by their superior qualifications, but when their superior qualifications, and after they have been shown to be really competent, they receive them with great satisfaction. During the past year I have had to look mainly to Oberlin for colored teachers really fit for the work.

In compliance with instructions contained in circular letter from Washington, June 26, 1868, I have submitted some of the more prominent points which the progress of the work has developed:

1st. A persistent determination on the part of the freedmen to educate their children. The freedmen have expended more than three times as much as this bureau, in building all their houses and at all places of residence, supporting schools, and educating the children, and they do this out of their poverty, in order to secure education for their children. This is a fact which shows how much they are willing to do for the education of their children.

2d. Capacity of the children for education. This question has been conclusively settled by the experience of the past year. No one who is familiar with schools will fail to admit that, all things considered, the progress of these pupils is comparable favorably with that of white children.

3d. The interest of the parents in the education of their children. The interest of the parents in the education of their children is shown in the fact that the ценность и ценность свободы has taken hold of them. When parents come to me and ask for the establishment of schools, they say, "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 there, they reply, "Because they are free." This central thought which seems to run through all they do, that they are no longer chattels, but citizens, is itself a great educator.

4th. The care of the progress of the bureau. This people know the worth of knowledge. They are thoroughly in earnest in their efforts to obtain it, but they must be shown the way and shown it continually. They are not using the help of organizing and directing minds. Otherwise their interest will be less or more a failure.

Little needs to be added to the above full synopsis of school affairs in Kentucky. The facts are clearly stated, and should impress the good people of that State with their importance.
The superintendent says:

The inspections ordered have been promptly and thoroughly made, and a large number of towns indicated where schools ought to be organized. Twenty-three schools have been started in these places.

We regret being obliged to add the evidences of continued hostility which he gives:

A petition has been sent to the city authorities in Louisville, praying that the new school building on Broadway, now nearly completed, be placed for the children of the negroes, as an addition to the remodeled old school now burned, and a guard is stationed at night and day.

Opposition everywhere.—I greatly fear that when government officers are removed, many of the schools, now in successful operation in the interior of the State, will be broken up.

I see no expression to the schools everywhere. Where they have been in successful operation for some time the opposition is least, and I think in time it will wholly cease; but that time is not yet.

The superintendent gives many cases of hostility in different parts of the State:

Almost every school in Louisville has been interfered with in one way or another since the first of July. In seven of the schools instances of interference have been reported. In many portions of the Louisville sub-district, said the hostility of it would be positively unsafe for an officer or an agent of the bureau to openly undertake to organize a school without protection.

Lexington sub-district.—C. J. True, who has charge of six counties in the northern portion of the district, reports such opposition to colored schools in many of the towns, and specifies a number of places where schools ought to be organized, but where the hostility is so intense they could be carried on only under the immediate protection of United States troops.

Welsh clergyman.—As an illustration of the intense hostility in the northern sub-district: The freedman, with the assistance of $150 from this bureau, put up a neat school-house, and a Welsh clergyman was sent there as teacher. When this was known he was driven from his house and compelled to take up his quarters with a colored man. Soon after, the house of this colored man was burned by a mob, who destroyed the teacher and threatened to burn down the house. They were not immediately interfered. Before they could carry out their threats a squad of soldiers made their appearance, and the mob dispersed. The commanding officer of the troops that have the teacher a tent within the limits of the camp, and when necessary a guard of soldiers.

Hostility malignant.—The malignant hostility of white citizens, not of the better, the more intelligent class, possibly not of the majority, is the one great impediment to the general education of the freedmen all over the State. It shows itself in constant efforts to prejudice the negroes towards those who are seeking to help them. They are told that "the teachers are making their money." That "schools do them no good." That it is "much better to keep the children at home and let them get their own money than to waste their time at school." I beg leave respectfully to say that if the officers and agents of the bureau are interfered with, to be present a persecution of the freedmen will be inaugurated which will be in many respects far worse than that of the days of slavery.

In many towns in the interior of the State it has been found impossible to hire buildings for colored schools, or to secure a lot of land whereon to build them. School-houses have been destroyed and the lives of teachers threatened. It is absolutely impossible to secure a teacher to teach and a building to teach in; still there has been progress, and our teachers deserve great credit for their perseverance.

Circumstantial testimony.—The almost exclusive employment of colored teachers in these States at first was done in the face of an express prohibition against hiring negroes who were very imperfectly prepared. But, as a majority of the children were in the alphabet, these teachers, poorly qualified as they were, rendered good service.

Colored teachers.—The almost exclusive employment of colored teachers in these States at first was done in the face of an express prohibition against hiring negroes who were very imperfectly prepared. But, as a majority of the children were in the alphabet, these teachers, poorly qualified as they were, rendered good service.

Normal School at Berea.—At Berea, Madison county, four new buildings, by the aid of the bureau, have been erected and are now completed. The attendance at the school is 240. Nearly one-half of the pupils are white. A normal department has been established, and a large number of young men and women are receiving special training with a view to their becoming teachers.

Cairo.—Extracts from a special report on schools in Cairo, Illinois, are appended:

In the city of Cairo there are 400 or 500 children of freedmen between the ages of 6 and 18 years. Hitherto no provision whatever has been made for their education.

A large proportion of these are refugees from Kentucky, who went to Cairo soon after the breaking out of the war, and, as a class, are poor.
### SCHOOL STATISTICS.

Consolidated school report to Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and

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<th>North Carolina</th>
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<th>South Carolina</th>
<th>Tennessee</th>
<th>Georgia</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students - Day</td>
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<td>1,578</td>
<td>1,428</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>1,390</td>
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<td>Night</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,482</td>
<td>1,768</td>
<td>1,578</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>1,318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Teachers - White     | 200      | 274      | 128            | 124            | 132           | 148       | 116     |
| Colored              | 241      | 218      | 150            | 124            | 123           | 133       | 104     |
| Total                | 441      | 492      | 278            | 252            | 255           | 281       | 218     |

| No. pupils enrolled in school (both male and female) | 465 | 531 | 533 | 481 | 479 | 465 | 459 |
| Total          | 1,117 | 1,205 | 1,135 | 1,046 | 1,057 | 1,055 | 1,043 |

| Students - Day       | 1,188    | 1,288    | 1,205          | 1,096          | 1,127         | 1,116     | 1,081   |
| Night                | 150      | 150      | 130            | 90             | 90            | 80        | 70      |
| Total                | 1,338    | 1,438    | 1,335          | 1,186          | 1,217         | 1,196     | 1,151   |

| Teachers - White     | 130      | 130      | 124            | 116            | 120           | 120       | 116     |
| Colored              | 150      | 150      | 130            | 112            | 120           | 120       | 112     |
| Total                | 280      | 300      | 254            | 236            | 240           | 240       | 228     |

| Students - Day       | 1,080    | 1,000    | 1,004          | 998            | 1,000         | 998       | 1,000   |
| Night                | 130      | 130      | 130            | 124            | 130           | 130       | 124     |
| Total                | 1,210    | 1,130    | 1,134          | 1,122          | 1,130         | 1,130     | 1,124   |

| Teachers - White     | 120      | 120      | 120            | 116            | 120           | 120       | 116     |
| Colored              | 120      | 120      | 120            | 116            | 120           | 120       | 116     |
| Total                | 240      | 240      | 240            | 236            | 240           | 240       | 236     |

| Students - Day       | 1,080    | 1,000    | 1,004          | 998            | 1,000         | 998       | 1,000   |
| Night                | 130      | 130      | 130            | 124            | 130           | 130       | 124     |
| Total                | 1,210    | 1,130    | 1,134          | 1,122          | 1,130         | 1,130     | 1,124   |

| Teachers - White     | 120      | 120      | 120            | 116            | 120           | 120       | 116     |
| Colored              | 120      | 120      | 120            | 116            | 120           | 120       | 116     |
| Total                | 240      | 240      | 240            | 236            | 240           | 240       | 236     |

### SCHOOL STATISTICS.

Abandoned Lands, for the six months ending July 1, 1868.

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<th>Louisiana</th>
<th>Texas</th>
<th>Arkansas</th>
<th>Tennessee</th>
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<th>Arkansas</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Florida</th>
<th>Alabama</th>
<th>Mississippi</th>
<th>Louisiana</th>
<th>Texas</th>
<th>Arkansas</th>
<th>Tennessee</th>
<th>North Carolina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
may point in this county, except Dreaden. Learned that were it not for this facility, the colored schools, at least, would be sustained in the county. A young native Tennessean was driven away from teaching a white school at Gardner.

Colonel Thompson closes his report for December as follows:

A new impulse has been given to the school work by cooperation with the State authorities. Not only are teachers being educated and trained in the normal and city free schools, but new schoolhouses are being erected, and preparations going forward to open a considerable number of new schools.

The returns from Tennessee furnish statistics as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regularly Reported</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and night</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>6,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>5,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>11,987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irregularly Reported</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and night</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>12,576</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average attendance of pupils has been 1,530, or 71 per cent of the whole number.

Number of pupils paying tuition, 1,056; amount paid, $2,512.84, being an average of $2.37 paid by each pupil. There are 120 in the alphabet; 2,826 students; 480 advanced readers; 682 are studying geography; 2,866 study arithmetic; 1,532 are writing. Seven hundred and sixty-five are over 16 years of age; 107 were free before the war, and 2 were white.

Of the regularly reported teachers of day and night schools, 90 are white and 50 are colored. Transportation for 87 of them was furnished by the bureau.

Thirty-two of these schools were sustained by the freedmen. They own 40 of the school buildings; 26 are furnished by the bureau.

Total expenditure by the bureau for rents, repairs, and materials for the school buildings, $11,895.03. The total expenditure by all parties, as reported, was $95,102.48.

KENTUCKY.


In Kentucky the work of educating the freedman was undertaken later than in other States, and but little aid from benevolent associations has ever been received. Opposition has also been bitter, interposing every variety of obstacle; and yet, under a vigorous superintendence, a great work has been accomplished.

The schools maintain their high standing, and much enthusiasm has
been exhibited by bureau officers in extending them throughout the State. General Barbour, in August, reports that—

On the freedmen it may be said, they manifest a commendable zeal and determination to work. Their desire for freedom is evidenced by the labor they are willing to perform for their families and for their children an education.

The number of schools in operation during the vacation month was 20, with an attendance of 2,551 Negro schools which was started here, together with 10 more started in the eastern district—one at Verdine, another at Crittenden. In the central district—four at Louisville, one at Columbus, one at Jeffersonville, Indiana, and one at Belltown. In the western district—one at Henderson, one at Hickman, and one at Madisonville.

This is for the evening year is very flattering. The three sub-assistant commissioners have taken hold of their work with great energy. The month of September will develop our prospects for the coming year.

By the list of January we shall have 200 schools and 10,000 scholars.

Mr. Nobs, the oldest teacher, whose school year as one of great prosperity, but gives many cases of shocking outrage:

The State has been thoroughly inspected, and arrangements made for commencing schools at every point where there is reasonable probability of their being allowed to go on. There are, however, many places where schools ought to be started, but the people are so hostile and the freedmen so intimidated, that this could not be, only by the presence of United States troops.

Of the 165 teachers now (August) employed in the State, only 21 are white. These are located for the most part in places where they can be protected.

I shall be glad to employ a greater number of white teachers, for, as might be expected, they are better qualified as a class; but the intense opposition to negro schools renders it, in this State, impossible. White citizens, professively loyal, refuse to board them, and they would be compelled to make their homes in the freedmen’s cabins. The old man and cry of misconception would then be raised, and mobs would dissolve break up their schools. This is not fancy, but actual fact.

In the little village of Hickman, in Fulton county, Miss Jennie Meade, a young lady friend of mine, having been preparing the expedition of teaching a freedman, was attacked by a freedman (a former 11th Illinois State troops). A loyal man consented to bear her, but soon found it was ruining his business, and burned her away. Finally, a poor widow, living near a mile from the schoolhouse, was threatened with violence by the order of the ten men, a house was burned, and the children of the teacher were threatened with violence. The woman was burned again and again; she has been grossly insulted upon the streets, of her house has been burned, and the parents of her pupils menaced with the assistance of the freedmen. The attendances has diminished to nearly one half the original number. The freedmen may not have been injured any day, but that the teacher—John L. Graham, chief clerk in this office, attempted to establish a school at the State, near Russellville, Logan county, Kentucky, but failed for the reason that organized preparations were made to mob him. He reported 150 free children there, who, according to his belief, would have been drawn to school by the mere mention of a school at that point, though under the protection of the strong arm of the military, and there are other places where equal results of education are to be expected, and schools are needed in the more thinly settled portions of the State.

Public sentiment toward the schools may be seen as correctly or openly hostile.

Nothing can be done for the education of the public, even their own to help themselves, and too proud and bitter to receive help from the State.

I shall be glad to see the education of the children of the freedmen until just laws are passed by the State, allowing the taxes collected to be used in support of the schools.

Barren—I am compelled to report that in Shepherdsville, Bullitt county, the building known as the Nobles school was burned to the ground on the night of October 1. Two churches in the same county, used for school purposes, were also burned on the same night.

In Tompkinsville, Monroe county, a school house was destroyed in the same way on the night of October 1.

Teacher driven out.—At Mayfield, on the morning of the 20th of October, the teacher, about 50 in number, after robbing and severely whipping a number of freedmen, proceeded to the house of one of the freedmen and politely asked for his return to the school. The freedmen with a number of the negroes followed him and the freedman, who had been knocked down by a mob. The freedmen were out raiding through the streets on the night of the 6th of October.

They numbered over 100, all mounted, armed, and disguised in the usual manner. The freedmen were heard nagging and insulting the teacher, who was ordered to leave the school house.

The following, from the report of Rev. Captan A. Rosson Brown, chief sub-assistant commissioner for the western district, gives a startling view of the state of things:

The report of the sub-agent of men exercising against nearly every part of this district: at one place only—the city of Henderson—the civil authorities appeared to oppose the measures taken, but not on principle, for they believed the freedmen necessary to the security of the peace. The measures adopted, however, against the band proved so absurdly impossible that the mayor and council are now the harrassing-stock of the citizens.

Nobles.—At Corydon, Henderson county, the teacher has been ordered to leave, and it is feared that his furnishing school will be broken up unless troops can be stationed there for her protection.

At Rock Hill, in Henderson county, an armed band of nearly 50 men went to the school taught by James Davis, about 10 o’clock at night, and burned it to the ground. The teacher was ordered to leave the place immediately. He was one of the most intelligent and industrious men in the place, and he left the next day.

Violent acts.—On the 21st instant Mr. P. S. Reeves, of the 7th Illinois, in Galena, was locked up to the freedmen in reference to a school. While talking with them on the evening of the 26th the house was stoned, and the negroes dispersed. As Mr. Reeves was retiring from the room, he was met by a large group of 10 men, calling him “about the Yankee!” He halted, but they suddenly surrounded him, threatened his pistol, and when he refused them, kicked him, and after abusing him nearly an hour told him to run for his life. He is a brave man, and of course refused to run, but school thus his walking was impeded. On reaching the road theahkan took him to his private house. The mob returned and demanded Mr. Reeves, but finally went away on his promising to leave the place the next morning.

I have the names of all the parties, and urgent measures will be taken to have them punished.

Church burned.—On the 5th of October a party of unknown white men burned the freedmen’s church in Germantown. Their object was undoubtedly to deprive the freedmen of a building in which their children could be educated. Several attempts have recently been

made to establish a school at this place, but the hostility of the citizens has always prevented it.

I believe Kentucky is now the only portion of the habitable world where men are beaten, stoned for instructing the ignorant. Even hitherto very recently those who have attempted to establish schools have been beaten.

I attribute this vast outbreak of opposition mainly to the expectation on the part of Kentucky rebels of a triumph at the presidential election. My own judgment is that after that election this opposition will disappear. This latter hostility to the education of the freedmen and the colored is doubtless partly due to the fact that a report of the State officials, and have every effort made to induce them to assume the support of these colored schools, but with small success. Only in a few counties has any aid been given.

Thirty-five additional school-houses are needed in the more thinly settled portions of the State.

No. 4. Whole number of school-houses for freedmen, 136. Condition comfortable; capacity, an average of 25 pupils. Their value ranges from $50 to $20,000. Eighty visits have been made by the negro schools within a month, and 50 teachers.

Fifty-seven places are reported as destitute of schools. Probable number of pupils who would attend, 1,279. An average of $29 per month can probably be raised by the freedmen at each of the above places for the support of the schools. The report of the State officials, and have every effort made to induce them to assume the support of these colored schools, but with small success. Only in a few counties has any aid been given.

Public sentiment toward the schools may be seen as correctly or openly hostile.

Nothing can be done for the education of the masses. They are too lazy to help themselves, and too proud and bitter to receive help from the State.

Aid will be required for the education of children of the freedmen until just laws are passed by the State, allowing the taxes collected to be used in support of the schools.

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efforts of the officials of the department. Their personal labors were uniting, and the public addresses which they gave to the assembled crowds of freedmen in all parts of the State, were full of effect. Great results followed, as might have been expected.

An efficient bureau would add largely to their influence by such popular, and we might say, missionary efforts among those freed people. Their confidence in the kind and hearty instructions of such public officers is unlimited, and their response, as in the present case, would be hearty and practical.

It is only by keeping a strict watch on the freedmen, and by the continuous assurances of protection and aid, that the school work in this State can be maintained.

**Prosperity.**—The prosperity and very gratifying state of things as narrated above continued in this manner. During the year, thirty-two schools have been started since my last report, with a total gain of more than 2,500 pupils, and an aggregate of over 10,000. This is a larger amount of instruction than has been given in any month since the bureau system was inaugurated.

**Hearts in the work.**—I need not tell you with what satisfaction I report this highly prosperous condition of the educational department, nor add that this satisfaction is shared by every officer on duty throughout the State. It is a glorious work, and our hearts are in it. A number of new schools will be started during the coming term. Colonel Johnston reports the places where schools can be opened as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made and competent teachers secured.

**Poor whites.**—For the first time since my connection with the bureau in Kentucky, an application has come to this office from the poor whites of several mountain counties for assistance in establishing schools. These applications will be investigated, and aid rendered, if the facts in the case shall prove it practicable.

**Need of troops.**—Application has also been made to this office for a detachment of troops to be stationed at Franklin, the county seat, to suppress organized opposition to the freedmen's school in that place. Dr. Hunter, on his return from a visit to Carroll, Owen, and Trimble counties, reports that negro schools could hardly be mentioned without putting his life in jeopardy, and that schools cannot be established without the presence of United States troops.

In December general prosperity in the midst of opposition still continued:

**Night schools.**—Fifteen schools have been organized since my last report. Special attention has been given to night schools for the adult. I have held educational meetings and advanced large numbers of the freedmen, and kindred subjects, in Counties of Franklin, Montgomery, and Cincinnati. At each of the above places the freedmen promised that night schools should be opened immediately after the holidays.

But I regret to report a deficiency of outcasts. The school in Brandenburg, Kentucky, is almost deserted this month, and closed. The school in Franklin, Kentucky, is abandoned. The school in Trimble, Kentucky, is abandoned.

At Somerset, Pulaski county, on the night of the 16th, the house at which Mr. A. B. Braine, teacher of the freedmen's school, was boarding, was invaded and set on fire by a party of ruffians bent on breaking up the school. Mr. Braine is a white man, a native of Pennsylvania, but he has been teaching in Kentucky long enough to know that at such times discretion is the better part of valor, and he wisely1 escaped himself, and so escaped. He should not be justified in sending another teacher to the place, unless provision is made for his protection.

In Cairo, Illinois, the building occupied as a dwelling and school-house was burned on the night of the 18th of December. The report is that the fire was the work of an incendiary.

**School houses.**—The following tabular statement will give the location, dimensions, and value of school-houses erected in this State by and for the freedmen, since June 30, 1868:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Estimated value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>30 by 50</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloomfield</td>
<td>20 by 40</td>
<td>$4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartsville</td>
<td>18 by 30</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloverport</td>
<td>16 by 30</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelbyville</td>
<td>16 by 36</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>16 by 30</td>
<td>$4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munfordsville</td>
<td>16 by 30</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison, Ind.</td>
<td>20 by 40</td>
<td>$1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>30 by 40</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total value:** $18,800

**Efforts of freedmen.**—Eight of the above buildings were erected by the freedmen without aid from the bureau. To the reminder the intramural hand rendered assistance amounting in the aggregate to $1,226.50.

It appears that during the last six months the freedmen of Kentucky have contributed from their poverty $14,567.45 for school-houses in which to educate their children.

**Berea College.**—Berea College reports for the present month 650 students, nearly one-half of whom are white. From every examination of the school, I can testify to the uniformly high standard of the students, and the perfect discipline in force. The penny system has been abandoned.

**KENTUCKY. Location, dimensions, etc.**—Continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Estimated value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheperdsville</td>
<td>14 by 21</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sils Farm</td>
<td>16 by 30</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>23 by 30</td>
<td>$1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph</td>
<td>22 by 10</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louiville</td>
<td>30 by 10</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hialeah</td>
<td>20 by 10</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maysville</td>
<td>16 by 10</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayfield</td>
<td>30 by 10</td>
<td>$2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo, Ill.</td>
<td>20 by 10</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total value:** $18,800

**Efforts of freedmen.**—Eight of the above buildings were erected by the freedmen without aid from the bureau. To the reminder the intramural hand rendered assistance amounting in the aggregate to $1,226.50.

It appears that during the last six months the freedmen of Kentucky have contributed from their poverty $14,567.45 for school-houses in which to educate their children.

**Berea College.**—Berea College reports for the present month 650 students, nearly one-half of whom are white. From every examination of the school, I can testify to the uniformly high standard of the students, and the perfect discipline in force. The penny system has been abandoned.
During the present month I visited a school in which a class of little colored children, the oldest of whom was not more than 14, were at work on questions in arithmetic which involved a knowledge of square and cube roots. The clear and prompt manner in which the problem was explained, showed a thorough understanding of all its conditions. In the same school there was a class which had made good progress in Latin.

**General results.**—Upon the condition of the freedmen in general, we quote from the report of Colonel Catlin:

Since the idea that liberty would bring the freedmen a perpetual holiday, and that the government would support them in ease and luxury, has been dissipated, and they have begun to realize the rugged fact that there is a life of great labor, sacrifice, and suffering, they have at once taken the general rule to work in the right spirit, and with the view of establishing their manhood and character is to appreciate and enjoy the rights and duties of citizens. Their general condition, therefore, has been vastly advanced since they became free. In all that pertains to the higher and better relations of life, they have built schoolshouses and churches; have grown in intelligence and morality; have learned lessons of economy and industry; generally exhibiting the virtues and manners of the better class of white men among them.

Of their helplessness, as far as protection of law is concerned, he says:

Almost every burs is bane with the wall of freedom: almost every night is lit up with the blaze of churches and schools for freedmen: almost every day there appear at my office poor, friendless blacks, having evidences of cruel and unnatural treatment, which make the heart shudder.

The returns from Kentucky furnish the following facts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REGULARLY REPORTED.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day and night</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>10,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>8,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>1,094</td>
<td>18,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREGULARLY REPORTED.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day and night</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>18,897</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the regularly reported day and night schools, 12 are graded.

The average attendance of pupils has been 8,101, or upwards of 70 per cent. of the whole enrollment. Number of pupils paying tuition, 5,233; amount paid, $10,185 15, an average of $1 91 4 for each. In the alphabet there were 1,636 pupils; spelling and reading easy lessons, 1,019; arithmetic, 3,156; in geography, 2,265; in higher branches, 368; 4,145 are learning to write. There were 2,019 over 16 years of age; 610 were free before the war, and 54 were white.

Of the teachers in the regularly reported day and night schools, 16 were white and 222 were colored. The bureau furnished transportation, as reported by the superintendent, for 31 of them.

Of all the day and night schools, 238 are sustained, wholly or in part, by freedmen. They own 128 of the school buildings; 116 are furnished by the bureau.

Total expenditures by the bureau for rent of school buildings, $11,788 56. The total expenditure by all parties, as reported, has been $23,573 71.

**Missouri and Kansas.**

Brigadier General Colonel F. A. Seely, disbursing officer and superintendent of education.

In Missouri and Kansas the schools for freedmen are making good progress, though our reports as to numbers are more meagre than the facts, it all could be gathered, would warrant. The work has been done from the first by the people themselves, and it has now become a part of the public school system of these States.

The bureau disbursing officer, Colonel F. A. Seely, is the only nominally superintendent of education. After much effort, as he informs us, he finds it impossible to obtain a reliable and accurate account of all the various State, city, and district schools over which he has jurisdiction. Not only the difficulty increases, but we are obliged to wait for the fuller reports of the local State superintendent. For these reasons the numbers now given are to be taken as only a partial statement of the educational work done among the freedmen of Missouri and Kansas.

At the close of the term Colonel Seely says:

I send you a consolidated report of schools for five months ending December, 1868. Of course you understand that my position as superintendent of education is purely nominal: that no teachers are under my direction, that no reports can be required of them; and that, therefore, they are obtained only with a great deal of difficulty. Teachers of public schools, particularly, feel no obligation to make their returns to the bureau, and the obvious result is that, with the increase of public schools, the corresponding diminution of private schools, the more numerous become the facts reported to me. I believe you can appreciate this state of things, and I beg you to believe that the condition of the schools in my district is much better than my figures indicate.

Before making my January report, I hope to be in possession of the State superintendent's returns of public schools for the State and Kansas.

School laws of Missouri.—The common school law of Missouri dates only from March 1866, and the state has been working only ten months to bring the system into operation, yet, considering the position of the State prior to the war, remarkably liberal and advanced. Its provisions for school funds are especially noticeable, and indicate a just appreciation of the value of popular education. The law in regard to colored schools, especially, though the law is not liberal, could not be, under the circumstances, more liberal. It is the plan of the law to provide for the education of the great majority of the colored people.

Why not executed.—That these laws are not thus executed is due, in my judgment, not so much to any want of active opposition as to a general apathy on the subject exhibited by both whites and blacks. With respect to the latter, they are earnest, wonderfully, in their efforts to learn; but long accustomed to receive bounty from other hands instead of requiring it by their own efforts, they lack the spirit necessary to secure the enforcement of the law in the way particularly provided. This they must spurn before their rights can be secured. Meanwhile energetic and prudent leaders of their own race are indispensable. In many localities where public schools for colored children have been opened, it is only by constant efforts of others than they are maintained. Were the aid of benevolent agencies withdrawn, the schools for the freedman would cease urging their claims on local boards, several of these...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Districts in State</th>
<th>Total Schools</th>
<th>Total Pupils Attending</th>
<th>Total Pupils Regularly Attending</th>
<th>Total Pupils Abroad</th>
<th>Total Pupils Abroad, Education Only</th>
<th>Total Pupils Abroad, Education and Industry</th>
<th>Total Pupils Abroad, Education Not Specified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td></td>
<td>510</td>
<td>19,600</td>
<td>19,600</td>
<td>10,400</td>
<td>10,400</td>
<td>10,400</td>
<td>10,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
<td>5,760</td>
<td>5,760</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>3,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td></td>
<td>437</td>
<td>14,330</td>
<td>14,330</td>
<td>8,200</td>
<td>8,200</td>
<td>8,200</td>
<td>8,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td></td>
<td>109</td>
<td>3,720</td>
<td>3,720</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td></td>
<td>211</td>
<td>7,380</td>
<td>7,380</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>6,580</td>
<td>6,580</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td></td>
<td>170</td>
<td>5,770</td>
<td>5,770</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2,980</td>
<td>2,980</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3,430</td>
<td>3,430</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3,570</td>
<td>3,570</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2,210</td>
<td>2,210</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td></td>
<td>149</td>
<td>5,330</td>
<td>5,330</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
<td>3,370</td>
<td>3,370</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td></td>
<td>118</td>
<td>4,130</td>
<td>4,130</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
<td>4,480</td>
<td>4,480</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri and Kansas</td>
<td></td>
<td>121</td>
<td>4,390</td>
<td>4,390</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 2,826 Districts, 10,692,300 Pupils Attending, 8,400,900 Pupils Regularly Attending, 4,700,500 Pupils Abroad, Education Only, 4,700,500 Pupils Abroad, Education and Industry, 4,700,500 Pupils Abroad, Education Not Specified.
KENTUCKY.

Brevet Colonel Benjamin P. Rinkle, Superintendent of Education.

During the past year, through the zealous co-operation of those engaged with us in Kentucky, the most praiseworthy results have been accomplished. The whole State has been thoroughly canvassed, and educational meetings held in the most hostile districts. In a large majority of these places, schools are now established, which are generally in a very flourishing condition.

It is not to be understood that these results have been easily reached; on the contrary, persevering efforts and the largest sacrifices have been called for. There is a marked change in public sentiment, and yet it will be seen by the report of Colonel Rinkle, that outrages of various kinds are still occurring in the more remote counties. Teachers are compelled to labor under many embarrassments; a few are the victims of wanton insolence and brutality. We, however, believe that these disturbances and obstacles are exceptional in their character, and are rapidly disappearing with the spread of liberal ideas and the material growth of the State.

Many excellent men in private, as well as in official station, whose names we might mention, have given to us invaluable aid and counsel. In public, the officers of the Bureau, have been specially influential in awakening the heart of the State to a deeper interest in popular education, and also in concentrating the efforts of the colored population. Politicians are planning to make use of the negro for selfish ends, promising him many privileges when he shall possess. By this means, evil designs are carried into effect.

Time, and patient united effort, will be required to accomplish fully in this State our present enlarged purposes. The innovations of the new era will for a time be stunted resisted or looked upon with indifference. Meanwhile let there be no cessation of effort or stint of means, and the future will verify the truth of the maxim, "Patient waiting, no loss." During the year the Bureau has borne the main responsibility of this work, though we are not forgetful of the important service rendered by the churches and by educational agencies.

Taking a general survey of all the causes likely to affect the future,

the superintendent is of opinion that, for the present, it is not advisable to withdraw any portion of the aid now given to schools, but that liberal appropriations, both from the government through this Bureau, and from benevolent associations, are absolutely necessary to their successful continuance.

From all quarters the freedmen are reported as industrious and thrifty; many of them ambitious to possess land, desiring better homes, and the ordinary refinements of life. Their advance in this latter respect is noteworthy, induced in a great extent, no doubt, by the influence of their children, who carry home the treasured precepts of cultivated and conscientious teachers.

The statistical summary of Kentucky is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regularly Reported</th>
<th>Irregularly Reported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and night</td>
<td>Day and night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>Pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,536</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,536</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>Grand total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>554</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twelve of the above schools are graded, including four high and training schools, having 972 pupils.

The average attendance has been 10,451, or 8.26 per cent of the total enrolment. In the alphabet there are 1,433 pupils; 584 girls and 3,597 boys; and 5.32 teachers. There are, however, only 540 readers and 486 advanced readers. The schools furnish the usual subjects, including reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history, and more especially to a Higher Power, which having stricken off the 5
The following is a list of public meetings have been held throughout the State. In almost every city and town a school has been established, and a lively interest in educational matters awakened among the people generally. This interest is the result of the fact that, while alone in physical and intellectual culture and social status (among them Kettawicks, who previously denied the possibility of educating to any great extent the colored race) have been induced to visit the schools, and after close examination have been convinced of the necessity of them.

The bishop remarked in the school at Lebanon, "I never saw a lot of children in a more prosperous condition in all my life. There are some children here who beat my own son.

A peculiar fact observable at our public meetings is the absence of the avowed friends of the colored people, while many are present who make no such pretensions. When I find men who are thus wil- ing to lay aside prejudice and judge right from wrong, I am dearest of this class had one day to do so. I had a school near and it was the best ever fought in the county. It was taken by some of the poor white people, "It is best to break it up, for the negroes are getting too smart." Only a few difficulties occurred, and not one of the colored people rented a house, but when the owner ascertained their purpose he refused to let them have it. So they had to build, which was a difficult undertaking, because so many of the whites would not come to it. I had trouble for this building three months, but the people pleaded so earnestly that I could not refuse. Meanwhile I occupied my time by teaching in their dwellings. At the expiration of the three months the house was up and covered, when work upon it ceased, and the completion seemed impossible. I did not know how to get it and begin now, but the owners decided that it was worth doing, with windows or door, though having openings for light. On a very cold and disagreeable morning I entered the school-house and began my work with shacks hung over the windows and openings. There were but ten of us housing about twenty to keep from actual suffering. Our school has gradually increased to 25. A number of young men had entered had we commenced at the time appointed, but will not now want the fall.

The white people are bitterly opposed to my teaching here, and have several times threatened to burn the school-house. An old gentleman told a colored woman who lived with him, that she committed a great sin every day by sending her daughters to school. He said she would have "everything she could against us. Some of them, he thought, it wrong that I do not labor daily with my hands, and my words, 'you came to teach the people not to work.' They contended for a time that the children were not learning at all, but soon found that our school was not for the truth was evident. Recently popular sentiment has become more favorable.

At Franklin an unsuccessful attempt was made to intimidate the teacher, who writes: "When I arrived in this place some persons came to my boarding house and demanded the school. I thought it would be opened. Upon gaining an entrance they pointed their pistols into the room, but the owners of the house being brave men, commenced shooting at the intruders, who hastily fled and did not return." She says: "I am writing to organize a school, I met with opposition from a quarter least expected. An old colored preacher opposed the attempt with a speech, and a self-appointed committee of which he was one went about to ascertain the opinions of the white concerning it. The difficulty was to get land on which to build the school. At last, we met with refusal, they pointed their pistols into the room, but the owners of the house being brave men, commenced shooting at the intruders, who hastily fled and did not return.

The teacher at Covington writes: "There are in the city and vicinity a few original Kettawicks who regard the existence of 'nigger schools' as one of the most melancholy exhibitions of modern degeneracy, the wickedest of the ten thousand radical

abominations' with which a chivalric people are cursed. Children are often withdrawn from our instructors to enter the service of this class, on the promise of being taught by them to read and write—a promise usually broken."

In Kentucky, the following table shows the number of school-houses erected by the freedmen or their friends from January 1 to July 1, 1869. This information is incomplete, but the best that can be obtained at this date:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No. of buildings</th>
<th>Cost.</th>
<th>Size.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cloverbary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$372.65</td>
<td>50 x 60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelbyville</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$295</td>
<td>50 x 120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellefonte</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>50 x 120</td>
<td>Leased for ninety-nine years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>50 x 120</td>
<td>Leased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 5, 18,627.35

The total amount expended by the Bureau for the construction of school-houses, repairs, &c., with interest at six per cent, was $27,225.18. No less than thirty thousand children have attended school in the State during the year, though not more than thirty thousand seven hundred and five had ever attended during any one month. The cost to the Bureau for constructing, receiving instruction, &c., for the year, ninety dollars and seventy-five cents.

During this time five school-houses have been burned by riots and incendiaries. Other hindrances to the progress of the work, mingled with which influences, are found in extracts from reports of teachers.
SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN.

MISSOURI AND KANSAS.

Shelbyville.—At first the whites were opposed to the school, and the freedmen became so intimidated that they refused to send their children, for fear they would lose their employment. I have had no difficulty with the whites; the greatest trouble has been with the freedmen, some of whom have rebelled against good order and discipline.

Covington.—The occupancy of church buildings for school purposes has been affected with material benefit to the prosperity of the school.

The freedmen have cultivated better denominational prejudices, which will always affect disastrously any enterprise requiring united effort. Some of the older members of the Episcopal church, the greatest church, have withdrawn from the church, and have been seen in city church.

I have hopes this state of feeling will soon be dispelled by an intelligent, Christian fraternity.

Progress.—instances of extraordinary application to study and rapid progress happily so far that it is difficult to make selections.

A blind girl in Shelbyville, who was entirely deformed from birth, walked in the school, and to this great interest, I have given my thanks to the Rev. H. E. Gravath, the district secretary, for his uniform kindness and courtesy.

The freedmen have also taken quite an interest in the education of the freedmen in Kentucky. I have found the Rev. H. E. Gravath, bishop of the State, an earnest advocate and diligent worker in the cause of education.

The following work is, I hope, will be the educational convention to be held in Louisville on the 15th, and last Sunday in July. It is convened for the purpose of sending the colored people of Kentucky in an association among themselves, to take charge of and support, in part or at least, the education of their children.

Reform for the aged. During the past three years there has been an institution called the Home for the Destitute, established and supported by the Bureau for aged and infirm colored persons who are unable to find an asylum elsewhere. This has failed, however, to attract the colored people of Kentucky in an association among themselves, to take charge of and support, in part or at least, the education of their children.

Reform School, Washington, D.C.—After the emancipation of the slaves, there was established in the District of Columbia, an institution called the Home for the Destitute, which was supported by the Bureau for aged and infirm colored persons who were unable to find an asylum elsewhere.

The school was closed in 1866, and it has been found that the colored people of the District of Columbia have failed to attract the colored people of Kentucky in an association among themselves, to take charge of and support, in part or at least, the education of their children.

Freedmen's Savings Bank.—In Louisville, there is a Freedmen's Savings Bank, which has more than doubled its capital and is now doing business on a larger scale than ever before. It was established in 1865, with the object of providing for the freedmen a place of safety for their money and a means of increasing their capital, and it has been a great success.

Janitor's School.—The Freedmen's Savings Bank in Louisville has become a great educator, and is now doing business on a larger scale than ever before. It was established in 1865, with the object of providing for the freedmen a place of safety for their money and a means of increasing their capital, and it has been a great success.
## Schools for Freedmen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Virginia</th>
<th>North Carolina</th>
<th>Georgia</th>
<th>Florida</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:**

|     | 125 | 33 | 98 | 52 |

**Teachers—White**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>31</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:**

|     | 227 | 163 | 109 | 43 |

**Pupils enrolled, both Male and female schools, Males**

|     | 3,192 | 6,030 | 3,088 | 3,088 |

**Total:**

|     | 6,260 | 11,110 | 6,178 | 6,178 |

**Number of pupils last report**

|     | 10,309 | 16,630 | 14,126 | 10,290 |

**Total cost of schools**

|     | 5,980 | 15,100 | 9,800 | 4,100 |

### SCHOOL STATISTICS

**Abandoned Lands, for the six months ending January 1, 1870.**

- **Alabama:** 100,000
- **Mississippi:** 200,000
- **Louisiana:** 300,000
- **Northwestern Florida Territory:** 400,000
- **Texas:** 500,000
- **Arkansas:** 600,000
- **Tennessee:** 700,000
- **Kentucky:** 800,000
- **Missouri:** 900,000
- **Total:** 5,000,000

### Notes

1. This sum only a partial report from superintendents, as many payments are made at headquarters reports also, for the same reason, only partial.
The statistical summary of the State of Tennessee is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regularly Reported</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and Night</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irregularly Reported</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and Night</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the regularly reported day and night schools, 15 are graded; three are high or training schools, with 175 pupils. The freedmen have paid for tuition $1,728; number of paying pupils 89; an average of $2.03 per pupil. They have sustained, wholly or in part, 30 of the schools; and own 37 school buildings and for rents, repairs, and materials for building purposes have expended about $1,000 more.

There are 1,158 pupils in the alphabet, 2,628 small and read easy lessons, and 2,504 are advanced readers. There are 1,794 studying geography, 3,175 arithmetic, 2,058 writing, and 1,922 higher branches. Average attendance 4,842, more than 74 per cent. of the total number enrolled.

The Bureau has furnished 21 buildings for educational purposes and has expended $24,666.72. The total expenditure by all parties was $57,136.36.

**KENTUCKY.**

Brevet Colonel Benjamin P. Rankle, Superintendent of Education.

This State has from the first been subject to the uniting influences incident to what is called a "border State." When the war closed, it was supposed capable of supporting its own schools, of every color, and the educational associations therefore carried their main operations farther south. The Bureau also has by many ways been embarrassed in its work in all these border States. The white population, in general, is indifferent rather than opposed to the freedmen's education; the income from taxes going in favor of the former, leaving the latter to bear an extra burden for the schooling of their own children. At the same time there is great eagerness to learn, and want of funds from all quarters is the main reason given by the superintendent for some decrease in attendance upon the schools.
Still there are nearly $8,000 colored children steadily pursuing study in Kentucky, with excellent instructors, and some of their schools are of the very first order.

At Berea, a beautiful high-school building has been erected mainly by the Bureau, at a cost of $17,000, which is now filled with advanced pupils. Its terms of admission are irrespective of color. In this manner, the most interesting and worthy school on our returns.

Colored Rankle, with much fidelity, the obstacles seem to work, and expresses at the same time satisfaction with the result, and his expectation to have the unjust capitation tax upon the freedmen repealed.

His report is as follows:

My last semi-annual report for the term ending July 1, 1865, was made October 1, 1865, and school, 49 night schools, and 15,279 scholars. The amount of aid rendered to schools by freedmen at the rate of $10 per pupil, was $2,200, and by the Bureau, $1,422.90 in all, $7,422.90. This amounts to about 43 cents per scholar.

Dollars and cents.—The amount given to schools in the month of December, which was the highest paid during the previous six months, was by freedmen, $1,120.15; by the Bureau, $2,114.11; total, $3,234.26. This makes about 43 cents per scholar, showing that the relation of the amount of money expended and available to report the schools and scholars in other words, reduces it to a multitude of dollars and cents.

The appropriation to sustain the schools, during the school year beginning October 1, 1865, was $30,000. This includes $3,000 granted to pay rent to societies, and in the sum total are included all amounts to be paid for repairs and erection of school houses.

The imperative demand for aid to repair and erect school houses, has been prevented my causing it to be admitted like the amount of the previous six months, for rent, and the result is plainly visible in the decreased number of schools and scholars.

Plan of co-operation.—Upon consultation with yourself and the commissioner in September, I made upon the following plan: First, I would propose an endeavor to secure the cooperation of the benevolent societies in sustaining the work in Kentucky, these societies being paid $10 per month for each teacher supported by them; and, secondly, that the Bureau could recognize the colored state board of education in the same spirit as the colored educational convention, held in Louisville, July last; thus, the idea that the schools which we sustain would take upon its rolls might not stop for want of assistance.

In the meantime, I proceeded to New York, Philadelphia, and then to Chicago, and consulted with the following societies: Presbyterian Home Mission, Home Baptist Mission, Protestant Episcopal Clergy Benevolent Mission, Free Baptists, and the American Missionary Association.

The result was that the societies could give us little aid. The Free Baptist Mission said: "We will support twenty-five schools, and as many more as the state of our funds will warrant." They agreed to pay the same amount to each teacher and for each school, making no distinction as to the color of the teacher or the color of the school. Their secretary, Mr. H. Chamberlin, came to Kentucky and visited the schools and nothing satisfactory manner. This society has 25 schools, which are all on the list of schools upon which it has been a substantial aid.

I proceed to New York to consult with the American Missionary Association, which I did, and my report to you.

The number of schools supported was reduced to 29. The following is the result thus far: Mr. Cravath purchased a lot in Lexington, which is 100 feet front, by nearly 200 feet deep, and paid for it $300.

I have contracted with Messrs. Stanfield and Andros, for the erection of the building at a cost of $5,500.43. The work is progressing as fast as the incumbrances of the weather will permit, and will be finished by the first of May next. My part of the contract with Mr. Cravath is accordingly completed. In addition to the above, I have paid in support of other schools carried on by the American Missionary Association, the following sums: At Lexington, $500 per month; At Louisville, $500 per month; for July, $200. The following schools are supported by the American Missionary Association, located, for the month of December, 1865:

- Augusta, Ashland, Covington, Danville, Elmbury, Georgetown, Kingston, Kingdom, Lancaster, Mayfield, Medford, Maysville, Mt. Sterling, Parkersville, Rich mond, St. Lucius, Washington, and Yorktown.

Mr. Cravath has added me materially in securing teachers and sending them to their places of duty. The great trouble with all the societies is their depleted treasury, and it is hoped that the depression is over, and that a little at last has been beyond my power to prevent it. The first great cause, as we have shown, is the want of the necessary funds.

State board.—In having appropriation of only $30,000, it is impossible for me to grant aid; everywhere I have been, or, in fact, to give sufficient in places where it is granted to enable teachers to be independent of the support of teachers, thereby enabling them to admit every one.

This year the schools were comparatively free; only those were required to pay who did it willingly. This year numbers are reduced, not even the teacher preventing the exclusion for not paying tuition. The American Missionary Association requires its teachers to deduct from tuition paid by scholars not to pay the teachers' board, expenses the freecost, and the balance of any salary of the teacher not paid by the society, whatever amount that may be.

The State board requires the local boards to raise sufficient funds to pay the teachers' board and expenses of the school-house. They instilled teachers to submit these payments to the teachers who are unable to pay, but as the board and many of the freedmen differ on the question of ability, many of the children remain out of school.

I may safely say that nine-tenths of the teachers in the State pay tuition this year, and the fact is not reported by teachers.

Teachers.—Higher wages having been offered further south, many of the most valuable teachers in our service during the last year have sought employment there. The State board was formed last year to protect the interests of all the teachers, and has reported a number of teachers for discharge on account of incompetency, and prevented others from applying for situations. I have had to refuse to employ several who have applied for schools.

I could name any number of white teachers, but there are two obstacles in the way. First, the want of money to pay adequate salaries; and second, the hostility of the white people to white teachers make it impossible for them to procure places to teach.

Another reason for the falling off in our attendance, which in the fact that the State of Indiana having provided for the education of colored people, the Bureau has withdrawn its aid from the schools along the border, which whereby lessens our enrollment eighteen schools and eighty teachers were at the beginning of the school year: the number of schools and teachers are now at a standstill.

State board of education.—In accordance with our understanding, I proceeded, upon my return from Washington, to have this board reconstituted, but found, upon examination, that it had been composed of the three of the most solid, and ablest men in the State, and that the board was, in fact, in the hands of the treasurer of the board, John Morris, to file his bond with good security for the faithful performance of duty and the disbursements of money paid to him for support of schools; and I have ventured upon the building of a new school board and the presentation of this board, though working at the time of year, with considerable personal inconvenience and expense, have labored faithfully and earnestly.

The head of the legislature of Kentucky will be petitioned to incorporate the above board, and since "premises were cast their shadows before," it is probable they will grant the petition.

Hostility.—There is still some hostility toward the education of freedmen apparent in Kentucky. In one instance, there have been cases of vagrants interfering with a teacher, and in two instances have broken down school houses.

In one instance a teacher, who had come from Canada, with no idea of the difference which a Kentucky holds to exist between a white and a colored race, which was notified to depart instantly. He stood not upon the order of his school and departed at once. The burden of his offense was that he refused to give up more than half the white school to a white boy.

I sent him to another place, where he has since been doing well. I also sent another
SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN.

The statistical summary of the State of Kentucky is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day and night, (regularly reported)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7,624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day and night, (not regularly reported)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>210</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>8,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath, (regularly reported)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>6,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>6,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td>257</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>15,174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The freedmen have paid for tuition $2,561.12; number of paying pupils, 3,981—an average per pupil of 87 cents.

There are 515 in alphabet; 3,361 spell and read easy lessons; and 3,931 are advanced readers. There are 2,282 studying geography, 3,328 writing, and 665 the higher branches. Average attendance, 6,147—about 50 per cent. of the total enrollment.

The freedmen sustained in part 176 schools, and own 20 of the buildings in which they are conducted.

Ed. Form No. 6.—School buildings in use by all parties for freedmen's schools, of which the cost, dimensions, material, &c., have been obtained, (as shown on blank No. 6;) Total, 10 buildings, of which the Bureau owns 7, freedmen 17, other parties 6. Material: 9 are of brick, 31 wood. Size: from 12 by 16 to 56 by 74. Value: from $30 to $12,000. Average size: 36 by 60. Average value: $1,622.72.

MISSOURI AND KANSAS.

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel E. A. Seely, Superintendent of Education.

The freedmen's schools in Missouri are now able to go on with very little aid from this Bureau. Help has been gradually withdrawn as they became permanently established. We cannot too highly commend the spirit pervading this State from the first in regard to freedmen's education; a majority of citizens have always been in their favor. The constitution of 1865 provides that free schools shall be maintained for all persons in the State, and though the school system and laws enacted under this provision are not all they should be, yet public sentiment generally has gone far toward accomplishing its practical intention.

Schools of all kinds have, therefore, prospered; the only inconvenience having been the obtaining for our Bureau archives the reports of that large class of schools sustained by State funds.

Of late we have succeeded better, and Colonel Seely now forwards to us on his consolidated table, an increase in Missouri, since the corresponding months of last report of 120 schools, 75 teachers, and 3,880 pupils.

The colored population of this State are quite intelligent, fully awake to the education of their children, and are, at the present time, making an effort, by a convention to be held in January, to have primary instruction actually brought within the reach of every colored child; also, to have an efficient normal school for the training of these teachers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Florida</th>
<th>Alabama</th>
<th>Mississippi</th>
<th>Louisiana</th>
<th>North Carolina</th>
<th>South Carolina</th>
<th>Georgia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Pupils</td>
<td>6,452,214</td>
<td>3,474,425</td>
<td>6,280,354</td>
<td>2,246,071</td>
<td>1,655,123</td>
<td>1,263,003</td>
<td>1,375,096</td>
<td>11,650,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Teachers</td>
<td>1,018,288</td>
<td>1,085,496</td>
<td>1,101,367</td>
<td>758,406</td>
<td>504,503</td>
<td>582,002</td>
<td>564,908</td>
<td>4,840,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils per Teacher</td>
<td>6.406</td>
<td>3.182</td>
<td>5.766</td>
<td>2.929</td>
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<td>2.420</td>
<td>2.418</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These sums are included in the total amount of expenditures given.
3

SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN.

Statement of construction and repairs of school buildings by the Bureau during the current year.

State or district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State or district</th>
<th>Buildings</th>
<th>Partial</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consolidated report of school buildings used in the education of freedmen during the six months ending June 30, 1870.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State or district</th>
<th>School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Eastern Louisiana</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Texas</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri and Kansas</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—This table shows the corrected list of school buildings from Form No. 6. The general report gives in some instances different figures.

EDUCATIONAL WORK BY STATES.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Major W. J. Van Derlip, Superintendent of Education.

A great work has been accomplished in this district. Before the war a few private schools, supported by the best class of colored families, had existed. These, though struggling with prejudice, had given to

KENTUCKY.

The general inspector reports:

The crops throughout this State are excellent and when harvested the colored people who have large interest find themselves prosperous and are enabled to find themselves educationally and otherwise.

The Freedmen's Bank in this city informs me that the banks of the note contain credits amounting to $200,000 in favor of colored people of different descent.

KENTUCKY.

Colonel Benjamin P. Rankle, Superintendent of Education.

In Kentucky there are more freedmen's schools than at any time since 1865. In January, not as many as at the close of the previous school year. Adverse influences have continued, which have been exceedingly difficult to counteract. Rights and privileges, civil and social, are not in this State as readily accorded the freedmen as in some States farther south, and aid to their schools from Government and the benevolent societies has not at any period of the year been so abundant.

The freedmen in Kentucky have, in a large measure, been left to struggle alone; and it will be noticed that more than half of their schools, as now reported, have been mainly sustained by themselves. Of late northern societies are doing more than formerly. The superintendent, Colonel Rankle, has labored hard to keep up local organizations, and the great amount of good he has thus accomplished will not soon be lost.

The State Board of Education, a voluntary association mainly of the colored people themselves, is still in vigorous operation. Kentucky has so intelligent a people, and the freedmen are in general so thrifty and intent upon having their children educated, that the majority of these schools will be sure of continuance. Wholesome and equal school laws are needed, and we hope will soon be enacted.

The following is a summary of the statistical reports from this State:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>10,422</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average attendance in day and night schools regularly reported was 2,631, or 78.8 per cent. of the total enrollment. There were 68 per cent. always present, and 614 per cent. always punctual.

There are 2,275 in alphabet; 3,355 spells, and read easy lessons; 3,811 are advanced readers; 2,211 study geography; 4,075, arithmetic; 4,379, writing; and 883 higher branches.

The freedmen sustained partly, 328 of the above regularly reported day and night schools, and own ten of the school buildings. There were 4,286 pupils who paid tuition.

Colonel Rankle, in his report, expresses the strongest regrets that more could not have been done. He says:

With our departure, while the work does not cease, it decreases in an alarming extent. The National Government withdraws its aid, the State refuses to do anything whatever, and benevolent societies generally curtail their efforts. At the same time the colored people are unable to go forward with these educational institutions.
SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN.

We began in January, 1861, with 19 schools, and 8,618 pupils. We closed on the 30th day of June, with 26 schools, and 8,557 pupils. This result is satisfactory, considering the fact that the number of officers and agents of the Bureau has been very much reduced. Without constant and extended efforts in visiting, lecturing scholars, and encouraging teachers, the number of schools and scholars must decrease.

I have received efficient aid from societies, as follows:

Free Baptist Mission.—This society has supported the 26 schools taken under its charge in September, 1867. They retire from this field of labor with the earnest and heartfelt thanks of many hundreds of colored people who have been benefited. The name of Rev. Nathaniel Browne, president, and Mr. R. D. Chamberlain, secretary, should be registered high upon the roll of those who love their fellow-men.

American Missionary Society.—This society has continued its work in this State with energy and success, under charge of the Rev. E. M. Crain, secretary, whom no other or truer hearted man is engaged in the work. They have supported the 30 schools entrusted to their care, and will hereafter support the three high schools now under their separate patronage, viz: Berea College, Lane's Normal School at Louisville, and the High School, just finished, at Lexington, Kentucky.

I desire to hear testimony to the excellent work done by this society in Kentucky. The State Board of Education, in its reports, has continued its work by selecting the services of an efficient board of directors. The secretary has, under his direction, visited the schools, and done much to secure their efficient action. A convention was recently held, which was largely attended, and showed that the colored people have not lost their interest in the vital question of education.

I left the management of the meeting entirely to the people themselves, and they did it well. Addresses were delivered by Messrs. Langston and Mitchell, and the principal of the colored people was creditable to the board and colored race.

Schools and school-houses.—I have, by direction of the commissioner, turned over to the board of trustees building erected by the Bureau at the following places: Bowling Green, the Directors; Berea College, Daleville, Cynthiana, Eustis, Frankfort, Franklinburg, Franklin County; and Bath County. The building was erected at a cost of $500 each, and schools will, in my opinion, be supported in all of them.

Lexington.—The house at Lexington has been completed and is ready for occupation. It will be supported by the American Missionary Society, and will stand for all time as a monument to the good work done by the Bureau.

Berea.—The Commissioner has authorized me to expend $1,000 additional to complete the Ladies’ hall at Berea. This will certainly place Berea on a substantial basis, and with its able president and efficient corps of professors it will demonstrate the wisdom of the appropriation.

The work of the Bureau is finished in Kentucky. A history of its operations from the beginning to end would be of value, not only to the Commissioner but to all those who are engaged in the work of education of a people just emerged from bondage. This record is of great moment to the good work done by the Bureau. It is a record of efficient and able work. By the high work of these teachers the colored people have been better taught, and will be better taught, in the future.

The following is a statement of amount of aid furnished by the Bureau, benevolent associations, and freedmen for the rent, repairs, and construction of school buildings in the State of Kentucky from January 1, 1867, to June 30, 1867, inclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount given to the bureau in aid.</th>
<th>Amount of aid furnished by the Bureau.</th>
<th>Total amount.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>$2,941.00</td>
<td>$670.00</td>
<td>$3,611.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>$3,054.00</td>
<td>$1,231.00</td>
<td>$4,285.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>$3,044.00</td>
<td>$1,291.00</td>
<td>$4,335.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>$3,000.00</td>
<td>$1,356.00</td>
<td>$4,356.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>$2,992.00</td>
<td>$1,305.00</td>
<td>$4,397.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>$2,942.00</td>
<td>$1,307.00</td>
<td>$4,249.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$18,690.00</td>
<td>$8,818.25</td>
<td>$27,508.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Langston, in traveling through Kentucky, takes a hopeful view, and yet states very clearly the great disabilities under which the white people labor. He says:

"The condition of the freed people of this section of the country is, though slowly, improving. It cannot be otherwise under the influence exerted through the schools hitherto established and supported by charitable associations and the General Government, in their minds. Though the Government is closing up its work among the negroes, yet the influence of the Bureau continues. They can educate and elevate themselves in the most. In proof of this I have enclosed proceedings of a State educational meeting held in this city. This meeting is composed largely of the working, the self-sacrificing, and efficient colored men and women who have made their way in the sight of education."

I find the condition of the colored people of this State, all things considered, peculiar. In the first place they are not permitted to act as jurors, although electors.

In the second place they are, at the pleasure of the judges of election, denied the privilege of voting, although we have a law passed by Congress, approved March 31, 1849, "to enable the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union."

In the third place they are denied, though competent according to the usual rules of law, to testify as witnesses in courts of justice, even in police courts.

And in the fourth place, up to this time, there has been no provision made by State law for the establishment and organization of common schools for their education.

Thus situated their position is trying in the extreme. There must be change in the public sentiment of this State, evidenced in some action on the part of State officials, in the action of the legislature of the State in behalf of the colored people, or the General Government must take it upon itself more strictly to be felt in this regard.

The material condition of the people is very largely the fact that 3,027 persons have been admitted to the National Freedmen’s Savings and Trust Company, Bank of this city, $74,340.44 since its organization; and 1,530 depositors have credited to them on the books of the bank $591,265.84, and they are constantly discovering a better understanding of the cause of the colored people. The condition of the colored people is the same as the purchase of small pieces of property, now their houses, which they are permitted to enjoy with no little satisfaction and comfort. Thus the bank has been to them truly a godsend.

It is the opinion of those who have observed the subject—who have given it consideration—that there is less criminality in this section of the country than in any other; and it is a cause of gratification that here men are also making improvement.

Pardon me, general, if I suggest that such is the condition, educational and otherwise, of the freed people of the State of Kentucky, that they are especially entitled to your sympathy and aid.

MISSOURI AND KANSAS.

B. E. Seely, Superintendent of Education.

These States, though they were not in the rebellion, and hence not directly under the law of this Bureau, have cooperated earnestly in the education of the colored race. They had before the war a large colored population; and, during its continuance, and at its close, multitudes of them from States other than their birthplace. They have enjoyed the same educational privileges accorded to all classes by these States.

Our superintendent, though at the same time discharging his duty, has been wise in making no measures and management, and very energetic, with especially comprehensive views in assimilating the respective policies of the Bureau and State legislation. Improvements could here be made in some sections of the school law, and the freedmen are not without their disabilities: but it may be said, in general, that in both these States they are on the high road to intelligence and prosperity.
Jw Alvord, Second Semi-Annual Rept Schs & Finances Freed, July 1, 1866

P 2/ Kentucky*
# Schs--35
# Teachers--58
# Pupils--4,122
Average Attendance--3,215
# In Alphabet--165
# In Arithmetic--258
# In Geography--196
# Grammar & Higher Branches--136

*Studies reported only five (5) schools

Freedmen Schools January 1868

Jw Alvord, Fifth Semi-Annual Rept Schs Freedmen, Jan 1, 1868 (1868)

P 47/ Kentucky

Black Pop of Sch Age # In Sch # Not In Sch Ratio in Sch
99,553 13,704 85,849 1 to 7
1870 BANK STATISTICS: FREEDMEN'S BANK IN LOUISVILLE, JAN 1870

j. w alvord, ninth semi-annual rept schools for freedmen, jan 1,1870 (1870)
p 66/ Louisville, KY, branch bank

established sept 1, 1865

total deposits to March 31, 1870--$668,368.08

total number of depositors---2,332

average amt of each depositor-- $286.61

a total drafts to March 1, 1870--$581,614.33

total balance now in the branch---$86,753.75

number of present depositors--1,166

average amt of each depositor--$74.41

amt of drafts spent in buying land--$16,000.00

number of purchasers--30

average acres 60 each--60.75

amt spent in buying seed, teams, agricultural implements, shops, tools, and in business purposes --$2,888,725--$75,000.00

amt for education and books--$558,220--$5,000.00

amt in other important purchases for personal and family comfort--$200,000.00

amt for purchasing dwellings, houses, or homes----$75,000.00

No of dwellings, houses, homes --50
Brekinridge supported it wholeheartedly. He had confessed to his mother in 1792 that he was "somewhat afraid of the Kentucky politicians with respect to Negroes," but despite such fears would send at least twenty of his slaves to Fayette County to prepare land for the family's arrival. A few months later John underscored his estimation of the value of slaves, advising her to leave all her other property behind in Virginia, but "your negroes I would endeavor to keep."4

Having hired out most of his own slaves to Kentuckians, Brekinridge brought the remainder with him when he moved permanently to the state in 1793. He owned twenty-five slaves that year—up from fifteen in 1786—and, convinced of their profitability in labor-poor Kentucky, he increased the number to thirty-eight in 1795, sixty-five in 1799, and almost seventy in 1806. The last figure made him one of the largest slaveowners in a young state whose slaveholders averaged fewer than seven slaves per family. Throughout these years his attitude on the economic value of slaves apparently never wavered, for four years after settlement in Kentucky he advised his brother William "to purchase all the negroes you possibly can bring here. They are of very great value here either to hire, or farm with, they also sell high. It would be an important thing to you if you could turn your goods into slaves."5

Brekinridge's own increasing number of bondsmen had dictated the hiring of an overseer, a rarity in Kentucky. Over a thirteen-year period, he employed five men to supervise his slaves. Few overseers satisfied for very long. The first, an illiterate, agreed to supervise eleven blacks in return for 10 percent of the earnings, plus pork, salt, and "Bread Corn." In August 1795 John advertised for his replacement, an overseer "capable of managing ten or twelve hands. . . . None except such as have been accustomed to the management of Negroes need apply." As managers came and went, the terms binding them varied. George McDonald's 1801 agreement gave him, among other provisions, the right to breed three of his mares to Brekinridge's stud horse. Five years later, overseer John Payne agreed to supervise fourteen blacks (the rest were hired out to hemp factories or worked as domestics). In return he would receive seven hundred pounds of salt pork, sufficient milk and meat for his family, and "a small Negro for a nurse to his children."6

Brekinridge's treatment of his slaves remains generally unknown, but a few clues exist. As early as 1786 he wanted a runaway returned to him, even if the slave had to be handcuffed. In instructions to an overseer twenty years later he warned him to "keep good authority among my negroes. & keep them close at home. . . . Visit their houses frequently at unseasonable Hours of the night." While skilled bondsmen, such as his carpenters, were given more freedom, Brekinridge told the overseer to make them work or punish them accordingly. Yet nothing suggests that as a master he ever prescribed extreme punishment, as did some contempo-
raries. He probably never sold a slave, although he did purchase them. Overall, Breckinridge personified neither of the extremes in his actions toward his slaves. He simply reflected the attitude of many men of his region, his era, and his environment—men of paternal, patrician outlook who viewed Negroes as an inferior race rightfully enslaved. Slavery, to them, might even be wrong in the abstract, but present realities could not be quickly solved. Slavery thus remained, with contradictions of which John Breckinridge was well aware: brother James had written that all were healthy in “my family, both white & black,” while another correspondent stressed not human but property aspects when he informed John that “your Blacks and Stock are well.”

It was Breckinridge the proslavery property-owner who came under attack in the late 1790s. This man, whom a recent writer has extravagantly characterized as “one of the most effective promoters of the expansion of slavery the nation was ever to see,” now saw fellow citizens demanding constitutional revision, and some included emancipation in their cries. Under the existing constitution an electoral college, not voters, selected both governor and state senators. Judges on the state’s highest court likewise remained free from the influence of the citizenry’s vote. As a more democratic spirit spread across the state, elitism did not serve. Voters wanted a stronger voice in the commonwealth’s affairs.

John Breckinridge, the Republican, opposed this upsurge. On the last day of January 1798 he spoke against a bill designed to speed up the constitutional process; such a change would arouse “the halcyon dogs of anarchy.” Let man repose, as at present, in “tranquil security under his vine and his fig tree.” Do not, he counseled, “raise up in the imagination dangers which do not exist.” Clearly, John Breckinridge distrusted what the people—or at least some of them—might do. Earlier he had branded the poorer inhabitants of the newly settled Green River country as “hunters, horsethieves & savages.” Only “wretchedness, poverty & sickness” characterized their region, and, even worse, these people favored the “dangerous” changes.

Writing to former Governor Isaac Shelby in March 1798, Breckinridge outlined the favorite targets of these partisans of change. They wanted abolition of the Senate, House selection of officials, and “a speedy emancipation” of slaves. Those who had “little to risque,” the “discontented & disorderly,” also wanted a convention, which Breckinridge definitely did not desire. The present government adequately protected property, persons, and lives, according to Breckinridge, who underscored his fear of change: “It is the dangerous examples such things afford, which I most dread. If the envious, the discontented, or the needy, can, at any time, they may take a fancy to any of the property of their fellow-citizens . . . & wish to reduce them in point of property to a level with themselves, produce a ferment & assemble a convention, & under it perpetuate acts of
Injustice. . . . If they can by one experiment emancipate the slaves, the same principle pursued will enable them at a second experiment to extinguish our land titles; for both are held by rights equally sacred.” This Jeffersonian Republican did not believe the people incapable of evil and did not intend to defer to their will.  

In the hope of directing the public will to accord with his own beliefs, Breckinridge participated actively in the campaign for convention delegates. A satire on emancipation, written by him, appeared in the papers and in pamphlet form. Under the pseudonym “Algernon Sidney” he acknowledged the possible desirability of emancipation but warned Kentuckians not to liberate “at the probable expense of our own freedom” and called for action at a less passionate time. An organized group headed by Breckinridge and George Nicholas (called the “Bryan Station ticket” from their mass meeting at that location in 1798) vigorously defended slavery and criticized their rivals as landless, “beardless boys.”

The strong organization of the landed, proslavery group, together with his own efforts in recent political affairs, brought Breckinridge victories in elections for both the convention and the legislature. In June he wrote privately of what he hoped the constitutional convention would accomplish. In line with his conservative ideas, he sought direct popular vote for House members, but the senators and the governor would be chosen by electors. The chief executive would serve a three-year term with no immediate reelection. To fill a need not covered in the earlier constitution, he also proposed that an office of lieutenant governor be provided. Satisfied with the Virginia system, where the gentry dominated local affairs, Breckinridge suggested that justices of the peace be recommended by county courts and commissioned by the governor. Sheriffs and coroners, he thought, should be selected from court personnel and commissioned by the head of the commonwealth. To insure what he considered more responsible voting, he proposed a return to the old *viva voce* method, still used in Virginia, in place of secret balloting. In addition to all these safeguards against the “discontented,” Breckinridge also wanted the Assembly given more control over slave immigration.

When the constitutional convention assembled in late July 1799, many expected Breckinridge to dominate it. Most of the delegates were receptive to his ideas: all but one owned slaves and nearly half held over ten of them; these were men of property, planters still acquiring land and wealth. Yet the ideas of Breckinridge and the Bryan Station ticket did not prevail without challenge. For nearly a month, the debates continued, and the resulting document represented a spirit of compromise and accommodation rather than any specific theory of government.

The articles that were approved reflected both Breckinridge’s suggestions and the independence of the delegates. The matter of restricting voter eligibility to whites brought little discussion and was adopted, but
Breckinridge's proposal that the legislature be given the power to prohibit slave importation met a 14-37 defeat. His position was motivated not by emancipation sentiment but rather by his desire to prevent blacks from immigrating to Kentucky from states where slave revolts raged. Breckinridge also failed in regard to indirect election of the governor and state senators; both offices would be filled by the vote of the people, not by electors. After protracted discussion, his *viva voce* proposal won adoption, however, as did the creation of the office of lieutenant governor. The county courts returned to a more oligarchical, self-perpetuating system of government. Generally, however, his victories did not outnumber defeats. He failed to secure the Senate, the executive, or the representation he desired; in fact, he had barely avoided the destruction of the Senate and of the executive's veto power. Despite all this he voted in the 53-3 majority when delegates approved the document. Not submitted to the voters for ratification, the constitution of 1799 became effective on 1 June 1800 and remained in effect for half a century.¹⁴

Breckinridge received credit as the principal leader of the convention, but his power has been overemphasized. The conservative, wealthy landowner and slaveholder, seeking retrenchment and not reform, had helped frame a new constitution which mollified popular discontent while leaving power basically with the group that had opposed the convention at the beginning. Only in this general sense had Breckinridge succeeded.

If Breckinridge's attitudes on slavery and his role in the constitutional convention placed him firmly in the intellectual company of the conservative elite, that did not mean that he ignored reform issues. His objections to such Federalist initiatives as the Sedition Act, for example, came not only from fear of a strong central majority, but also from devotion to the idea of free speech. Unlike many other aristocrats, he actively supported public education. His clearest advocacy of reform was his effort to revise the state's outdated penal code.

As early as 1793 Breckinridge had incorporated attacks on the old law into the Democratic Society's position. Under the then-existing statute some twenty-seven offenses, including forgery and horse-stealing, were punishable by death. Public hangings—such as one of a counterfeiter in Lexington in 1794 that drew seven thousand witnesses—did not improve society's morals, he felt. Breckinridge pledged to change the system and in a January 1798 speech asserted that the death penalties, as they stood, were "a scandal to reason and to humanity." Confinement to prison would reform the offender because he could be taught a trade and reenter society as a useful citizen. Death solved nothing. Heeding his call, the General Assembly in 1798 adopted a new criminal code that abolished the death penalty except for first-degree murder, slaves being excepted. Despite provisions for prisoners that dictated shaven heads, clothes made...
Ultimate Rather than Present Glory

THE "CURSE of slavery" demanded Robert Breckinridge's attention, as it did his nation's. It had long been so. The 1799 Constitution had protected slavery in his father's time. Since then, the peculiar institution had become even more firmly established, as men of wealth paradoxically broadened their power in an era of expanding democratic government. As the slave system became a more widely accepted way of life than in frontier times, it proved increasingly difficult to uproot. To attack slavery was to assault all society, property, class, science, all security. Comprising 18 percent of Kentucky's population at Robert's birth in 1800, slaves accounted for 24 percent thirty years later. Although the 1830 figure represented Kentucky's antebellum peak, the institution still held an important place in the midcentury commonwealth. For every hundred whites in 1850, there were twenty-eight slaves; more than one in every four white Kentuckians were concerned in some way with the ownership of blacks. Many more citizens had relatives or friends who were slaveholders, and even greater numbers sympathized with the system. Kentucky's economic structure scarcely seemed to necessitate the existence of slavery, however. Only hemp—and, to a lesser degree, tobacco—required a large labor force, a fact that has led a careful historian to suggest that "without hemp, slavery might not have flourished in Kentucky." Even with the crop, few large farms existed: the commonwealth ranked only thirteenth of fifteen slaveholding states in the average size of slaveholdings. In Kentucky, no large cotton crop demanded chattel labor; no harsh, oppressive climate existed as an excuse for using blacks rather than whites in the fields. Kentuckians nevertheless embraced the system. Slavery was ingrained and convenient, and small slaveholdings became commonplace. By 1850, the Bluegrass State had more families that owned at least one bondsman than any other southern state, except for Virginia and Georgia. And even among those citizens less sympathetic to slavery there remained the difficult questions of how to end it, and what would
happen to freed blacks—as well as whites. Unable or unwilling to confront these queries, many Kentuckians comforted themselves with the assertion that theirs at least was the mildest form of slavery in America. They wrote and spoke of faithful servants who moved in a system based on mutual understanding and little punishment. As evidence of their liberality, Kentuckians pointed to the relative void in absentee ownership, to the small, family-size holdings, to the less restrictive laws, and to the continued presence of slaves, even with free territory nearby.

Whether their perceptions matched reality is, in some ways, not particularly important. Whether mild or harsh, slavery, in the end, was still a system of complete control over another being. Exceptions to the rosy picture of slavery certainly existed. One Kentucky slave, for example, remembered that “most” masters had treated bondsmen cruelly, beating them often. Another, a mulatto, recalled seeing a “light colored” girl tied to the rafters of a barn, then whipped, “until blood ran down her back and made a large pool on the ground.” After a failed escape attempt, a former slave explained, he had been severely beaten for three hours and then chained every single night thereafter. Lewis Clarke, a successful runaway, said there were few days when some slave did not receive a beating or severe abuse from his owner’s wife. Advertisements for runaways tell a story filled with burns, brands, cropped ears, whip marks, and other punishment. The one very extreme example of a black servant being literally chopped to pieces and tossed in a fire overshadows less sensational murders that took place. The records suggest that physical punishment was more than an occasional occurrence.

In addition to physical abuse, the system also inflicted mental anguish on the enslaved. Even with the best of treatment, slaves were still subject to their owners’ orders and whims, always told of their inferiority, and usually severely limited in their level of advancement. Added to this were the other evils of the system—the separation of families, the slave sales, the subordination of will. One former slave concluded that his Kentucky treatment was worse than at any other place, and another told of being “brought up, or rather whipped up, in Kentucky.” Others remembered a different situation in the commonwealth, one more akin to the white image. A very young bondsman held that he never saw a whipping on his twenty-slave farm, while an elderly black minister who fled to Canada said that he never “met with any rough usage” in Kentucky slavery. The mutual affection which often existed was later recalled in a number of the bondsmen’s recollections, both during antebellum times and later. While such accounts also included memories of slavery in realistic and considerably less rosy terms, many called Kentucky the “best” of slave states.

The often-repeated antebellum assertion of the benign quality of Kentucky’s slavery suggested to many that the state offered fertile ground for the growth of emancipationist societies. Former college roommate
Cabell Breckinridge and later abolitionist James G. Birney, when he returned to Kentucky in 1832, wrote, for example, "I looked upon it as the best site in our whole country for taking a stand against slavery." Three years later, Birney told ally Lewis Tappan that emancipation occupied the mind of his Kentucky community, and favorable sentiment was fast growing there. The Reverend John Rankin, at nearly the same time, claimed that the peculiar institution wore its "mildest aspect" in the Bluegrass State. James Freeman Clarke, no friend of slavery, served as a Louisville minister in this period and recalled later that he learned his antislavery there: "Slavery mild. People said 'all wrong, inexcusable; Kentucky will emancipate,'" he noted. Public sentiment in 1835, Clarke wrote, was "almost unanimous" against continuance of the system. Even William H. Seward at one time concluded that, in Kentucky, slavery was seen in its least repulsive form. But perhaps the most astute assessment came when one observer wrote a friend that "Kentucky, no doubt, exhibits slavery in its mildest form, but even here there is enough to cause the very heart to sicken."

Within this context, Robert J. Breckinridge faced the slavery issue and the difficult questions it posed. It was to be one of the decisive periods of his life. By the 1830s Robert had already strayed far from his father's political philosophy. Now he looked around him and saw a different aspect of slavery than had his father decades earlier. He became an antislavery spokesman in Kentucky, and the Breckinridge name he bore ensured that, no matter how unpopular his message, he would at least be given a forum.

Other antislavery Kentuckians had been making their sentiments known for some time. The initial organizations—and the first west of the mountains—appeared in the state in the 1790s, and a Kentucky Abolition Society formed in 1808. Shelbyville's Abolition Intelligencer, although destined for a brief life, was reputed to be one of only two antislavery publications in America in 1822. Five years later some eight local societies kept alive discussion of the question of freedom for black Americans. Breckinridge's church had added its support to the movement, although its policies were contradictory and at times uncertain. Presbyterian minister David Rice had led opposition to slavery in the first state constitution; two years later the Transylvania Presbytery had ordered its members to instruct their bondsmen, to "prepare them for the enjoyment of freedom" (slaves were allowed instruction in reading and writing in the state, unlike most of the South). In 1800 the Presbytery of West Lexington labeled slavery a moral sin in its call for approval to exclude slaveowners from its places of worship. The plea was denied, but the 1818 General Assembly of the entire church did term the willful enslavement of one race by another
sting the native born and foreign this subject, except under the schedules of of the party owns slaves in different counties or in different States, he will be entered more than once. This will disturb the calculation very little, being only the case among the larger properties, and it will account for the fact that a smaller number of such properties are reported in some of the States than are known to exist, particularly in South Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana. By the table it would seem that one-third of the properties are in a single slave, and nearly one-half in less than five slaves.

CHAPTER VI. AGGREGATE POPULATION.

Hayde given in Chapter Second the Aggregate Population of the United States at all of the census periods, the formation and relation of States and Territories, the density of population, &c., and, in subsequent Chapters, the White, Free Colored and Slave Population in detail, it will be in order now to include such remarks and tables as were not conveniently included under either of the several Chapters.

According to the ratio of increase from Census to Census, divided for the particular years as to represent correctly the per centages for the lesser and greater population which is increasing, a table has been prepared showing the population of the United States at each year since 1840. The ratio of increase from 1840 to 1850 is assumed for the next decade.

The occupation and nativities of slave-holders were not taken off. An experiment in one southern town, were accounted for, laborers, farmers, blacksmiths, builders, butchers, carpenters, draysmen, provers, painters, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, &c., 32 out of a total of 268 holders, and 112 natives of free States (as home or abroad, 49 being foreign,) out of the same total of 250.

The following principles upon which such a table may be constructed, see Prof. Tappan's "Progress of the United States," p. 167. By starting with the population of 1790 as a base, which was 3,929,277, making three per cent. for every year, making 4,047,721 for 1791; 4,169,152 for 1792, and so on for every year until 1860. Mr. Darby, the well known geographer, arrived at results, which when compared with the previous census years, showed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimated</th>
<th>Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>5,981,458</td>
<td>5,981,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>6,365,864</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>6,740,151</td>
<td>6,740,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>7,220,328</td>
<td>7,220,328</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>7,740,560</td>
<td>7,740,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>8,260,264</td>
<td>8,260,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>8,800,000</td>
<td>8,800,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Washington A. O. P. Nicholson, Public Printer, 1854
and pneumonia tended to prevail during fall and winter, the seasons most conducive to respiratory diseases, and these were also frequently fatal.

From time to time disease conditions exploded into epidemics. In 1822, "a sickly year over the West generally," Louisville inhabitants were stricken with a "bilious" affliction that may have been yellow fever. Smallpox rarely presented a serious threat, but there were occasional outbreaks in towns and villages; one occurred in Lexington during 1849. In that same year Asiatic cholera struck Kentucky for the second time. The initial invasion in 1832 had been followed the next year by the spread of terror, death, and desolation from river towns to interior communities. Lexington was especially hard hit in June 1833, when cholera claimed nearly 150 victims in three days and a heroic vagrant called King Solomon shoveled day and night to bury the dead. The disease appeared in Bowling Green, Glasgow, and Greensburg in 1834 and decimated Russellville the following summer. After a fourteen-year abatement cholera returned between 1849 and 1854, attacking the river towns and, most severely, Lexington and Glasgow. Minor outbreaks occurred in 1866 on military posts near Louisville, Newport, and Bowling Green, but the overall effects were negligible. Then, in 1873, cholera ravaged Kentucky more severely than any other state. Five years later the great Mississippi Valley yellow fever epidemic of 1878 left a wake of suffering and death in the communities of Fulton, Hickman, and Bowling Green.

Among all diseases in a rural population, however, milk sickness inspired the greatest fear. Known from the times of earliest settlement, by the 1830s it prevailed conspicuously in Boone, Campbell, Breckinridge, Harrison, Daviess, and Ohio counties. The unknown cause was the white snakeroot (*Eupatorium rugosum*) on which cows foraged in the woods, producing what is now known to be tremetol poisoning. Suckling calves contracted it as did persons who consumed milk, butter, or flesh from stricken animals. Progressive symptoms in humans included lassitude, nausea, and vomiting followed by stomach pains and intense thirst. A swollen, white-coated tongue, subnormal temperature, and slow respiration were signs of oncoming prostration, coma, and death. One unerring diagnostic indication was an unmistakable odor of the patient's breath and urine. Milk sickness was not only extremely likely to be fatal, but those who survived it seemed more susceptible to another attack and many never recovered normal health.

Medical students from the afflicted counties noticed that the disease was confined to wooded hill country farms and that cattle grazing on ground previously cultivated or woods recently burned over did not contract it. Where milk sickness or "the trembles" appeared, families abandoned their farms. In Boone and Campbell counties by 1824 many such farms remained unoccupied and were considered to have no value. In a report from Marshall County in western Kentucky, Dr. George W. Irvin of Benton noted in 1852 that "milk sickness is so rife as to deter persons from purchasing property." John Rowe, a Fayette County farmer, identified the cause of the disease as early as 1838, but not until 1917 did laboratory analysis prove he had been correct.

Dr. Benjamin W. Dudley observed in 1806 that treatment of female ills was "a very great part" of the Kentucky physician's practice. Frequent child-bearing and poor obstetrics were the principal factors and Dudley attributed much harm to "ignorant old women" midwives with their "whiskey stews" and "other nostrums." Another common female malady, hysteria, was said to be caused by diverse morbid phenomena acting upon the female economy and specifically the uterus. The disease was extremely complex, wrote a Transylvania medical student named John A. Ingles, who later became a successful Bourbon County practitioner, and "to enumerate all the symptoms, which have manifested themselves in different cases of hysteria, & which should therefore be considered hysterical, is more than I shall attempt." 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 aliments," but he also believed they were prone to a distinct type of "consumption" not found in whites. Writing in 1832 a Tran-
sylvania 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.”

Intemperate drinking, frequently a secondary cause of illness, and venereal disease were common health problems throughout the nineteenth century. When the temperance movement gained surprising strength in Kentucky during the 1840s, some doctors gave it their moral support. On May 12, 1847, Dr. Henry E. Guerrant of Sharpsburg, Bath County, and seventeen other men, received authority to create a local affiliate of the Grand Division of Kentucky, Sons of Temperance. Dr. Lemuel C. Porter, of Warren County, expressed pleasure in 1848 that the Sons of Temperance were “flourishing ... and ... exercising the most salutary influence over the habits of our citizens.” Yet for all the good work, he thought, “it may be presumed that the task of total abstinence will be attended with much difficulty.”

Venereal disease was distinctive, according to a Lexington medical student, for its effect on “those organs which every one prizes so highly.” Claiming gonorrhoea to be “one of the most common diseases[,]” he went on to tell the story of a married patient who tried to evade his wife’s wrath with the excuse of “having exchanged clothes with some one, or from the hole in a privy, or a strain.” To illustrate venereal epidemiology the student offered the case of a local girl who was “considered a fresh snap, by many of the young bloods” and subsequently infected “upwards of 30” admirers. As with intemperance, the cause of preventing venereal disease through total abstinence was attended with much difficulty.

Death rates based on various causes and diseases are difficult to establish for nineteenth-century Kentucky despite the enactment of a vital statistics law in 1851. It is reasonable to assume, however, that death rates prior to 1850 were very high compared to the present figure of 10 per 1,000, chiefly because of excessive infant mortality, and that these rates declined significantly between 1880 and 1900. In 1852 the Kentucky State Medical Society found mortality exceeding 2 percent, or 20 per 1,000, in the Bluegrass, north and northcentral Kentucky, and Livingston, McCracken, and Fulton counties in the far west. Little was known about the eastern mountain counties of the state where settlement was sparse and information not easily collected. Some idea of life expectancy at midcentury may be gained from a report of 61 deaths in Marshall County for the year ending June 1, 1850. The average age at death was 21.8 years.

The American tradition of self-dosage and home treatment was never stronger than during the early years of Kentucky settlement when there were relatively few trained physicians. Sometimes aided by domestic medical manuals, settlers purged themselves with calomel (mercurous chloride) and employed numerous homemade remedies. The measure of a large dose of calomel, according to a physician in a neighboring state, was one that “none but a Kentuckyan would give or take.” An “always successful” home recipe for treatment of dysentery called for two pounds of inner bark taken from the north side of a white oak tree. After boiling the bark with a gallon of water in an iron vessel until the liquid was reduced to a quart, the bark was removed, and to the remaining substance was added one quart of fresh milk and a lump of sugar as big as a duck egg. This mixture, in turn, was boiled down to a quart and, after cooling “a little,” was ready for use. The dosage began with half a teacup followed by two tablespoons every two hours until distress in the lower tract and rectum abated. Practitioner and patient were advised to “then hold
mains a great number in the exterior parts of the settlement. They feed upon cane and grass, as other cattle, and are innocent harmless creatures.

There are still to be found many deer, elks and bears, within the settlement, and many more on the borders of it. There are also panthers, wildcats, and wolves.

The waters have plenty of beavers, otters, minks, and musk-rats: Nor are the animals common to other parts wanting, such as foxes, rabbits, squirrels, racoons, ground-hogs, pole-cats, and oppoposums. Most of the species of the domestic quadrupeds have been introduced since the settlement, such as horses, cows, sheep and hogs, which are prodigiously multiplied, suffered to run in the woods without a keeper, and only brought home when wanted.

INHABITANTS.

AN accurate account is kept of all the male inhabitants above the age of sixteen, who are rated towards the expences of the government by the name of Tithables; from which, by allowing that those so enrolled amount to a fourth part of the whole inhabitants, we may conclude that Kentucke contains, at present, upwards of thirty thousand souls: So amazingly rapid has been the settlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this Fall; which gives a well-grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a short time. The inhabitants, at present, have not extraordinary good houses, as usual in a newly settled country.

They are, in general, polite, humane, hospitable, and very complaisant. Being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a diversity of manners, customs and religions, which may in time perhaps be modified to one uniform. As yet united to the State of Virginia, they are governed by her wholesome laws, which are virtuously executed, and with excellent decorum. Schools for education are formed, and a college is appointed by act of Assembly of Virginia, to be founded under the conduct of trustees in Kentucke, and endowed with lands for its use. An excellent library is likewise bestowed upon this seminary, by the Rev. John Todd, of Virginia.

The Anabaptists were the first that promoted public worship in Kentucke; and the Presbyterians have formed three large congregations near Harrod's station, and have engaged the Rev. David Rice, of Virginia, to be their pastor. At Lexington

Copy, Title page 5
p. 28-29 / 30,000 souls

p. 28/ "... we may conclude that Kentucky contains, at present, upwards to thirty /p. 29/ thousand souls; So amazingly rapid has been the settlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this Fall: which gives us a well grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a short time."

(Does not mention Fortey)

p. 63/ at salt lick, captured by Indians, set men to surrender, taken to Indian camp
p. 66/ Stopped away from Indians, returned to Borns
p. 67/ Indians arrive, 444 men /p. 67/ negotiated with Indians, fled to Fort
p. 67-70 / siege, Indians retreat
When a Kentucky woman begged the Reverend A. Scofield for a blanket, he followed her home to see if she was really in need. "But, oh me! What a house!," he wrote. "Slabs nailed in the form of a pen, about eight feet square. With a rude fireplace on one side, one bench and a pail, comprised the whole furniture. On a few loose boards... lay a pile of rags which served for a bed. A loose board answered for a door, and open cracks and corners supplied the place of windows!" Two women and six children were living there without food. Scofield gave them two blankets.
nothing, either of the "locust cypress, cedar, and other rare trees, with the rose, the jasmine, and the ivy, clambering about them," which the handbook beautifully describes. The fact is, the Americans, as I have before observed, have not the slightest idea of a garden; and on papa's venturing to insinuate this to Mr. Clay, he admitted it, and ascribed it to its undoubted cause, the expense of labour in this country.

From Ashland we went to what is really a Kentucky sight, the Fair Ground. On an eminence at about a mile from the town, surrounded by beautiful green pastures, there stands a large amphitheatre, capable of holding conveniently 12,000 spectators. In the centre is a large grass area, where the annual cattle show is held, and when filled it must be a remarkable sight. From this we went to the Cemetery, which, like all others in this country, is neatly laid out, and kept in very good order. The grave-stones and monuments are invariably of beautiful white marble, with the single exception of a very lofty monument which is being raised to the memory of Mr. Clay. It is not yet finished, but to judge either from what has been accomplished, or from a drawing papa saw of it on a large scale, in a shop window, it is not likely to prove pretty, and the yellowish stone of which it is being built, contrasts badly with the white marble about it.

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 revolting 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 $8500, or 700£ 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,
BUCKNER, GEORGE WASHINGTON

Basketball Association and played with them during the 1961-1962 season. He averaged 6.4 points per game appearing in 62 games.

BUCKNER, GEORGE WASHINGTON (b.1855), government official, was born on December 1 in Green County, Kentucky.

He received his early education in the freedmen's and public schools of Terre Haute, Indiana.

During the years 1873 to 1890, Buckner taught school in Kentucky and Indiana.

He then studied medicine, and after receiving his medical degree he practiced medicine in Evansville, Indiana, for twenty-three years.

On September 10, 1913, President Woodrow Wilson named George Washington Buckner minister to Liberia. During this time his major problem was to insure Liberia's neutrality during World War I.

He resigned his post on April 13, 1950.

BUCKNER, JOHN EDWARD "TEDDY" (1909- ), jazz musician, was a trumpet player born in Sherman, Texas, on July 16. Besides being a movie stand-in for Louis Armstrong, he worked with Lionel Hampton, Benny Carter and Horace Henderson, all stars of the 1930's.

Since 1954, he has had his own band in Los Angeles.

BUCKNER, MILTON (1915- ), jazz musician, was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on July 10. While working with Lionel Hampton between 1941 and 1948, Buckner became famous as a boogie-woogie soloist and was known as a "locked-hands" specialist (in this jazz piano style, both hands playing parallel chord patterns).

Since then he has recorded for MGM and has played the organ with his own trio.

Buckner is famous for not only his piano and organ playing but also for his arranging and leading of bands.

BUCKNER, THEODORE GUY "TED" (1913- ), jazz musician, the brother of Milton Buckner, was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on December 13. The alto sax player worked with his brother only for a short while before working with Jimmie Lunceford's band in which he was the featured soloist in such hits as "Down by the Old Mill Stream," "Margie," and "Ain't She Sweet."

Buckner later returned to Detroit and reorganized his own group.

BUDD, FRANK (1925- ), athlete, developed into one of Villanova's first big track stars and started them on a lengthy string of track victories. Budd was a great fan of Jesse Owens and patterned his running style after him. Due to his fast getaway and fine stride he was very difficult to beat in any of the sprints.

He once ran the 100-yard dash in 9.2 seconds to tie Bob Hayes' world record.

BUFFALO, GENE, boxer, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and began fighting professionally as a middleweight in 1937.

He defeated Frankie Wallace, Johnny Rossi, Jimmy Jones and Bob Turner during his career.

BUFDORD, DONALD ALVIN (1937- ), baseball player, was born in Linden, Texas, on February 2. He struggled six years in the minors before coming up to the Chicago White Sox in the summer of 1963. Although originally an outfielder, he shuttled between second and third base in his first season which saw him getting into a scant twelve games. In 1964 he played in 135 games with a batting average of .262.

After three more years with the White Sox he was traded to the Baltimore Orioles, where his play pleased the fans immensely. As a leadoff man he complemented the power of the team with his ability to get on base, which he augmented with a total of 62 stolen bases in his first three seasons.
Fee: "Slavery... is a system of force and violence."

P. 42 / Source: Fee, CW, My Uncle "85, (cont. 1982)

Taken from Fee to Whipple, Feb. 8, 1865, April 44079-44082
NOTE.

It is the aim of this volume to furnish easy reading-lessons to those who have gone through the Primer, and at the same time to impart simple instruction in the first principles of morals and religion.

Some account of the sounds of letters is prefixed; and exercises in spelling and defining are given in connection with the several lessons. Further rules for accent, pronunciation, punctuation, and the management of the voice, will be included in the Third Reader.

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### INTRODUCTORY.

#### SOUNDS OF THE LETTERS.

A has **eight** sounds:
- First, long, — fame, cake, page, rate.
- Second, short, — am, man, cat, bad, gas.
- Third, slender, — care, bear, prayer, parent.
- Fourth, open, — bar, arm, star, father.
- Fifth, open shortened, — ask, last, chance, staff.
- Sixth, broad, — all, ball, talk, perplex.
- Seventh, broad shortened, — was, wash, what.
- Eighth, like short e, — any, many.

B has **one** sound: — bad, cab, babe.

C has **three** sounds:
- First (when it comes before a, o, or u), like k, — cat, corn, cur.
- Second (when it comes before e, i, or y), like s, — sent, city, cipher.
- Third, like z, — suffice, sacrifice.

D has **one** sound: — do, did, dear, had.

E has **five** sounds:
- First, long, — me, we, meet, feet,
NOTE.

If we would adequately supply the Freedmen with religious truth, we must connect it with their early efforts in reading. This is the ground on which we have proceeded in publishing our series of Christian Readers.

This Third Reader is believed to be adapted to the wants of the Freedmen in the following particulars:

1. It contains elementary instruction in respect to the history and government of our country.
2. It contains interesting biographies of colored persons.
3. It presents to the Freedmen the life and words of Abraham Lincoln.
4. It is thoroughly Christian, containing numerous selections from able and interesting writers on religious subjects, and from the Word of God.

The introductory instructions are made as brief as possible, for the reason that a few rules, understood and used, are better than many neglected.
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### INTRODUCTORY.

The following sections are designed for reading-lessons.

#### I. GENERAL RULES FOR READING.

1. Study the reading-lesson carefully before you try to read it aloud. You can not read well what you do not understand.

2. While reading, hold the book in your left hand, avoid stooping forward, keep the shoulders back, and the chest full and round.

3. Speak every word clearly. Remember that every word has a meaning.

4. Read as if you were speaking your own thoughts.

5. Speak loud enough to be heard easily in every part of the room, but do not shout.

6. Commit to memory parts of the lessons, and repeat them with the book shut.

7. Try to learn something useful from each lesson: this will make you interested in it.

#### II. SYLLABLES.

1. When you read the word man, you speak it almost as easily as you would a single letter; yet it is made up of three letters. Letters so united as to be spoken together are called a syllable.

2. If this word were mmp, you could not speak or pronounce it. Try it and see. If it were men, min, mon, or mun, you could pronounce it easily. Every syllable, then, must have in it either a, e, i, o, or u; and these
have by the 'dollar plan' raised nearly seventy dollars for Georgetown College.

By 1844, Second Baptist had grown to a membership of 175.

In December, 1845, First Baptist sent out another "colony" church, Fourth Baptist, which met on Jefferson Street below Twelfth. Fifteen members of the mother church were granted letters to start the new congregation.

The East Baptist Church, while not a colony of First Baptist, was linked with it through its former pastor, W. C. Buck. In 1839, Buck, then editor of the Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer, resigned the post at First Baptist and began to preach morning and evening in a school house on Preston Street as a mission station. In good weather he preached in a market house between Floyd and Preston, "from which the rowdy German Catholics attempted to drive him but failed." In late 1840, he built "a brick church house, forty feet square, on his own lots on Green Street between Floyd and Preston." There, on January 1, 1842, he gathered a congregation of ten members called East Baptist Church. Buck served this congregation for seven years "without fee or reward, superintended the Sunday School, [and] furnished the sexton, lights and fuel for two years until the church was able to relieve him of these expenses."

By 1845, then, Louisville could claim the First Baptist Church, Second Baptist, East, and Fourth Baptist. By far the largest Baptist congregation in the city, however, was the First African (or Colored) Baptist Church, pastored by Henry Adams.

The early history of this thriving congregation, now the Fifth Street Baptist Church, is difficult to discover. Records do indicate that by 1822, during Philip Fall's pastorate, First Baptist received blacks as members upon profession of faith and baptism. In fact, the majority of those baptized in this historic church between 1822 and 1841 were black. The exact status of these black members, however, is a bit unclear.

Some sources indicate that as early as 1829, the black members worshipped separately from the whites. The Louisville Directory for 1832 does list a "Baptist church, devoted to colored persons . . . on Market Street, between 7th and 8th." By 1834 the blacks had acquired a building at Fifth and York, and in 1844 they purchased the building formerly owned by the First Christian Church, on Fifth between Walnut and Chestnut.

More important than buildings, however, was the number of people involved. The Long Run Association minutes for 1839 first took note of this "large African church, consisting of about three hundred members." They worshiped "in a large brick building, put up by their own means," the report went on, and in 1840 the minutes praised the black church: "Their munificence is a standing reproof to many of our churches of another color."

Henry Adams probably came to Louisville from Georgia in 1839. He is first mentioned in the Long Run minutes of that year as "a talented colored brother [who] preaches to them every Lord's Day, and receives for his support $500 a year." Evidently up until that time the blacks, while meeting separately, were considered members of First Baptist and were so reported to the annual meetings of Long Run Association. The minutes describe the black church as in "connexion" and under the care of the white congregation, whose messengers to the associational meetings also represented the blacks.

Henry Adams seems to have chafed under this relationship. In 1842, for example, he sent a "query" to the Association which seems to have called for black messengers for the black church, by then officially constituted a separate congregation with nearly 500 members. The messengers decided, however, that the colored church may be represented in this body through the delegates of the First Baptist Church, and by letter, and our colored brethren are advised to place themselves under the supervision of said church.

But this was not what Adams and his people had in mind. In 1843, the blacks petitioned the Association that their pastor, at least, be received as a messenger to the Association, in addition to the messengers chosen from the First Church.

The issue sharply divided Long Run. Here is the record of that discussion:

A motion was made and seconded that the vote be taken, without debate, which after some discussion was lost. Yeas 30, nays 35. A motion was then made and seconded that the request of the colored church be granted. After much discussion, the motion was lost, and the request of the church answered in the negative.

His request denied, Adams, present at the meeting, asked for permission to address the body — "unanimously granted." It must have been a tense moment as the black pastor, then about forty years old and in his prime, moved to the pulpit of Floyd's Fork Church to argue that his church's membership in Long Run meant nothing without the right of representation by its own members. As eloquent as Adams might have been, the messengers stood firm: the black church was to be represented only by whites.

Ironically, during 1843 Adams' church had contributed $115.50 "for Foreign Missions to send the Gospel to Africa." In 1844 they sent only a letter to the Association, refusing to be represented by the First Baptist messengers — a practice they continued until 1869. Meanwhile, First Baptist led in organizing a second black church, pastored by a certain George Wells. This congregation grew quickly, but never became as large as Adams' congregation.

In spite of having six Baptist churches during the 1840's, Louisville was far from being a Baptist city. In 1845, in fact, as the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky met in Georgetown, T. S. Malcom of Second Baptist and A. D. Sears of First Baptist made a plea for aid from Baptists throughout the state. According to the diary of Thomas Smith, Jr., of Newcastle, then a student at Georgetown College, they requested the adoption of some means by which Louisville might be supplied, mentioning that there were about 3,000 people in one end of the city of Louisville, who knew not God and have no means of knowing him. They said that if the Baptists did not take possession of Louisville now, that they never would or could; that it must be now or never; meanwhile detailing the many great efforts being made by all denominations and particularly the Catholics and Jesuits to gain ascendency in that city. Nothing was done on the subject. 17

Smith was wrong; something had been done through the efforts of Sears and Malcom! A seed had been planted in the mind of young Thomas Smith, Jr., who, when he returned to Kentucky after training at Princeton Seminary, led in one of the decisive actions that made it possible for Louisville to become a "Baptist city": the merger of the First and Second Baptist Churches into Walnut Street Baptist Church, October 12, 1849. 18

In spite of the efforts of W. C. Buck, John Finley, and A. D. Sears, in the 1840's the First Baptist Church had not really come into its own. Sears did lead in a spectacular eight-week "protracted meeting" in the late summer and early fall of 1842, which resulted in 125 baptisms, after which he was called as pastor. In 1843, First Baptist received 188 new members, 136 by baptism. She also reported to the Association a "flourishing Sabbath School, with one hundred forty scholars and teachers." On Christmas Day, 1845, the church was able to pay off its long-standing debt, and a manual was published in honor of the occasion.

After this happy event, however, First Baptist suffered a steady loss of membership, reporting 306 to the Association in 1849. In July of that year, A. D. Sears resigned to accept the position of Agent of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky.

The Second Church, meanwhile, had also come upon difficult times. In 1843, under T. S. Malcom, she reported fifty-five baptisms, and a total membership of 161. The church was proud that "only one month has passed since April, 1842, that the church has not repaired to the banks of the Ohio, to witness the baptism of believers." In addition, they reported,

A maternal Society has been formed, and the mothers belonging to it meet on the first Thursday in each month to pray for the salvation of their children. There are five weekly prayer meetings, one of which is the young converts' prayer meeting, and another the female prayer meeting.

After Malcom's resignation in 1846, the church's membership declined slowly, the efforts of pastor T. G. Keene notwithstanding.
an American Molière to satirize trends in modern educational theory. In 1902 Wells Hall at the Framingham (Mass.) Normal School was named in her honor.

Mrs. Wells wrote numerous articles for the North American Review, Atlantic Monthly, and New England Magazine, frequently addressing herself to the problems of women in their emergence to modern self-awareness. Among several books she has been "About People" (1885), the collected views of a serene Unitarian gentleman on mundane relations among husbands, wives, servants, and children—that subtle society of the home whose importance she constantly stressed.

By the turn of the century, at a time when the older Boston she represented was fast disappearing, Mrs. Wells was acknowledged one of the first ladies of her city. In her unfailing grace and good humor she retained even the respect of militant feminists. She died in her seventy-fourth year at her Back Bay residence of acute gastroenteritis and was buried among her kinsmen in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge. Her passing deprived proper Boston of a public possession.


GEORGE BLODGETT

WELLS-BARNETT, Ida Bell (July 16, 1862–Mar. 25, 1931), journalist, lecturer, and clubwoman, was born in Holly Springs, Miss., of slave parents, the oldest in a family of four boys and four girls. Her mother, Lizzie Bell, the child of a slave mother and an Indian father, had come from Virginia; sold for the first time at the age of seven, she belonged to a succession of owners, of whom the last, a Holly Springs carpenter named Bolling, proved the kindest. While working for him as cook she met and married James Wells, who had been apprenticed by his master—his acknowledged father—to Bolling to learn the carpentering trade. After Ida's parents became freedmen, her mother continued to work as cook and her father as carpenter.

Ida Wells was educated at Rust University, a freedmen's high school and industrial school established in Holly Springs in 1866. When her parents and three of their children died in an epidemic of yellow fever she became the family mainstay. Though only fourteen, she let down her skirts, put up her hair, and, claiming to be eighteen, got a position teaching in a rural school at twenty-five dollars a month. In 1884 she moved to Memphis, Tenn., where she taught at first in a nearby rural school and then in the city's Negro schools. Meanwhile she pursued her own education, attending summer classes at Fisk University. While traveling on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad about this time, she refused to comply with a conductor's demand that she leave her seat for one in a coach reserved for colored passengers and was forcibly removed. She sued the railroad and won her case in the circuit court, but the decision was reversed by the Tennessee supreme court in April 1887.

Encouraged by the Rev. William J. Simmons, president of the National Baptist Convention and a leader of the Negro Press Association, Ida Wells began to write articles for some of the small newspapers then springing up under Negro ownership, using the pen name "Iola." Because she criticized the inadequate schools available to Negro children, the Memphis school board failed to renew her contract in 1891. Thereafter she gave full time to journalism, buying a one-third interest in the Memphis Free Speech. By 1892 she had become half-owner.

That year occurred an event that drastically changed the course of Miss Wells' life. On Mar. 9 three Memphis men, all friends of hers, were lynched. Denouncing the crime in the Free Speech, she charged that it had been committed not on the familiar pretext of defending Southern white womanhood but because the victims had been offering successful competition to white storekeepers. Urging the Negro people of Memphis to seek new homes in the West, she began to investigate other lynchings and to publish the facts as she determined them. On May 27, 1892, while she was on a visit to Philadelphia and New York, the offices of the paper were mobbed and destroyed, and it became impossible for her to return to Memphis.

That autumn, after a brief stint as a staff writer for the New York Age, Miss Wells launched a one-woman crusade against lynching. A large, handsome woman with powerful,
In 1893, for Presbyterian pol. Jane A. Conroy, ill personal courage and initiative was woman's crusader. On July 7, 1919, she went on a speaking tour actively aided by Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, and others. Wells-Barnett, daughter of U. S. Representative Henry B. Wells, was active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago, and was a member of the organization's Chicago branch. Twice she marched in the famous suffrage parade of June 1913, in Washington, D.C. She was active in the National Women's Suffrage Association, and as secretary of the Chicago Chapter of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Wells-Barnett was a member of the delegation that called on President William McKinley in 1898 to demand action in the case of a Negro poet who had been lynched in South Carolina. While her family, Mrs. Wells-Barnett's daughter, Mrs. Alfreda Duster of Chicago, was a leading Negro lawyer, sometime assistant attorney, and beginning in 1889, an assistant secretary, and later, when Washington's women's clubs were the subject of compromise and attack, she edited the pamphlet's final issue. In 1913, she marched in the famous Chicago parade of June 1913, leading her club members in a torchlight parade to demand a suffrage plank in the platform. She worked with John A. Shaw in the successful attempt to block the setting up of segregated schools for Negro children in Chicago. She was also one of the founders of the Cook County League of Women Voters. Mrs. Wells-Barnett's daughter, Mrs. Alfreda Duster, was active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago, and was a member of the organization's Chicago branch. Twice she marched in the famous suffrage parade of June 1913, in Washington, D.C. She was active in the National Women's Suffrage Association, and as secretary of the Chicago Chapter of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Wells-Barnett was a member of the delegation that called on President William McKinley in 1898 to demand action in the case of a Negro poet who had been lynched in South Carolina. While her family, Mrs. Wells-Barnett's daughter, Mrs. Alfreda Duster of Chicago, was a leading Negro lawyer, sometime assistant attorney, and beginning in 1889, an assistant secretary, and later, when Washington's women's clubs were the subject of compromise and attack, she edited the pamphlet's final issue. In 1913, she marched in the famous Chicago parade of June 1913, leading her club members in a torchlight parade to demand a suffrage plank in the platform. She worked with John A. Shaw in the successful attempt to block the setting up of segregated schools for Negro children in Chicago. She was also one of the founders of the Cook County League of Women Voters. Mrs. Wells-Barnett's daughter, Mrs. Alfreda Duster, was active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago, and was a member of the organization's Chicago branch. Twice she marched in the famous suffrage parade of June 1913, in Washington, D.C. She was active in the National Women's Suffrage Association, and as secretary of the Chicago Chapter of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Wells-Barnett was a member of the delegation that called on President William McKinley in 1898 to demand action in the case of a Negro poet who had been lynched in South Carolina. While her family, Mrs. Wells-Barnett's daughter, Mrs. Alfreda Duster of Chicago, was a leading Negro lawyer, sometime assistant attorney, and beginning in 1889, an assistant secretary, and later, when Washington's women's clubs were the subject of compromise and attack, she edited the pamphlet's final issue. In 1913, she marched in the famous Chicago parade of June 1913, leading her club members in a torchlight parade to demand a suffrage plank in the platform. She worked with John A. Shaw in the successful attempt to block the setting up of segregated schools for Negro children in Chicago. She was also one of the founders of the Cook County League of Women Voters.

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MANUMISSION OF SLAVES.

With regard to manumission, it appears from the returns that during the census year they numbered a little more than 1,000, being more than double the number who were liberated in 1850, or at the rate of one each to 1,309; whereas, during 1850, the manumissions were as one to every 2,181 slaves. Great irregularity, as might naturally be expected, appears to exist for the two periods whereof we have returns on this subject. By the Eighth Census it appears that manumissions have greatly increased in number in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee, while they have decreased in Delaware and Florida, and varied but little in Kentucky, Missouri, South Carolina, and Virginia, and other bordering States not mentioned.

Manumitted slaves, according to the Seventh Census (1850) and the Eighth Census, (1860,) respectively.

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<tr>
<th>STATES</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
<th>Manumitted</th>
<th>One out of—</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
<th>Manumitted</th>
<th>One out of—</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
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FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The number of slaves who escaped from their masters in 1860 is not only much less in proportion than in 1850, but greatly reduced numerically. The greatest increase of escapes appears to have occurred in Mississippi, Missouri, and Virginia, while the decrease is most marked in Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, and Tennessee.

That the complaint of insecurity to slave property by the escape of this class of persons into the free States, and their recovery impeded, whereby its value has been lessened, is the result of misapprehension is evident, not only from the small number who have been lost to their owners, but from the fact that up to the present time the number of escapes has been gradually diminishing to such an extent that the whole annual loss to the Southern States from this cause bears less proportion to the amount of capital invested than the daily variations which in ordinary times occur in the fluctuations of State or government securities in the city of New York alone.

From the table annexed it appears that while there escaped from their masters 1,011 slaves in 1850, or one in each 1,665 held in bondage, (being about 3/4 of one per cent.) during the census year ending June 1, 1860, out of 3,919,557 slaves, there escaped only 803, being one to about 5,000, or at the rate of 3/4 of one per cent. Small and inconsiderable as this number appears, it is not pretended that all missing in the border States, much less any considerable number escaping from their owners in the more southern regions, escaped into the free States; and when we consider that in the border States not 500 escaped out of more than 1,000,000 slaves in 1860, while near 600 escaped in 1850 out of 910,000, and that at the two periods per 500 are reported to have escaped from the more southern slaveholding States, the fact becomes evident that the escape of this class of persons, while rapidly decreasing in ratio in the slave State States, occurs independent of proximity to a free population, being in the nature of things incident to the relation of master and slave.

It will scarcely be alleged that these returns are not reliable, being as they are, made by the persons directly interested, who would be no more likely to err in the number lost than in those retained. Fortunately, however, other means exist of proving the correctness of the results ascertained, by noting the increase of the free colored population, which, with all its official accretions, is proven by the census to be less than 13 per cent., in the last ten years, in the free States, whereas the slaves have increased 23 1/2 per cent., presenting a natural augmentation altogether conclusive against much loss by escapes;

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the natural increase being equal to that of the most favored nations, irrespective of immigration, and greater than that of any country in Europe for the same period, and this in spite of the 20,000 manumissions which are believed to have occurred in the past ten years. An additional evidence of the slave population having been attended from year to year, up to the present time, with fewer vicissitudes, is further furnished by the fact that the free colored population, which from 1820 to 1830 increased at the rate of 36½ per cent., in 1840 exhibited but 20½ per cent. increase, gradually declining to 1860, when the increase throughout the United States was but one per cent. per annum.

**SLAVERY ABOLISHED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**

In accordance with the act of Congress approved April 16, 1862, “for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia,” and compensation to be allowed their owners, we are informed by the secretary of the commission appointed under said act of Congress that there were 979 petitions presented, representing 3,129 slaves, of whom 3,018—at an average of $300—were compensated for, making the total amount paid to the owners of slaves in the District of Columbia about $904,000.

**CHANGES OF AREA.**

By such as desire to institute a very minute consideration of the progress of particular States, and the District of Columbia, for all periods, the fact should not be lost sight of, that for a period of near half a century a portion of Virginia, including the city of Alexandria, was enumerated as part of the District of Columbia, but for the last two censuses has been included in Virginia—a circumstance which affected the ratio of progress from the sixth census of Virginia and the District. In this connexion, it may be mentioned, for the benefit of future inquirers, that since the taking of the eighth census, two towns (Seekonk and Pawtucket) of Massachusetts have been assigned to and have become part of Rhode Island, and Fall River, the latter State, has become a part of the city of Fall River, Massachusetts. By the Eighth Census the population of the places was as follows, viz: Seekonk, 2,662; Pawtucket, 4,200; Fall River, 3,377. This arrangement gives to Rhode Island 6,862 of the population of Massachusetts, and to the latter State the population of Fall River, resulting in the gain to the former State of 3,485 on the number returned by the census, and the loss of that number to the State of Massachusetts.
REVEREND CHARLES HENRY PARRISH, A.B., A.M., D.D., F.R.H.S.

President of a University—Delegate to World Baptist Congress—Holy Land Traveler—Chairman of Foreign Mission Board—Magnetic Preacher.

The Reverend Charles Henry Parrish, son of Hiram and Henrietta Parrish, was born at Lexington, Kentucky, on April 18, 1859. The father was a slave teamster and the mother was a seamstress. Both were earnest Christians, the former being deacon of the First Baptist Church in his home city.

Young Parrish became alive to great religious truths at an early age, and united with the Baptist Church when he was twelve years old. He soon interested himself in Sunday-school work, and did excellent service as a teacher.

He studied nights, while acting as porter, at different places, as occasion would permit.

Dr. Parrish matriculated in State University, over which the eminent Dr. W. J. Simmons presided at that time. But death cast a gloom over his prospects by taking away his father, then at a later period his mother, and finally a much-loved sister of thirteen summers.

Dr. Parrish was employed as janitor in the city while he pursued his studies at State University. But he proved himself a man of ability, keeping up with his classes, and graduating from the Academic Department in two years. He was awarded a gold medal in acknowledgment of his scholarship. He afterward received the degree of A.B., and became a teacher of Greek in the school.

Dr. Parrish has frequently represented his State at national gatherings, both white and colored. In 1887 he bore the greetings of the National Baptist Convention to the Southern Baptist Convention. In 1905 he was a messenger to the World Baptist Alliance, held in London, England, and while abroad he visited the Holy Land.

One of Dr. Parrish's greatest achievements was the establishment of Eckstein Norton University, Cane Spring, Kentucky. It is an institution of marked influence, having sent forth graduates into every field of usefulness. Its founder is still president.

So distinguished has Dr. Parrish become as an educator that several institutions of learning have conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In view of his original researches in Palestine he was made a Fellow in the British Royal Historical Society in 1912.

He is also pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Louisville, Kentucky, and is constantly in demand as a lecturer and preacher. For several years he was chairman of the Foreign Mission Board, once located in Louisville, but recently removed to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

He is a brilliant writer—one of the contributors to the Baptist Union Review.

Dr. Parrish married Miss Mary V. Cook, an alumna of State University, and an accomplished teacher. One son has been born to the union.

Dr. Parrish is a magnetic preacher, whose rapid flow of choice language and piercing logic never fail to bring forth an enthusiastic response from his hearers. His intense zeal, tempered with judgment, renders him successful in whatever he undertakes.
J. C. JACKSON, D.D.

Farmer—Statistician of the New England Convention—Vice-President—Board Member—Noted Evangelist—Man of Influence.

When great and good men fall, it is a call for others to aspire to their places. It was a part of the training of the youth in olden time that they should spend some time in the chambers of the honored dead among the statues of noble men, that they might catch something of their nobility.

When the subject of our sketch was born, South Carolina was honored with the services of such noted men as Dr. James Hamilton and Isaac Brockinton; the former a learned Northerner and the latter a native pioneer with the spirit of a genius. Among the many who became inspired and who resolved to make service the real measure of their greatness was the distinguished subject of this sketch.

The Rev. J. C. Jackson, D.D., of Jerkintown, Pennsylvania, was born in Rocky Mount, Fairfield County, South Carolina, on January 25th, 1866, of slave parents, Henry and Amy Jackson. The father died when the boy was ten years old, leaving the mother to care for two children. From that time the son's path was hard, but, determined to make a success of life, and believing that what others had done he could do, he undertook the most difficult tasks without hesitation.

While a student in the country schools, he paid his board by working when the short terms closed. It was seven miles to the little school-house, but he willingly walked the distance each day, so anxious was he to receive an education.

After his conversion he felt called upon to preach, and entered Benedict College, from which he was graduated in 1896. Dr. Jackson's wife died in that year, and the entire care of his two children devolved upon him.

In 1897 he married Miss Mamie E. Henderson, of Winnsboro, a graduate of Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

In August, 1889, he was licensed to preach by the Reverend J. B. Williams, of the Gethsemane Baptist Church.

The young preacher's ordination took place in August, 1891. He was pastor of St. Paul's Church at Winnsboro, South Carolina; of St. Paul's at Anderson, South Carolina; served as pastor of Court Street Church, Lynchburg, Virginia; and was finally called to the Salem Baptist Church, of Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, where he still serves acceptably.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Guadalupe College in 1904.

Since leaving college Dr. Jackson has been a diligent student, taking extension courses and devoting much time to special branches. He has accomplished a prodigious amount of religious work in addition to filling appointments to preach. He is known well and favorably throughout the United States, having conducted meetings in many of the best churches in the country.

During the last fourteen years Dr. Jackson has been constantly retained on one or another of the boards of the National Baptist Convention. He is now vice-president for Pennsyl-
vania and statistician of the New England Baptist Convention.

In all the vicissitudes of life, no matter how trying, he has been courageous and hopeful, which fact has undoubtedly contributed in a large measure to the success of his undertakings. His Christian fortitude and his devotion to the Church have won the respect and loyalty of members wherever he has been located.

Dr. Jackson is generally regarded as a leader among Afro-Americans. He has cherished plans for their material prosperity and mental advancement as well as for the salvation of their souls, and thus far his efforts have been marked with signal success. He teaches that patience and industry are necessary to real progress and that love of God is evidenced by love of our fellow-men.
bending every energy to making the lessons interesting and instructive. Later he was elected superintendent of the Sunday-school.

Mr. Steward has been secretary of the National Baptist Convention and secretary of the Baptist State Convention, chairman of the board of trustees of State University, Louisville, Kentucky; secretary of the board of visitors of the schools of Louisville, and subsequently chairman of that board.

Since 1879 Mr. Steward has been connected—in an editorial capacity—with the American Baptist. He is still an active member of the National Baptist Convention, and he is also Sunday-school missionary for the American Baptist Publication Society for Kentucky.

Mr. Steward visited London in 1905 on the occasion of the meeting of the World Baptist Alliance.

It is as editor of one of the oldest and best denomination papers that Mr. Steward has probably reached the largest number of people. He is a brilliant writer, strong and convincing, and a thorough scholar. The average newspaper is considered a most effective medium of communication, but where the periodical is so important a publication as the American Baptist, the number of persons brought under the influence of the editor can hardly be estimated. And it is needless to state that the columns of Mr. Steward's paper have been devoted invariably to the promulgation of right principles. He has been a faithful champion of the race, and he has employed political channels in many instances to benefit those whose welfare he has at heart.

Fraternal organizations have paid him high honor, and he is recognized as a power in his community and State.

Professor Steward is married, and his wife, Mrs. M. E. Steward, is one of the most accomplished women of the race, being actively engaged in educational work. Mrs. Steward is widely known as a musician and lecturer of rare attainments. She is professor of music in the State University at Louisville and president of the Woman's Baptist State Convention of Kentucky.
harry toulmin, western country in 1793, tinling & davies eds (1948)

p 65/ "Slaves are to be hired at from £10 to £18 a year. Female servants, £5 or £6. You clothe them and pay their taxes. A good healthy Negro will earn £30 a year in clearing land. His clothing, provisions, and taxes will amount about £6--supposing that they live upon milk, bread, flesh meat, and have a patch of land to raise what they please and to feed their poultry."

ON TREATMENT OF SLAVES IN MASON CO & KY 1793

h toulmin, western country in 1793, tinling and davies eds, (1948)

p 79/ In discussing treatment of slaves, which he thinks are well-fed, clothed, etc, he adds: "No laws can protect a slave against the thousand provocations which it is in the power of a petulant master or mistress to offer." Says the laws of Va in effect in Ky, essentially.
Stanley W. Campbell, *The Slave Catchers*, 1963

"In October, 1861, the *Louisville Journal* was pleased to report that a resident of Louisville had recovered his fugitive slave from the state of Indiana by due process of law. The federal marshal had acted promptly, and the fugitive slave tribunal performed efficiently in mandating the slave to his owner."


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the deadfall customers, and their windows were universally barred with strong diagonal iron straps which at least kept thieves from easy access to the buildings.

For many years the southern people had been forced to do without consumer's goods. During four years of war when stocks were exhausted and could not be replaced, most of them were unable to buy even the most commonplace and necessary goods. When the war ended, these customers were again ready buyers. Most southerners were without money, but as a result of the lien laws recently passed by the state legislatures, they were able to purchase astounding amounts of merchandise. Everywhere there was an anxiety to buy new goods, even if buying meant going hopelessly into debt; large piles of goods stacked on the Atlanta, Mobile, New Orleans and Charleston shelves and sidewalks melted overnight. Where there had been one store before the war, there were now ten. A flush postwar market had created thousands of outlets.

Of course the Negro, hampered by both war and slavery, had felt the pinch even more than the white man. Now the freedom of going into a country store and looking over its crowded shelves was for him nothing short of a trip to heaven. Long shelves of bright-colored goods and piles of fat meat; the smell of lard, the rich, heavy overtone of tempting salt herring and mackerel spiced with the celestial odor of sardines and cheese; the mouth-watering sight of big boxes of crackers and tantalizing glass jars of long sticks of striped candy were entirely too much temptation for the impractical man of either race. Political rights and freedom meant nothing in the face of this maddening intoxication. Quickly Negroes became the stores' best customers, buying what they wanted rather than what they needed. It was a joyous heady experience! Here was freedom of the most tangible sort, and the store was the one place in the new order where the Negro knew he would suffer least from racial discrimination. His money was as good as that of the white man, and in some few instances he had more of it for the moment. But like his hangover from cheap water-spiked whisky, his cash was soon gone and his spending habits threw him upon the unrelenting mercy of the lien laws. Soon he was back in slavery, not to a plantation master, but to a conscienceless counter book.

Young men of the ante-bellum South looked forward to professions of law, medicine and the ministry, or to running a plantation; their sons now found clerking a gentlemen's trade. Scarcely had the news of Lee's surrender cleared the wires before the editor of the Milledgeville Federal Union was saying that nine out of every ten young men in the southern towns were going into the business of clerking.

Frantically editorial prophets of the New South looked about for opportunities which would ease the economic-strain of their bankrupt people. While exploiters were grabbing at political and social advantages, these editors mapped their courses of future economic pursuits. In Louisville, Cincinnati, Charleston, Baltimore, New York and Chicago, money making became their theme and they often adopted the more conciliatory doctrine of new business opportunities. The editor of the Baltimore Gazette surveyed the southern field and decided, "What with carpet bag officials, scalawag judges, and Negro representatives, there is but one liberty left South Carolina. That is the liberty of making money...."

Louisville wholesale distributors, for instance, were quick to realize that the southern trade was a rich plum. If only they could hold the "Cincinnati Yankees" off until they thrust their powerful Louisville and Nashville railroad southward, prosperity would be assured them. During the war the city had been under the control of the Union Army, but now it was the
By comparing the average decennial ratio of slave increase in all the States with the difference in the number of the actual slave-population of the slave-breeding States, as ascertained by the census, it is apparent that the number of slaves exported to the cotton States is considerably more than twenty thousand a year.

While calling on a gentleman occupying an honorable official position at Richmond, I noticed upon his table a copy of Professor Johnson's Agricultural Tour in the United States. Referring to a paragraph in it, where some statistics of the value of the slaves raised and annually exported from Virginia were given, I asked if he knew how these had been obtained, and whether they were reliable. "No," he replied; "I don't know anything about it; but if they are anything unfavorable to the institution of slavery, you may be sure they are false." This is but an illustration, in extreme, of the manner in which I find a desire to obtain more correct but definite information, on the subject of slavery, is usually met, by gentlemen otherwise of enlarged social and generous qualities.

A gentleman, who was a member of the "Union Safety Committee" of New York, during the excitement which attended the discussion of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, told me that, as he was passing through Virginia this winter, a man entered the car in which he was seated, leading a negro girl, whose manner and expression of face indicated dread and grief. Thinking she was a criminal, he asked the man what she had done:

"Done? Nothing."

"What are you going to do with her?"

"I am taking her down to Richmond, to be sold."

"Does she belong to you?"

"No; she belongs to ——; he raised her."

*A slaveholder writing to me with regard to an envious statement on the subject, made in the Daily Times, says:— "In the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, as much attention is paid to the breeding and growth of negroes as to that of horses and cattle. Further South, we have them both for use and for wealth. Planters maintain their girls and women (married or unmarried) to have children; and I have known a great many negro girls to be sold off, because they did not have children. A breeding woman is worth from one-tenth to one-fourth more than one that does not breed."
Some months after this episode, Ferrill was bound out to Edmund Daily to learn the house-joinery business. During his apprenticeship he was converted to the Christian religion, and at the age of twenty he was baptized by the Rev. Absalom Waller. From that date began his church career, which concluded only with his death. He soon began to preach, and was known throughout the Slashes as "as great a preacher as Andrew Broaddus"—an able Virginia divine.

Colonel Overton heard of his slave's promising work, and decided to give him a systematic education. But his decision was never carried out, as he died shortly after having made it. Ferrill, however, added line upon line, precept upon precept, and it was not long before his discourses were highly intelligent.

His master had not long been in his grave when Ferrill determined to leave Virginia. He first thought of settling in New York City or Philadelphia, but finally concluded to make Kentucky his future home. He and his wife, who had purchased his freedom, bought "a Yankee wagon and two horses," and began the long journey over the old Wilderness Road to the baby Blue Grass State. There were very few houses along the route of travel, and at night, many miles away from any dwelling, he and his faithful wife were often serenaded by the howl of wolf and bear. They at length arrived in Kentucky and took up their abode some four miles from Lexington. After a few months, however, they moved into the little city.

Ferrill's first preaching in Lexington was done in the weaving-room of Thomas Hart, the father-in-law of Henry Clay. One of these discourses was heard by a company of white persons who admitted his accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, but agreed that his grammar was incorrect. They arranged a conference for him with the learned James McChord, the Presbyterian pastor of this city, who told him many things that were invaluable to him in his future career.

Ferrill frequently preached in private houses during his first years in the "Athens of the West," and his fame soon
reached the ears of the Town Trustees, who engaged him to minister to the entire colored population of Lexington. The Sabbath following, their action was concurred in by the Negroes themselves. Soon after, his congregation went further and elected him as their pastor for life, but he insisted on a clause in the contract that allowed him to sever relations whenever dissatisfaction arose in the church, which was agreed to.

The beginning of his ministry in Lexington was marked by incidents that try men's souls. He had enemies galore, but he also had many warm, devoted friends, who, with the grace of God and his great will power, gave him victory. During the first month of his pastorate he had thirty converts, but he could not baptize them until he had been regularly ordained by the Elkhorn Baptist Association, which also gave him full power to perform any religious ceremony. And on the next Sabbath, he buried his converts with Christ in baptism.

A short time after this, Ferrill's arch enemy, Harry Quill, attempted to have him sent back to Virginia under the Kentucky law which allowed a free colored person to remain in this State but thirty days, unless he or she was a Kentuckian-born. But a few of his white friends—and he had more than any Negro Kentucky has produced—presented a petition to the General Assembly asking that he be permitted to remain in Kentucky, and it was granted.

On June 1, 1833, cholera came to Lexington, and London Ferrill and Bishop Smith, of the Episcopal Church, were the only ministers who remained in the city. While William (''King'') Solomon of Kentucky, was the real hero of the plague, and throughout it ''he ruled like an untirested king,'' he was ably seconded by Ferrill, Smith, Benjamin Gratz, General Leslie Combs, John Keizer, Jr., and others.

On June 11, Ferrill's wife died, and the next day saw thirteen persons at her bier—the very largest funeral of the entire cholera plague.

After killing some five hundred persons, the awful disease subsided in Lexington by the middle of July, and Ferrill went into Fayette county to aid the sick and dying and to do whatever good he could.

London Ferrill was the founder and first pastor of the First Baptist Church for colored people in Lexington, which stands today at the corner of East Short and Deweese streets. From 1833 to his death in 1854 ''he 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.'' Throughout his ministry he baptized about five thousand persons.

By his will he left his property to his adopted children. This will, which was witnessed by James O. Harrison and Francis K. Hunt, two of Lexington's great lawyers, is preserved in the Fayette county clerk's office. Shortly before his death, he handed this prayer to his anonymous biographer:

''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, be 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 peaceable, happy and truly religious; and when they come to lie down on the bed of death, may Thy good Spirit hover around ready to waft their ransomed 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 Master! choose, when I am gone, choose 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 were a white man; and bless, I pray Thee, all those who, through envy or malice, have..."
mustreated me, and save them—is my prayer. Bless the Church of Christ everywhere—bless Christians in every land—bless, O 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 Thyself, and the glory shall be to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, forever and ever. Amen."

London Ferrill died in Lexington, October 12, 1854, about five weeks before King Solomon's death. And this fact shatters the good old tradition that Ferrill pronounced the benediction at Solomon's funeral. General Leslie Combs may have delivered a brief eulogy at Solomon's grave, but another than Ferrill pronounced the benediction.

The Lexington Observer and Reporter, one of the best of the early Lexington newspapers, published this notice of his passing:

"We are truly pained to be called upon to announce the death of London Ferrill, the great colored minister of the Gospel, so long a respected and venerable citizen of this place. He departed this life on Thursday morning last, at his residence near the African Baptist Church, of which he had been pastor for over a quarter of a century, beloved as he will be lamented by his numerous congregation and by our community. He had been in feeble health for some time, but continued to perform his pastoral duties till within the last few days; and when his lamp of life went out, it was with the full confidence that it would be relumed from that everlasting luminary whose brightness will never diminish."

The other Lexington paper, the Kentucky Statesman, for October 13, 1854, contained this obituary:

"DEATH OF A GOOD MAN.

"On yesterday morning, the 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 devoted 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 upward 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 which will be severely felt by the colored people. He has gone to meet his reward; and the reward is such as awaits the good man."

A funeral notice, neatly printed on note paper with a black border (a copy of which was preserved by Martha Lee, deceased, for many years a respected colored woman of this city, and who was a member of his church) reads:

"FUNERAL.

"Yourself and family are requested to attend the funeral of Rev. London Ferrill (Late pastor of the First Col-
ored Baptist Church), from his late residence on Short street, to the Episcopal burying ground, on Sunday afternoon next, at half-past two o'clock.

"Lexington, October 13, 1854."

Ferrill's funeral was the largest, save Henry Clay's, in the history of Lexington. The Statesman for October 17, said:

"The funeral of Rev. London Ferrill, the colored preacher on Sunday last, was attended by an immense concourse of colored people. There were about seventy carriages and other vehicles in the procession, all filled to their utmost capacity, besides a very lengthy procession of persons on foot, four abreast, and some forty or fifty on horseback. It is thought there could not have been less than from four to five thousand persons in attendance upon the funeral, most of whom followed the remains of the deceased to the grave. We have never seen a more orderly or better behaved concourse of people on any occasion."

The little biography of Ferrill, of which mention has already been made, was published a short time before the death of its subject. But it was reprinted by the Kentucky Gazette in 1878; and Martha Lee's copy lies before me now. The Gazette for March 6, 1878, contained a notice of its reprinting, and a short eulogy of Ferrill. The notice commended the history of his "blameless and useful life" to the generations since his death, and concluded with the recital of this incident, which will also serve as our conclusion:

We well remember a conversation in reference to Brother Ferrill and the institution of slavery which we had on a Long Island Sound steamer with Sir William Howe, Governor-General of the British Province of Nova Scotia, in 1857, and the matter in which he applauded Brother Ferrill's marriage ceremony for slaves, uniting them "till death or distance did them part." His Excellency said it evinced wonderful good sense and a true and scriptural appreciation of the marriage relationship.
deficient in nutrients
  B vitamin deficiency? the way meal, corn preparation
C the niacin, absent in winter
C
Cornbread - not fortified
certain as in malnutrition
  even among whites
  not declared by today's standards
  not considered
Melasse = sugar
  not considered healthy
In 1830 a school system was established, by which school districts had the power to tax the inhabitants of the district for school purposes. In this provision the property of colored people was included, although they could not vote nor have the benefits of the school. The provision for a tax not exceeding 50 cents was, however, confined to "every white male inhabitant over 20 years of age; but the right to vote in the school district meeting was in certain cases extended to white females over 21 years of age. The Revised Statutes of 1852 provided that "any widow, leaving a child between 6 and 16 years of age should be allowed to vote in person, or by written proxy." But colored children were excluded from voting, and, even though they were taxed for its support, could not receive its benefits.

In 1851 the school laws were revised, but the benefits of the system were still confined to free white children. In 1867, however, an act was passed and approved March 9, "for the benefit of the negroes and mulattoes" of the State, providing that all taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes shall be set apart and constitute a separate fund for their use, one half of which should be applied to support of their parents and the remainder to the education of their children. An additional tax of $2 was also to be levied upon every male negro 12 years of age for this fund. Separate schools may be established in each district, for the support of which they are to receive their proportion of the appropriate fund. As to the operation of this law the State superintendent, (Z. F. Smith,) in his annual report, dated March 25, 1868, remarks as follows:

"The new law, approved March 9, 1867, has not operated to the satisfaction of its framers, as was hoped. I think the following extract from a letter of one of our commissioners explains the chief ground of difficulty:

"There were no colored schools taught in my county in 1867, under the superintendence of trustees; consequently none reported. The trustees have all been apprised of the fact that the law makes it their duty to have colored schools taught. But they reply "the law says they may have, but don't say they shall have, colored schools taught in their districts." The truth is these people are perfectly indifferent in regard to colored schools." The state superintendent, making reference to some cases, says: "There is nothing obligatory in the law making the trustees responsible for neglecting its enforcement. They have no personal interest in its operations, and to leave its execution to the chance impulses of the spirit of philanthropy is a very doubtful reliance for the application of a general law. The difficulties are magnified, also, by the fact that there exists yet in some quarters much of morbid and unreasonable prejudice against legislation in any way for the benefit of the colored population, and especially for the education of their children. Truists do not always and everywhere encounter that decided public opinion which presides at and influences the opinions of their fellow citizens. In such a case the law is left to be a dead letter."

"I prepared some amendments to the law, which, I thought, would make it practicable and efficient; but these did not seem to meet the approval generally of the legislators, and were not adopted. But another amendment was introduced, and became a law, which requires all the revenues from taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes to be used, first, for proper purposes; and, if there should be any excess, for school purposes. The amendment is published as part of this report. With the embarrassing provisions of the original law, it virtually destroys the practicability of existing legislation to furnish the colored people with any educational advantages. I think there is little hope of success, anywhere, for the education of the negroes until a law, independent of any paner scheme, is passed, and the execution of such law left, in its details, to agencies from among their own people."

**SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN**

The attempts to establish schools for colored children have encountered greater obstacles, perhaps, in Kentucky than in any other of the former slave States. As it did not engage in the rebellion as a State, slavery only ceased there upon the official announcement, on the 16th day of December, 1865, and then not all the children of former slaves were permitted to go to school. On account of its quasi loyalty, the Freedmen's Bureau has had but little power there, while the opposition prompted by intense local prejudice to the education of the blacks has deterred northern benevolent societies from sending their teachers to a quarter where they could not expect adequate protection. Then, too, the freedmen who had enrolled in great numbers in the Union army returned to their homes at the close of the war, with a manifest willingness well attested by courage on the battle-field, and by their eager desire for mental improvement, but hampered by a degree of poverty that hindered them in many instances from doing anything to secure instruction for themselves or their children.

Yet, in spite of all these obstacles, the educational work which had been begun in the camps..."
of colored troops, at such brief intervals as are afforded by a soldier’s life, found its continuance, on the return of peace and the subsequent proclamation of liberty. More than 30 schools with an attendance of over 4,000 pupils were soon in operation at different points in the State. Most of these schools were taught by colored teachers, and mainly supported by the freed people themselves. In Lexington, Frankfort, Danville, and, perhaps, one or two other places, public opinion looked somewhat favorably upon this innovation; but elsewhere great opposition to it was manifested not only in opprobrious words, but often in acts of violence. Still, in the face of all these discouragements, the work of enlightenment went on increasing, until, at the close of the school-year in 1863, 178 schools were reported in Kentucky, with an enrolment of 6,189 pupils.

For a time it seemed that liberal views would influence the legislation of this State in behalf of the education of its freedmen. By an act approved February 16, 1866, it was provided that the taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes should be “set apart as a separate fund for their use, one-half, if necessary, to go to the support of their paupers, and the remainder to the education of their children.” Under this law, which permitted separate schools for colored children, but failed to make their establishment obligatory, a few hundred dollars were appropriated in accordance with its provisions, during the year following its enactment. In 1867, it was amended so as to entitle each colored child attending school for at least three months during the year to receive $2.50 from taxes collected within its county. But the assembly of 1868 rescinded the doings of the preceding assemblies and directed that all taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes should be devoted only to the support of their paupers.

It is well that in this desert there is an oasis or two for the eye to rest upon. Such an oasis is

BEREA COLLEGE.

Berea College was established in Madison county in 1859, and which was an outgrowth of the missionary work of the Rev. John G. Fee, a native Kentucky, and of his co-laborers, under the care of the American Missionary Association. From its commencement its founders took quiet but firm ground against the spirit of caste: and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at that in the popular agitation consequent on the John Brown raid this school fell a prey to lawless fanaticism. Its teachers were driven into exile and its students scattered. The rebellion soon followed; and, after the war which crushed both the rebellion and slavery, its cause, most of the Berea exiles returned to their homes. The school was re-opened January 1, 1866; and, although its trustees steadfastly adhered to their position not to tolerate distinctions of color and race, its success has exceeded the sanguine expectations of its friends. The last catalogue showed 201 students in attendance, about one-third of whom were white, and the remainder colored.


Teachers: Mrs. Louisa M. Lincoln, Miss Eliza M. Sneed, Miss Louisiana Kiser, Miss Jennie Donaldson.

THE ELY NORMAL SCHOOL, LOUISVILLE.

The Ely normal school was formally dedicated April 6, 1866, with appropriate exercises, including addresses by the Rev. Moses Hayward, Dravath, Right Rev. B. H. Smith, Bishop of Kentucky, the Hon. Blanch Ballard, the Hon. James Speed, and others. It received its name in compliment to General John Ely, who, as chief superintendent of freedmen’s affairs, first organized the bureau in this State, and by faithful labors in behalf of the freedmen, both in redressing their wrongs and in securing their just prerogatives, had merited their lasting gratitude.

This school is delightfully situated. It is located on a corner lot having one front of 100 feet on Broadway, the finest street in the city, and another of 220 feet on 14th street. In point of convenience and simple architectural beauty the building has no superior in the city. It is a two-storied structure, built of the best quality of brick, is 50 by 70 feet in extent, and contains nine rooms suitably furnished for its purposes. The total cost of this handsome property was $20,000, of which sum the government appropriated the sum of $12,000.

This institution is under the control of the American Missionary Association, and has an attendance of over 400 pupils. Mr. A. H. Robbins, a graduate of Oberlin College is its superintendent.

The following tables, prepared by Professor Vashon, give the number of scholars and attendance, as well as teachers and studies for 1867-88.

Table giving the number of schools, teachers, scholars, and attendance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of teachers.</th>
<th>Number of scholars.</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total.</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1,107</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1,107</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>1,107</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>3,741</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>3,741</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table showing the number in different studies, and cost of maintaining schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of scholars in different studies pursued.</th>
<th>Expended in support of schools.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>3,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>3,148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LOUISIANA.

In the census of 1860 there were 708,002 inhabitants, of whom nearly one-half were blacks, viz: 373,738 slaves, and 18,647 free; a total of 392,385.

By the treaty of Paris, April 30, 1863, for the purchase of the province of Louisiana, it was stipulated that “the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be admitted to ‘all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States.’ As early as January, 1835, a law was enacted by the territorial legislature of Orleans, containing a provision as to the mode of selling slaves at auction; and in May of that year an act was passed ‘for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors,’ which declared that nothing in the act should be construed to extend to slaves, but that they should be punished for the specified offenses by ‘the laws of Spain for regulating her colonies.’ The ‘Black Code,’ approved June 7, 1886, was rigorous, but protected slaves from outrage. By it slaves were to have the enjoyment of Sundays; or, if employed, receive 50 cents a day. But by the same code it was declared that ‘no slave can possess anything in his own right or dispose of the proceeds of his industry without the consent of his master.’ No slave was permitted to go out of the plantation to which he belonged without written permission, under a penalty of 20 lashes. Free people of color were never to presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but they ought to yield to them in every occasion, and never speak or answer them disrespectfully; under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offense; for the third offense of striking a white man, the slave might suffer death.

In 1841 a law was passed forbidding any free negro or mulatto to settle in the Territory, or remain in it more than two weeks after coming into it from another State; and as a penalty, if unable to pay the fine and costs, he was to be sold to pay them.

Louisiana was admitted into the Union April 30, 1861, and in September of that year an
A BIG BLUFF

"The Colored People Declare They Will Enter Their Children in the Schools for the Whit
if Provision Is Not Made for Their Education.

The following official report was handed in at a late hour Monday night:
"Pursuant to a call, a mass meeting of the colored citizens of Owensboro was held in the
school house Thursday evening, August 24th. Edward Claybrook was chosen chairman of the
meeting, and O.G.K. Barrett was appointed secretary.
On motion of C.T. Jackson, the chair appointed as a committee on resolutions, Richard
"During the absence of the committee the meeting was very ably addressed by Rev. Mr. Hard
O.G.K. Barrett and others, on the necessity of education among the colored children of the
city.
"The committee on resolutions reported the following, which were unanimously adopted:
"Inasmuch as we have petitioned the Legislature and council to do something for the educa-
tion of the colored children in the city of Owensboro, and as they have passed us by in
silence, therefore be it
"Resolved, That we appoint a committee to inform the school commissioner and school board
that we intend to enter our children in the schools now established for white children who
opened. And be it
"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to employ a lawyer to bring suit in the United
States district court at Paducah, Ky., in the event our children be refused admittance in
said schools.
"On motion the following committee was appointed to notify the commissioner and school
board of the purpose of entering the colored children in the schools established for white
children, and to get a lawyer to prosecute the case: Richard Varian, Ed. Claybrook, C.T.
Jackson, O.G.K. Barrett, Wm. Hunter, Henry Johnson. On motion the meeting was adjourned."

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

"The Negroes Attempt to Enter Their Children at the White Schools, and on Refusal of
Admission Quietly Bring Suit.

The public schools opened Monday, with a very fair attendance. The new superintender
Prof. A.C. Goodwin, was in charge, with Mr. Hester, the first principal, at the Upper ward
and Miss Laura Hughes, the second principal, at the Lower ward.
A considerable degree of interest was felt in the opening of the schools, on account
of the threats of the negroes to enter their children at the schools for the white child-
no provision for equal educational facilities having been made for them.
Shortly after the organization of the schools, O.G.K. Barrett, Richard Varian, Ed.
Claybrooks, Marshall McLean and Walter Whitehill, all colored, put in appearance at the
Lower ward building with three colored children, whom they desired to enter. Miss Hughes
referred them to the superintendent at the Upper ward building, and they made application
there. Prof. Goodwin informed them that the children could not be received, and they then
left without further demonstration. Owen Barrett, who afterward called at the MESSENGER
office, stated that they were not surprised to be turned away, and that their object was
to produce proof to be filed with a suit in the United States district court at Paducah,
that their children were refused admission to the white schools.
The suit has already been prepared by Mr. F.W. Bagby, a lawyer of Paducah, and the ca
will be tried at the next term of the court."
EQUAL RIGHTS IN SCHOOLS

The Fourteenth Amendment Enforced in Kentucky

"A United States Judge Lays Down the Law to Some School Trustees.

The recent decision of United States Circuit Judge John W. Barr, upon the Owensboro, Ky., school cases is a matter of small import, it being the first instance where a municipality, as the creature of the State, has been brought under the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the national constitution. A review of the case involves a retrospect at the common school system of this State.

From the money distributed to the States from the national treasury, under the act approved June 23, 1838, the State of Kentucky received about $1,500,000, and in 1838 set apart $850,000 as a permanent school fund. This was increased from lapses in payments of interest, for which new bonds were given, until all was refunded in one consolidated bond of the Commonwealth, bearing six per cent. interest, January 1, 1870, and amounting to $1,327,000. Besides this the State board of education held 735 shares of the capital stock of the Bank of Kentucky, yielding 8 per cent. dividends, and amounting to $73,500, making a total permanent State school fund of $1,400,500.

The entire proceeds of this fund from the time it was first set apart for the purpose — together with an annual tax levy of 5 cents on each $100 prior to 1869 and subsequently 20 cents, determined by a vote of the people — was applied to the maintenance of schools for white children exclusively. The school law of 1864, which provided for the education of the favored class only, remained in undisturbed operation, notwithstanding the adoption of the fourteenth amendment in 1868.

In the year 1874 the Legislature passed a law providing for the education of colored children, and enacted a system of taxation upon persons of that color for such a purpose, including also a poll tax. These discriminating taxes were collected during the years following that time. The act provided that the colored schools must be entirely maintained from the proceeds of taxation upon the property and persons of that class, and no other. The sums realized were so small as to amount to but little towards carrying out the ostensible purpose of the law — to provide a system of education for CHILDREN OF COLORED CITIZENS.

In the spring of 1881 some colored men, acting under the advice of hon. F.W. Bagby, of Paducah, refused to pay this poll tax, and their wages were garnished by the county court. Upon motion of their attorney the case was removed to the United States circuit court, and elaborately argued by Bagby. In his argument the flagrant violations of the fourteenth amendment by the school laws of the State were presented.

At the April term of the United States circuit court for 1882, Judge Baxter rendered a decision on the question, declaring the colored school law unconstitutional, and absolving the defendants from all liability to the payment of a poll tax.

The Legislature of the State being then in session, and at that time considering a revision of the school laws, accepted the situation as presented by the court, and enacted the first general and equitable school law the State has ever had.

Upon the advice of Mr. Bagby, who had been chosen city attorney, the Paducah common council made provision at the opening of the fall term of schools in 1882 for giving the same facilities to the colored as to the white children. The same thing was also done in Louisville. These two places alone in the entire State made any effort to put the equitable school law into operation and give to the colored child its proper share of the school funds, arising from the permanent fund and the proceeds of taxation. Very many of the towns and cities were maintaining schools under special acts which placed their school system in control of the municipal authorities. Such places continued the discriminating special acts which virtually shut the colored children out of school; among them the city of Owensboro, where there are enrolled 800 white and 500 colored children.

Some of the colored people of that place learning of the success Hon. F. W. Bagby met with in his previous proceedings before the United States court, employed him to undertake their
The exhibits in the case showed that the property of white citizens in that city assessed for taxation was $2,300,387, yielding a school tax of $6,901.16, and by a provision of the special act also a per capita tax of $2,524. The assessed value of the property of the colored people was shown to be $32,275, on which only $96.82 was collected, and in addition to which but $16.78 of the per capita tax was collected, the larger portion of both remaining uncollected.

"This case was brought in the United States circuit court as a constitutional question under the fourteenth amendment, and fully argued last January for complainants by Hon. F.W. Bagby and Judge C.F. Marshall, of this city; and for the city of Owensboro, Ky., by Judge Sweeney and Messrs. Owen & Ellis, of that city. Judge Barr, who occupied the bench at the time, took the subject under advisement and rendered his decision.

"It is understood that Judge Barr considered it the most troublesome question that he has ever been called upon to consider. He was convinced that the law providing a school system for Owensboro was unconstitutional, but was in doubt for a time as to the remedy.

BY HIS ORDER

the board of trustees of the public schools of Owensboro are restrained from paying out five-thirteenths of the public school funds for the support of white schools, and are virtually thereby required to appropriate that sum to the maintenance of schools for the colored children. When it is considered that nearly all the larger towns of the State are conducting their schools upon a system of a similar discriminating character, the immense importance of this decision to the colored people of Kentucky can be understood."
The consolidation here was by a sale of the Nebraska road, with all its property and franchises, to the Illinois corporation, and, if there is to be but one consolidated company, the intention must have been to make the Illinois company that one. Was this unlawful? Clearly not, unless it violated some law either of Nebraska, Iowa, or Illinois. The statute of Iowa expressly authorizes consolidation by sale. I assume, as nothing appears to the contrary, that no provision of any law of Illinois has been violated. There is nothing in the above-quoted statute of Nebraska to prevent a consolidation by the sale of a domestic road to a foreign corporation which has built a line of railroad to the state boundary. On the contrary, the parties are expressly empowered to fix their own terms of consolidation, subject only to the condition that they shall not violate any law of the other state or states interested. The true rule upon this subject is that where the state does not assume, by its legislation, to create a corporation, or to require a foreign corporation to become domestic, but recognizes the existence of such foreign corporation, and its right to come into the state and transact business therein, such foreign corporation remains a corporation of the state under whose laws it was created, and, for purposes of the jurisdiction of the federal courts, a citizen of that state. *M., K. & T. Ry. Co. v. T. & St. L. Ry. Co.* 10 Fed. Rep. 497.

Within this rule I hold that the defendant is an Illinois corporation. The plea to the jurisdiction is accordingly overruled.

**Claybrook and others v. City of Owensboro and others.**

(*District Court, D. Kentucky. 1883.*)

1. **Constitutional Law—Act Discriminating Between White and Black in Distribution of School Fund is Void.**

An act of a state legislature authorizing a municipal corporation to levy a tax for the benefit of public schools within its limits, but directing that the tax collected of the white people should be used to sustain public schools for white children only, and the tax collected of the colored people should be used to sustain schools for colored children, the effect of such discrimination being to give the whites excellent school facilities and a school session annually of nine
months, and the colored, inferior school facilities and a session of three months, is contrary to the fourteenth amendment of the United States constitution, and void. The colored race is entitled to have a fair share of the fund raised by such taxation applied to the maintenance of the colored schools.

2. INJUNCTION FROM UNITED STATES COURTS AGAINST UNCONSTITUTIONAL STATE LAW.

The federal courts have jurisdiction to enjoin state officers from obeying state laws declared unconstitutional.

Motion for Injunction.

E. W. Bagby and C. S. Marshall, for complainants.

Owen & Ellis and W. N. Sweeney, for defendants.

BARR, J. The complainants allege that they are citizens of the United States and of the state of Kentucky, of African descent, and are residents of the city of Owensboro, and are being deprived by defendants of the equal protection of the law, in that they are discriminated against in the distribution of taxes levied by the city of Owensboro for the public schools of said city, and they ask an injunction against "the board of trustees of the Owensboro public schools" and its treasurer, restraining them from this alleged discrimination in the distribution of these taxes. The general assembly of Kentucky has, by separate enactments, one in 1871 and the other in 1880, authorized the mayor and common council of the city of Owensboro to assess and levy an ad valorem tax, not exceeding thirty (30) cents on each one hundred (100) dollars' worth of property in said city, and a poll tax not exceeding two dollars on each resident of said city over 21 years of age. This tax, when collected, was to be applied to sustaining the public schools of said city. The taxes collected of the white people and on their property are to be used in establishing and sustaining public schools for white children only, and the taxes collected of colored people and on their property to be used in sustaining public schools for colored children. The city of Owensboro has, as required by these laws, assessed and levied these taxes—an ad valorem tax of 30 cents on each $100 worth of property and two dollars poll tax—separately, and they are being separately applied to the, white and colored schools, as required by the state statutes.

The state also authorized the city of Owensboro to issue $30,000 of its bonds, and apply the proceeds of the sale thereof to the building of public school-houses in said city, to be used exclusively by white children. This law provides that only white people and their property should be taxed to pay these bonds and the accruing interest thereon. The city of Owensboro has, under authority of this
law, issued $30,000 of its bonds, and applied the proceeds thereof to the building of two common school-houses, and now uses these school-houses for white children exclusively.

In obedience to the provisions of the state statutes, there are two school systems in said city. The public schools for white children are managed by a board of white trustees, elected by the white voters in said city. The public schools for colored children, which are entirely separate, are managed by colored men selected by the common council of the city. It appears from the affidavits that there are about 500 colored children within the school age and about 500 white children within that age in the city. The taxes assessed for last year upon the white people and their property amounted to about $79,400, and those assessed upon the colored people and their property amounted to about $770. The practical result of this discrimination against the colored children in the distribution of the school fund raised by taxation has been to give the white children two excellent school-houses, excellent school facilities, 18 teachers, and a school session of 9 or 10 months in each year. On the other hand, the colored children have only one inferior school-house, three teachers, school facilities of every kind very inferior to those of the white children, and a school session of about three months in each year.

The learned counsel for defendants admits that these laws, and the action of the authorities under them, have and will continue to produce inequality in educational advantages between the white and the colored children in Owensboro, but insists (1) that this is a lawful inequality; (2) if it is not a lawful one, this court has no jurisdiction. They insist the taxes assessed and levied under these laws are not for the purpose of sustaining common schools, but these acts make the white residents and the colored residents of Owensboro two separate corporations, with power and authority to establish public schools for the children of each race, and that the right to tax is merely a mode of assessing the members of the respective corporations as stockholders. This is not a correct construction of these laws. The first section of the act approved 1871 declares the city of Owensboro shall be a school-district, and the fourteenth section provides that "all white children over six years of age within each ward shall have equal right of admission to the schools of such ward, and no fees or charges for their tuition shall ever be charged in any of the schools. And it is expressly provided that only white children be admitted to said schools."
The twenty-first section requires that “the commissioner or commissioners for common schools shall annually make one estimate of the shares or proportions of the state common-school fund, which would be coming or due to the school-districts of Owensboro if the boundaries of the city were taken as the boundary of such districts, and shall annually pay over to the treasurer of the board of trustees herein created the full amount of such proportion or share, which shall be held and used by them as other funds herein provided for.” It is quite clear that the act of 1871 and the amendments were intended to and do provide for local aid to the common schools in Owensboro, and with this local aid was given local control, and that it is really a part of the common-school system of the state, and, as such, getting its part of the common-school fund of the state.

It is equally inaccurate to assert that the white residents of Owensboro are made in any sense stockholders in the corporation established by the act of 1871. All white residents of Owensboro, after this act became a law, were subject to the assessment of taxes by the common council of the city, and this was without regard to their willingness or unwillingness to be taxed. This power of taxation did not rest upon the will of the tax-payer, but continued at the will of the state of Kentucky. The state can tax for the purpose of establishing and sustaining common schools, because that is recognized as a governmental purpose and within the legitimate power of the state. This power was delegated to the city of Owensboro as a municipal corporation, and for convenience a subcorporation called the “Board of Trustees of the Owensboro Public Schools” was created, but neither the residents nor the tax-payers in said city are in any legal sense stockholders in this corporation. If, therefore, the power of the state to prescribe the color or race of the stockholders in a private corporation which it creates be conceded, the existence of such a power would have no application to the case under consideration. The thirteenth amendment to the federal constitution prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, and the fifteenth amendment prohibits the United States or any state from discriminating between citizens as to the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It is doubted whether either of these amendments have any direct bearing upon the question under consideration, since the discrimination which is prohibited by the fifteenth amendment is only as to the right to vote, and educational advantages are not indispensable to the enjoyment of free-
dom or citizenship, however necessary they may be to the perpetuity of free institutions. These amendments, however, indicate the intention of this nation in regard to those who had been slaves and were of the African race, and, when taken with the history of their adoption, aid in arriving at a correct construction of the first section of the fourteenth amendment, which declares:

“All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

This section gives a citizen of the United States or of a state, and even persons who are not citizens, an additional guaranty of the enjoyment of their fundamental rights. This guaranty is not against individual action or encroachment, but against the state, and its laws and its officers. These rights of the citizen are still to be protected and enforced, as between man and man, by and through state laws and agencies, and not by the United States and its laws. Virginia v. Rites, 100 U. S. 313; United States v. Harris, 106 U. S. 629; [S. C. 1 Sup. Ct. Rep. 601;] Le Grand v. United States, 19 Fed. Rep. 577.

Heretofore the citizen looked alone to the constitution of his state for a guaranty of these fundamental rights. That guaranty was then liable to be modified, or, indeed, destroyed by the will of an all-powerful state majority; but now the citizen has the nation's guaranty of these rights, which are fundamental, and “belong of right to citizens of all free governments,” even against the action of the largest majority in a state. This guaranty has rounded out and perfected our government, and will be a priceless heritage to posterity long after the race in whose behalf it was adopted has ceased to need its especial protection.

Waiving all consideration of the question as to the rights of complainants as citizens of the United States, we proceed to inquire whether the act of 1871 and its amendments deny to complainants “the equal protection of the laws” within the meaning of this section. It may be argued that the equal protection of the laws does not mean the equal benefit of the laws; that protection in this section does not mean benefit; and that the inequality here is only in the benefits arising from the laws. Perhaps the best way to test the soundness of this distinction, as applied to the laws of a state, would be to im-
agine the distinction a good one and see where it would lead. Thus, if protection only means equal taxation, and not the equal benefits of the taxes when levied and collected for governmental purposes, the state may apply such taxes not only according to color, but also according to the nativity of the citizen. Thus taxes levied and collected for police purposes, for the administration of justice, for the enforcement of criminal laws, and, indeed, for any other governmental purpose, may be distributed by the color line, or, as between white people, according to their places of birth, in proportion as taxes may be paid by each class. If taxes can be distributed according to color or race classification, no good reason is perceived why a division might not be made according to the amount paid by each taxpayer, and thus limit the benefits and distribute the protection of the laws by a classification based upon the wealth of the tax-payers. Such distribution of taxes would entirely ignore the spirit of our republican institutions, and would not be the equal protection of the laws as understood by the people of any of the states of this Union at the time of the adoption of this amendment. The equal protection of the laws is not possible if the taxes levied and collected for governmental purposes are divided upon any such basis.

The equal protection of the laws guarantied by this amendment must and can only mean that the laws of the states must be equal in their benefit as well as equal in their burdens, and that less would not be "the equal protection of the laws." This does not mean absolute equality in distributing the benefits of taxation. This is impracticable; but it does mean the distribution of the benefits upon some fair and equal classification or basis. See Virginia v. Rives, 100 U. S. 313; Ex parte Virginia, Id. 339; Stradler v. West Virginia, Id. 303; Neal v. Delaware, 103 U. S. 370; Bertonean v. Directors, etc., 3 Wood, 177; U. S. v. Buntin, 10 Fed. Rep. 730; Cooley, Torts, 259; Ward v. Flood, 48 Cal. 33; Smith v. Directors Ind. School-dist., etc., 40 Iowa, 518; Roberts v. Boston, 5 Cush. 198; State v. McCann, 21 Ohio St. 198; Cary v. Carter, 48 Ind. 392; Ah Kow v. Numan, 5 Savy. 555; Parrott's Chinese Case, 6 Savy. 376.

The supreme court, in Stradler v. West Virginia, supra, in considering this amendment, uses this language:

"It ordains that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law. What is this but declaring that the law in the states shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the states; and
in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendments were primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color? The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity or right most valuable to the colored race—the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored, exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race.

In Ward v. Flood, 48 Cal. 51, the supreme court of that state, in discussing this school question, says:

"The clause of the fourteenth amendment referred to did not create any new or substantive legal right, or add to or enlarge the general classification of the rights of persons or things existing in many states under the laws thereof. It, however, operated upon them as it found them already established, and it declared in substance that such as they were in such state, they should be held and enjoyed alike by all persons within its jurisdiction. The protection of law is, indeed, inseparable from the assumed existence of a recognized legal right, through the vindication of which the protection is to operate. To declare, then, that each person within the jurisdiction of the state shall enjoy the equal protection of its laws, is necessarily to declare that the measure of legal rights within the state shall be equal and uniform, and the same for all persons found therein, according to the respective conditions of each—each child as to all other children, each adult person as to all other adult persons."

The act of 1871 and amendments, in so far as they confer the benefit of the taxes raised thereunder exclusively upon white children, is within the inhibition of the first section of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, and therefore void.

In arriving at this conclusion I have assumed that Kentucky, in establishing and maintaining a common-school system, is exercising a governmental function, and that this school system is not a public charity which can be given to some and withheld from others, but that the state of Kentucky, having a right to tax for this purpose because, and only because, it is for a governmental purpose, must give to all of its people the equal benefit and protection of these laws, as well as others. The judiciary act of March, 1875, gives the United States courts jurisdiction concurrently with the state courts of all suits of a civil nature, at common law or equity, when the matter in dispute exceeds $500, and arises under the constitution or laws of the United States. See, also, section 629, sub. 16, Rev. St.

As this case involves a controversy exceeding $500 in value, and arises under the constitution of the United States, this court has
jurisdiction, if the suit has been properly brought in equity. The complainants complain of an illegal discrimination against them and others of their race, in virtue and under the authority of an unconstitutional act of the general assembly of Kentucky. They do not seek admission for themselves and others of their race into the schools established for white children exclusively. The trustees of the schools provided for colored children residing in Owensboro cannot sue for the share of the colored children in this fund, because the state of Kentucky has given them no such authority. It may be said that each colored child of school age in the city of Owensboro may sue at law for his or her share of this fund, but this is not true, as they have no undivided share. If I am correct in my conclusion, all that colored children in Owensboro are entitled to is the equal protection of the laws, in that a fair share of this fund be applied toward the maintenance of the common schools especially provided for colored children. In this view the only remedy is in equity.

The federal courts are prohibited from enjoining any proceeding in a state court, (section 720, Rev. St.,) but there is no other legislative prohibition against the issuing of the writ of injunction. Circuit and district courts of the United States are expressly given power to issue all writs which may be necessary for the exercise of their respective jurisdiction, and agreeable to usages and principles of law. Section 716, Rev. St.

This court should always be most careful in exercising its jurisdiction, if thereby it interferes with the action of those claiming to act under the authority of a state law. But if the jurisdiction be undoubted, and justice and the rights of parties demand such an exercise, it must be done in obedience to the supreme law.

United States courts have heretofore enjoined state officers from obeying state laws which were declared to be unconstitutional. Thus, in Osborn v. Bank of U. S. 9 Wheat. 738, the supreme court approved of an order of injunction against state officers acting under a state statute which was declared to be unconstitutional. In Davis v. Gray, 16 Wall. 205, the same court sustained an injunction suit against the governor and land commissioner of Texas. In Board of Liquidation v. McComb, 92 U. S. 532, the board of liquidation was enjoined from funding certain bonds into the kind held by complainants, because it was injurious to his interest and in violation of a contract which the state of Louisiana had made with certain of her bondholders. See, also, U. S. v. Lee, 106 U. S. 186; [S. C. 1 Sup. Ct. Rep. 240;]
Beach v. Mosgrove.


The complainant may have an injunction until further order of the court.

Beach and others v. Mosgrove and others.

(Circuit Court, D. Nebraska. May, 1883.)

1. Suit to Cancel Mortgage—Holders of Notes Necessary Parties.

Where a suit is brought to cancel a mortgage on the ground that the mortgage debt has been paid, and such debt is represented by negotiable notes made payable jointly to certain parties, the holders of such notes, whether named in the granting clause of the mortgage or not, are necessary parties to the suit, and a decree is void for want of jurisdiction as to a payee of such notes who is not made a party to the bill.

2. Same—Service by Publication—Decree.

In such an action, where service is made by publication as provided by the act of March 3, 1873, § 8, and there is no appearance on the part of the defendants, and the notes are not within the district, a decree canceling the mortgage is void as to the notes for want of jurisdiction, and as to the mortgage is erroneous, because rendered without proof; as, in cases where the service is by publication only, a failure to deny the allegations of the bill is not a sufficient admission of those allegations to authorize a decree in accordance therewith.


Where a decree has been entered against absent defendants on service by publication, such decree is not final until the expiration of one year, and the time within which a bill of review for errors apparent on the face of the record may be filed by such defendants should be computed from the time when the decree becomes final.

On Demurrer to Bill of Review.

This is a bill filed to review and modify the decree rendered by this court in the case of Cornelius C. Harrington v. John B. Finley et al.

The original bill was brought for the double purpose of removing from the title to certain lands a cloud thereon caused by certain tax deeds, and of canceling a certain mortgage thereon alleged to have been paid in full. The present complainants were interested in the mortgage. Their true names are William M. Beach, John N. Beach, and James T. Black. Among the defendants in the original suit are found the names of James T. Black, W. M. Black, and John T. Beach, but not that of W. M. Beach or John N. Beach. The mortgage appears to have been executed to James T. Black, but to secure
when a possibility of wealth belonging to him is suggested. In short, for I do not care to protract this opinion, I cannot reconcile voting for this resolution, and the subsequent indifference of the parties to the prospects and affairs of the company, with their present claim that they never knew nor assented to the giving up of this stock. It is not in accord with my convictions as to the probable conduct of ordinary men; and here I refer to what I said in the opening of this opinion, that, there being no confidential relation between Bowen and the complainant or Binckley, it devolves upon the complainant to prove that Bowen's conduct was wrongful, and not upon Bowen to prove that it was rightful. Doubts in the matter are to be resolved against the complainant. One thing more I should mention; I have spoken of complaint and Binckley as though they occupied the same position as developed in the testimony. This is not strictly true. Complainant was present at the directors' and stockholders' meeting; Binckley was not. The former's relations to the actual management of the affairs of the company seems to have been more intimate than the latter's. And still, if I may so define it, it seems to me that Bowen and Tankersley occupied one relation to the company and these transactions, while complainant and Binckley occupied another and partially antagonistic; and, further, that the relations between the two latter seem to have been such that it is only fair to presume that what one knew and assented to the other did also. Hence I have not distinguished between them, but have spoken of them as agreeing in knowledge and action. I do not know that I can add anything more to express my conclusions, or the reasons therefor, unless I were to go into the mere details of the testimony, and that would be a protracted and useless labor. My conclusion therefore is that the wrong charged upon the defendant Bowen is not proved. Of course, in the view I have taken, the matter of amendment to the answer is immaterial.

A decree will be entered dismissing the bill.

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CLAYEBROOK and others v. CITY OF OWENSBORO and others.

(Circuit Court, D. Kentucky. March 8, 1884.)

1. CONSTITUTIONAL LAW—ACT DISCRIMINATING BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK IN DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL-FUND VOID.


2. SAME—MANDATORY INJUNCTION.

The United States circuit court for the district of Kentucky has no power to issue a mandatory injunction requiring a distribution of the money raised from taxation for public schools, under the acts of the Kentucky legislature passed in 1881, as there is no authority in said act for such distribution, and complainants have no contract which the court can enforce by affirmative relief.

In Equity.

Bagby v. M. Succy, C.

Barnett, J.

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Owensboro, relief is that t of any part of complainants, or t can enforce in.

It may be t stitutional,—t the state can
Bayley & Marshall, for complainants.

Saucer, Owen & Ellis, for defendants.

Bank, J. This case is before me on the merits, and after a careful consideration of the arguments presented by the learned counsel representing the defendants, I see no reason to change the views expressed in the opinion filed when the temporary injunction was granted. The schools organized and sustained in Owensboro, under the act of 1871 and its amendments, are in fact and in law part of the common-school system of this state. They may be called "public schools," but this makes no difference. These schools are common alike to all white children of school age, and are sustained by taxation. Taxation to sustain schools is permitted because the education of the children of a state is a recognized governmental purpose. If the state can constitutionally exclude colored children from all benefits arising from this tax, levied as it is for a governmental purpose, because white people pay the tax, there is no good reason why the state may not limit and distribute the benefit of government in every respect according to race or color, and in proportion to the taxes paid by such race or color. This discrimination in the benefit of the taxes raised under the act of 1871 is, I think, denying colored children of Owensboro the equal protection of the law, and within the inhibition of the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

The affidavits which were before me when the temporary injunction was granted, proved that there were about 500 colored children of school age, and about 800 white children of that age, in the city of Owensboro; but the depositions now in the record show that this was a mistake. The evidence now in would indicate there was in 1889 one colored child of the school age in said city to three white children of that age; hence, if the funds arising from taxes, raised under both the act of 1871 and the act of 1881, were distributed between the colored and white children of the school age, it would be about one dollar to the colored schools to every three dollars to the white schools. If this court had the power to issue a mandatory injunction requiring a distribution of the money raised from this tax, it should take into consideration the sums received by the colored schools under the act of 1881. But after a careful consideration of the question I cannot satisfy myself that the court has authority in this action to order the payment of any part of the money raised by and under the act of 1871 to complainants, or to the trustees of the colored schools of Owensboro. The difficulty in the way of granting such affirmative relief is that there is no legislative enactment authorizing such a use of any part of the money raised under this act, neither have the complainants, or those they represent, any contract right which this court can enforce in this action by affirmative relief.

It may be that the entire act of 1871, and amendments, is unconstitutional,—a question not now decided. But if it be assumed that the state can constitutionally levy the same rate of tax upon colored
and white people by separate and distinct acts, as has been done under the acts of 1871 and 1881, and that the only objection to the act of 1871 is that the benefits arising from the taxes raised are confined to the white race, and that the other parts of this act remain in full force, how is this court to administer this fund without legislative authority, or contract right? It is, however, the right, as well as the duty, of this court to declare a legislative enactment unconstitutional if it be unconstitutional, and, in a proper case, enjoin persons from acting under the authority of such an act.

The bill prays that on final hearing the defendants be adjudged and decreed to distribute the taxes, arising from this levy for school purposes, under the act of 1871, in accordance with law and equity, and for all proper relief in the mean time; and for a restraining order, preventing the payment out of any money raised under this law for school purposes. The temporary injunction restrained the city of Owensboro from paying out a certain proportion (5-13th) of the money raised for school purposes under this law, upon the idea that this would fully protect any right complainants might sustain upon final hearing; and I understand from the manner which the case has been prepared and argued by counsel representing complainants that if complainants cannot get from this court an affirmative order distributing to the colored schools of Owensboro a part of this fund, they do not desire an injunction prohibiting the payment of all of the money raised under the act of 1871, but only such a proportion as would cover the proportion which the colored school would receive were there a division according to the number of children of school age. If I am correct in this, complainants may have a decree enjoining and restraining the proper parties from applying to the use of the schools organized for and at which white children only are allowed to attend one-fourth of the money heretofore, or which may be hereafter, collected under the authority of the act of 1871 and its amendments. This decree will not apply to money raised and paid out prior to the temporary injunction, and will leave undisturbed the other three-fourths of the money raised under said act. If, however, counsel for complainants think they are entitled and desire an injunction restraining the collection or payment of any taxes under this act of 1871, they must give notice to the opposite counsel, and I will hear an argument upon this question either by brief or orally, or both, as either counsel may wish.

THE COLORED MAN AND BROTHER

Wants Better Schools Provided for His Children and Memorializes the Mayor and Council to that Effect.

"On the night of the 18th the trustees of the colored public schools in conjunction with a number of colored citizens held a meeting, which was called to order by Richard Vairlan, chairman of the school board, who stated the object of the meeting and on motion Giles Crump was elected chairman of the meeting and Charles T. Jackson secretary.

On motion a committee of seven in conjunction with the trustees was appointed to draft resolutions to be presented to the mayor and council.

While the committee was out speeches were made by Rev. C. Dabney and Rev. M. Harding.

The committee reported as follows:

To the Honorable Mayor and Council of the city of Owensboro:

GENTLEMEN:--WHEREAS, By the Constitution of the United States and the decision of the courts thereunder, the method of taxation for the purposes of common schools in the State of Kentucky, the method of distributing the per capita between white and colored pupil children and the existing laws governing said schools are all unconstitutional, because a discrimination is made in these respects between the white citizens and their children, by which discrimination the colored children are not afforded reasonably equal educational facilities with the white children; and

WHEREAS, We have not suitable school buildings, nor money with which to defray the necessary expenses of establishing or conducting our schools in such a manner as to make them offer for colored children anything like the facilities now provided for white children, and by the existing laws we have no power to raise sufficient money for said purposes; and

WHEREAS, We deem it best and most expedient that there should be established and maintained separate schools for white and colored children in said city; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the colored citizens of the city of Owensboro, Ky., are by law entitled to have provided for their children educational facilities, which, taking into consideration all the circumstances and needs of the colored people, will approach, in a reasonable degree, the facilities now offered for the education of the white children of said city.

Resolved, That we most respectfully petition the mayor and council aforesaid to provide for us suitable buildings and sufficient money to give our children reasonably good facilities for obtaining a plain English education.

Resolved, That we will be satisfied with such provision when made, and deem it best and most expedient that the colored children shall be educated separately from the white children in separate schools provided for the purpose.

Resolved, That we have no desire to enter the schools established for white children and will not make any attempts to do so if provisions are made for the education of the colored children of this city.

The resolutions were adopted and the meeting dispersed."
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1886.

The Journal of yesterday was read and approved.

A message was received from the House of Representatives, announcing that they had received official information that the Governor had approved and signed enrolled bills and a resolution, which originated in the House of Representatives, of the following titles, viz:

An act for the benefit of common school district, No. 62, in Hart county.

An act to incorporate the town of Eubanks, in Pulaski county.

Resolution to pay W. E. Railey, Sergeant-at-Arms of the last House of Representatives, for services rendered in the organization of the present House.

That they had concurred in an amendment proposed by the Senate to a resolution which originated in the House of Representatives, entitled

Joint rules of Senate and House of Representatives.

That they had passed a bill, entitled

An act to amend the laws of this Commonwealth in regard to grand juries.

Which bill was read the first time and ordered to be read a second time.

The constitutional provision as to the second reading of said bill being dispensed with, it was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The following petitions were presented, viz:

By Mr. Berry—
1. The petition of the colored citizens of Kentucky, through the State Convention held at Lexington, Kentucky, November 26, 1885, praying the passage of laws that will remove the grievances set forth in said petition.

By Mr. Wallace—
2. The petition of sundry citizens of school district number 89, in Lawrence county, praying the passage of an act changing the boundary line of said school district.

By Mr. Hill—
3. The petition of sundry citizens of Rochester, Butler county, praying the passage of an act exempting from taxation a term of years capital invested for manufacturing purposes located at the different water powers on Green and Barren rivers.

Which were received, the reading dispensed with, and the 1st ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on Propositions and Grievances; the 2d was referred to the Committee on Education; and the 3d to the Committee on Internal Improvements.

Mr. Walker moved the following resolution, viz:

WHEREAS, By an act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, approved May 12, 1884, entitled "An act relating to the lunatic asylums of the State," the superintendents of the various asylums of the State are required to keep a "case book," an "accident book," and a "restraint record;" therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Charitable Institutions is requested to examine such books, and if the law has not been complied with at any asylum of the State to report the same to this body.

Which was twice read, and adopted.

Mr. Taulbee read and laid on the table the following joint resolution, viz:

1. Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That a committee of eight, consisting of three from the Senate and five from the House of Representatives be appointed by and to include the Speakers thereof, whose duty it shall be first to take into consideration the propriety and expediency of redistricting the State into judicial districts.

2. And be it further resolved, That if in their judgment the business of the State requires it, they will proceed, at once, to lay off and divide the entire State into as many districts as to them may seem proper, having due regard to population and business, and they will report their acts and doings to this General Assembly.

The rule of the Senate requiring a joint resolution to lie one day on the table being dispensed with, said resolution was taken up, twice read, and adopted.
any inspector, foreman or "anyone owing special loyalty to the comp

The final factor that may be distinguished as contributing to
the work of organization is the Organization Committee of the central
labor body. In many cases, it only complemented the work of the other
organizers. However, after it became a permanent committee in the
latter part of the period being studied, it assumed a more active
role. The typical procedure was for an officer of an international
union to write to the federation asking that it form a union of his
particular trade. The committee would be instructed to act and to
report its progress to the federation. When the union was created
it was chartered by the international and became a member of the
central body. These unions were not usually as strongly motivated
as the ones who gathered out of a mutual need, but, if they were
initiated at an opportune time, they often prospered.

There is no record of when the first assembly of the Knights of
Labor was formed in Kentucky. By 1880, however, there were thirty-six
local assemblies in the state and one man recalled that in Louisville
at that time "there was hardly room for all who wanted to attend."

The great strength of the Knights of Labor was in their appeal to
the principle of labor solidarity. This was best seen in the "mixed
assemblies" which took in anyone but lawyers and saloon keepers
regardless of trade. The largest and best known of the Louisville
assemblies, Prospect Assembly No. 1,392, was of this type. However,
during the 1880's many trades were organized into the Knights of
Labor including such strong assemblies as Star Assembly No. 1,777
made up of cooperers, the Quarrymen's Assembly No. 8,282, and the
Hardstone Cutters Assembly No. 8,651. Other trades organized were:
paperhangers, barbers, timbers, tobacco cooperers, tobacco wrappers,
tanners, weavers, and leatherworkers.

Separate assemblies were formed for women and for Negroes
although both were included in some of the trade and mixed assem
"bles. A paper called the Kentucky Industrialist, which was pub
lished by A. S. Worsley of Winchester and later of Beaver Dam, was
designated as the official organ for the state. The Telegraph
Operators Assembly No. 2,162 disbanded after it took part in the
nationwide telegraph strike during the summer of 1883. The Shoemakers' Assembly No. 1,719 organized the first public boycott in
the city during the spring and summer of 1884. This extensive
organization and the wide-spread success of the fraternity in winning
its demands combined to raise the organization to its peak in 1886.

See Norman J. Ware, The Labor Movement in the United States,
1860-1894: A Study in Democracy (New York, 1929) for the national
history of the Knights of Labor.

U.S., Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, Joseph
B. Weeks, Report on Trade Societies in the U. S. (Washington, 1886),
Tenth Census, Vol. 20, p. 11-18; Louisville Courier-Journal, October
18, 1893.
both in Louisville and in the nation. Trade unions openly admitted that they were seeking affiliation with the K. of L. in the hope of attracting more members. Many additional assemblies were formed to take care of the influx and they were often given such symbolic names as Eureka, Justice, Enterprise, Unity, Cemented Friendship, and Hope. Others were named for prominent local or national leaders such as W. H. Smith, Travellag, and Charles H. Litchman. One Negro assembly formed in 1886 was named Lincoln. Some carried trade names or geographic names and they all thrived for a while. 36

One indication of the agitated state of mind with which the general public greeted this mushroom growth was an editorial which appeared in the Louisville Courier-Journal in 1886, assuring the people that the local working men were honest, reliable and not given to anarchy. 37 Another was a fictional contribution to The Southern Home, a "Literary and Historical" magazine edited by Basil W. Duke and published by B. F. Avery and Sons. This article, "The Destruction of Louisville," was published in June, 1886, just after the Haymarket Riot in Chicago for which the Knights of Labor unjustly received the blame. It was a fanciful account of a riot initiated by the K. of L. in November, 1887, which caused the destruction and looting of Louisville and the deaths of its prominent citizens. The same issue carried

36 Ibid., April 28, August 22, November 23, 1886; January 1, March 30, 1887, February 20, 1891, August 31, 1893; Caron's Directory 1886, 1887.

37 Louisville Courier-Journal, April 30, 1886.
prominent part in a Louisville labor dispute. White strikebreakers were employed by the contractors with the tacit consent of the bricklayers. The element of racial antagonism added to the violation of union principles touched off a series of beatings, burnings, and destruction of property. This exhibition of double boycotts, assertion of principle, and violence presents a dark page in the history of organized labor in the city. 15

The reduction of the number of hours in a day's work was a persistent desire of labor leaders and one that captured the attention of union members and the public alike. The issue of greatest interest was the much discussed "eight-hour system." In 1886, the waning Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions urged that all unions seek the eight-hour day on May 1. In spite of the official opposition of the Knights of Labor, the response was overwhelming as trade unionists, Knights of Labor, Socialists and unorganized laborers envisioned full employment and time for relaxation and self-improvement. 16

In Louisville the unions planned a huge parade to advertise their determination to secure shorter hours. No labor event since the great railroad strike of 1877 so excited the interest and aroused the apprehension of the public. Despite repeated statements by union figures that the agitation of the question in a proper and legal

15 Ibid., April 29, May 25, June 3, 1893.

of securing shorter hours for the clerks. Their first agitation sought to establish working hours from seven in the morning till seven in the evening and no Sunday work. They received much favorable publicity and were able to enlist several prominent clergymen in their campaign because of its religious feature. Special sermons were preached in the churches and mass meetings were held to acquaint the public with the salerian's problems. A committee then called upon the store owners and won a generally favorable hearing. Later they were also able to win a few hours of leisure on summer Saturdays. 19

Because of the public nature of their work, barbers were forced to maintain long hours every day of the week. They were organized into the Master Barbers' Union and the Journeymen Barbers' Protective Association. Although the two co-operated to oppose non-union shops, they often fought each other over hours of labor and prices. A union ordinance passed in a flurry of interest over Sunday closing in 1880-1881 required masters to close at noon on Sundays. In 1886, the journeymen secured an agreement that the shops would close at eight p.m. each evening except Saturday when they would remain open until midnight. 50 The master barbers soon regretted the agreement and began to stay open as the trade demanded. Their organization passed resolutions which said that the journeymen should help enforce the regulation to close at noon on Sunday first and then they would "comply

19 Louisville Courier-Journal, June 9, 1891, February 15, 1892; Louisville Federation of Labor, Minute Book, July 9, 1907.
50 Louisville Courier-Journal, November 6, 9, 10, 1886.
Upon the number of working women, a full investigation of the subject was not undertaken until a commission appointed by Governor Augustus Wilson employed S. M. Hartmann of the University of Chicago. The recommendations of his report were the basis of legislation passed by the General Assembly of 1912.37

Certain trades were dominated by Negro workers. Some of these, such as the hod carriers, teamsters, waiters, coachmen, brickyard laborers and warehousemen were organized into trade unions. Other unions, including the barbers, quarrymen, and tobacco workers had no racial qualifications for membership.38 The white musicians encouraged the formation of a Negro musicians' union in an effort to control competition. They apparently gave no thought to admitting Negroes into this union.39 Negro delegates were welcomed in the central organization and served as officers on some occasions. However, they held their social functions separately. For instance, there was usually a large Negro contingent in the Labor Day Parade, but they marched in a separate division and enjoyed the afternoon picnic in another park.40 Occasionally there was some friction between the races, especially if one or the other was used to break a strike of the opposite race. In these

38. Louisville Courier-Journal, June 10, August 9, 1886, July 15, 1890, May 13, 1895; Louisville Evening Post, November 22, 1895.
40. Louisville Federation of Labor, Minute Book, June 27, 1905.
41. Louisville Courier-Journal, April 16, 1890.
BLACKS GATHER AROUND POLLS AUG 1866 IN LEXINGTON

"..."

Louisville Daily Courier, Aug 11, 1866 (written in Lex on Aug 8, 1866)
COLORED REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF KY

Louisville Commercial, Friday, February 25, 1870

The Negro State Convention

Henry B. Edwards, Chairman.

The colored State Convention met on Wednesday last, at the Louisville Masonic Hall, assisted by a number of Vice Presidents, and W. H. Lawson of Louisville, Secretary. The Convention was quite orderly and well behaved. They adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, We believe in a Supreme Being, and that His laws govern all men, and as we believe that he has guided us by his providence in all our efforts for our race, we believe that any colored man who could be guided by his providence would, if he had the same opportunities as white men, and were educated to the same extent, be just as capable of being a Statesman as any white man.

And Whereas, Those rights having been denied us, we are not surprised at the treatment we have met with in our efforts to gain those rights.

We, therefore, declare that we will not be satisfied until we have the same rights as white men.

Resolved, That we will continue to struggle for our freedom and rights, and that we will not be satisfied until we have the same rights as white men.
SALE OF SLAVE GEORGE

Thos. N. Allen, Chronicles of Oldfields (1909)

p/ 88-93
First Sabbath in April 1842. In accordance with previous arrangements, the Colored Members of the 1st Baptist Church in Louisville, Ky., with the full consent of said 1st Church, met for the purpose of being organized into a separate and distinct Church, to be known as the Colored Baptist Church in Louisville.

The following Brethren from the respective Baptist Church in the City presented themselves as Committees, sent by invitation to act as President in the present Case.

From the 1st or Mother Church brother, Colby, White. Bagby, Black. and Sheble. From the 2nd Church brother F. Alvillard. From 3rd or East Church W.C. Buck and Bush.

Brother Henry Adams, formerly the Pastor to the Colored Member of the 1st Church by invitation of the Committees, took seat with them.

Brother W. E. Buck, was called on to act as Moderator and Brother Sheble Clerk.

The portion of the minutes of the 1st Church dated February 1842, setting forth a full and hearty consent, to the objects of this meeting was called for and read. The above record from the minister of the 1st Church is found on Page 8.

It was then moved and unanimously resolved, that the persons thus dismissed, desire now to be constituted a Baptist Church.

The following Confession of Faith, was then read and adopted.

Confession of Faith

When in the Providence of God individual Christians so circumstanced as to make it necessary for them to enter into a new Church organization, in order to their usefulness and happiness in life it seems alike useful and proper, that they should set forth a summary of what they understand the Scriptures to teach in matters of Christian faith and practice.

In this opinion we the undersigned, about to be constituted a Church under the name of the Colored Baptist Church of Louisville, Ky., declare
ARTICLE 1st We believe the old and new testament to be the inspired and infallible word of God, and the supreme standard by which all human conduct creeds and opinions should be tried.

ARTICLE 2nd We believe in one only true and living God, the supreme Orbiter of all worlds and intelligences who has graciously revealed himself to us, in the personalities of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

ARTICLE 3rd We believe that in Adam, all his posterity fell into sin, and are by nature, Children of wrath, wholly depraved and alienated from God and are exposed to everlasting punishment without excuse or remedy in themselves.

ARTICLE 4th That the salvation of sinners is wholly of grace through the medeatorial office of the son of God, as revealed in the scriptures and upon which has mediation in heaven is based.

ARTICLE 5th Justification, consists in the pardon of sins or of constituting the sinner just in the view of the divine law, through the redemption, that is in Christ Jesus, to that he being forced from the condemnation of the law is made to rejoice, in behalf of salvation through the Redeemer.

ARTICLE 6th Thus the Gospel message is sent to all men whose duty it is to believe that their rejection of it, is a further proof of their insanity to God, and condemnation at the last day.

ARTICLE 7th That in order to salvation, the Sinner must be born again, that regeneration, consists, in the giving a holy disposition to the mind, and the conforming of the will to God and that it is effected wholly by the Holy Spirit in a manner above own comprehension, or calculations.

ARTICLE 8th That Election is the graciuous purpose of God in Christ Jeses. According to which he regenerated sanctifies and saves sinners, and that being perfectly consistent with the free agency of man, it comprehends all the means, in connection with the end. But that we dare not presume to know who the
subjects of it are, only as they manifest the power of the Gospel in their faith, conduct, and conversation.

**ARTICLE 9th** That such only are real believers who endure to the end. That a special Providence mother over their welfare, and that they are kept by the powers of God unto salvation.

**ARTICLE 10th** That a church of Christ is a congregation of Baptised Believers associated by covenant in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel, observing the ordinances of Christ Governed by his laws and that its only proper officers are Bishop or Pastors, and Deacons.

**ARTICLE 11th** That Christian Baptism, is the Immersion a believer in water in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. That is prerequisite to the privileges of, a church relation, and to the Lords supper, in which the Church by the use of bread and wine, do Commerate together from time to time, the dying love of Christ, until he shall come again, without sin, unto Salvation.

**ARTICLE 12th** That the first day of the week, is the Lords day, or Christian Sabbath, and should therefore be kept sacred, for religious purposes.

**ARTICLE 13th** We believe that there will be a final Judgement, a resurrection of the just and unjust, that God will judge the world in righteousness, by Christ Jesus, who separating the Righteous from wicked, will receive the former into everlasting life, with himself in heaven, and will banish the water into everlasting punishment, with the Devil and his angels.

The following church covenant was then read, when the motion and second it was adopted unanimously.

**Church Covenant**

The following church Covenant was then read when on motion and second it was adopted unanimously.
Church Covenant

Having been as we trust, brought by divine grace, to embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, and to give up ourselves wholly to him, we do now, solemnly, and joyfully covenant, with each other, to walk together in him with brotherly love, to his glory as our common Lord, we do therefore in his strength engage,

1st That we will exercise, a mutual care as members of one another, to promote the growth of the whole body, in Christian knowledge, holiness and comfort so the end we may stand, perfect and complete in all the will of God.

2nd That to promote, and assure this object, we will uphold the public worship of God and the ordinance of his house, and hold constant Communion with each other therein, that we will cheerfully contribute of our means for the support of the poor of our body and the maintenance of a faithful ministry of the Gospel among us.

3rd That we will not omit and family religions of home, nor allow ourselves in the common neglect of bringing up our children, and those under our care, with a view to the service of the church, and the enjoyment of heaven.

4th That we will in the world that we may win their souls, remembering that God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and of love and of a sound mind that we are the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, and that a city set upon a hill cannot be hid.

5th That we will frequently exert and if occasion requires admonish one another according to the 18th of Matthew in the spirit of mankind considering ourselves, we also be tempted and as in baptism we have been buried with Christ and raised again, so there is on us a special obligation, henceforth to walk in worship of life.

6th And may the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord leave what great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant make us perfect in every good word and work to do his will working in us that which is well pleasing in his right, through Jesus Christ to whom
be glory forever and ever.

Amen.

The following rules of decorum were then read and on motion and second adopted.

Rules of Decorum

1st The member foresent on any regular day of meeting for business be a quorum; but they shall not be so understood as to authorize a party at any time to take advantage of the absense of a majority to carry their point. A majority of the church may at any time organize to grant letters of dismission or to receive member by letter but shall not be competent to transact business of a general nature unlike the church have been generally notified.

2nd The Pastor shall preside at all meetings of business when present, and in the absence of the Pastor, a moderator shall be elected where duty it shall be to keep order, first questions for decisions and perform generally the duties of Chairman to a deliberative body. He shall not be allowed to debate unless he appoints another to the Chair nor shall he vote, except in case of a tie, and then he shall give the casting vote. He sha-l decide all points of order, yet in cases of doubt, his decision may be appealed from, and the voice of the Church shall be decisive in the case.

3rd. All business shall be introduced by a regular motion, or resolution it may be oral or written, but shall not be considered actionable unless sustained by a record and then it shall be attended to, unless withdrawn by the moves.

4th A majority shall decide in all cases except in the reception and restoration of members, and in the election of deacons which shall be by unaminity and in the choice of Pastors which shall be by at least two thirds of the whole church.
5th Whenever a member is about to speak or make a motion, he shall rise and address the brother moderator.

6th No member shall be allowed to speak more than twice to the same subject without leave of the Church.

7th The speaker shall confine himself to the subject in hand and avoid all disrespectful and improper language in debate and should he violate these rules, shall be called to order by the moderator, and should he persist in his disorder, he shall be amenable to the Church, who shall deal with him as the case requires.

8th All offenses of one member against another shall be proceeded in according to the 18th of Mark nor shall any matter of this kind be allowed to come before the church until the parties have proceeded as above.

9th All open sins or manifest violations of the moral law, or the direct command or moral precepts of the Gospel, may be reported directly to the Church by any member acquainted with the facts.

10th It shall be the duty of each member to attend all the meetings of the Church whether for worship or business and anyone absenting him or herself two months in succession, shall be waited on by a committee of the Church, the case required into and reported at the next meeting of business, and the Church shall dispose of it as duty requires.

11th Each member shall bear an equal proportion in the offences of the Church according as God has prospered them in the world so that no one be burdened above another.

12th There shall be elected a clerk and treasurer, who shall perform all the duties of each office, as in similar bodies and who may be removed at the will of the Church.

13th The order of business shall be as follows.

1st. meeting shall always be opened and closed by some devotional exercise.
2nd Minutes of former meeting read for approval or vis (viz)
3rd Visiting brethren invited to seats
4th A door opened for reception of members
5th The fellowship of the Church required for
6th References attended to
7th Matters of new business
8th Minutes read

9th Adjournment

The Chairman of the committees in behalf of the committees gave the right hand of fellowship to Bro Adams on part of the Church, thus expressing their recognition of the present constitution as forming a separate and distinct Baptist Church in this City, when on motion the committees rose.

On motion and second, it was resolved to ask of the Mother Church, the continuation of the same or a similar committee from their body as existed previous to the separation.

Brother Henry Adams was then chosen Pastor by unanimous vote.

The former Deacons were rechosen. Brother Sheble elected Clerk. Brother Colgan was chosen Moderator, to act in the absence of the Pastor.

The following is copied from the book of record of the Mother Church, being the action of that Church on the application of her Colored member asking the privilege to constitute separately. This should have been entered on 1st page of this book but was mislaid.

February 18th 1842

Regular Meeting of the 1st Baptist Church in Louisville, Ky.

Report of Committee

According to the desire of the Church signifies at her last meeting for business, the committee appointed for that purpose have entered upon suitable enquiry relative to the separate constitution of the colored Baptist Church, now under the watchcare, and forming a part of the 1st Baptist Church,
That they find nothing in the laws of this state forbidding the organization
of Colored Churches in the same manner as other religious societies are
organized with this reservation that as slaves cannot hold estate either in their
own names, or in trust, it is necessary that the Trustees and other officers of
such Church be free persons.

This principle point being disproved of all the other questions, connected
with the proposed measure, we only question of order and expediency. of these
the brethern in their conferences, upon the subject can best decide, still
it may not be inappropriate for the committee to make a few suggestions.

1st If the proposed separation constitution should take place it would
probable be advisable that such a committee should continue to exist between the
First Church and the proposed new church as would protect the colored brethern
from molestation in times of excitement, and save them from present or future
laws prohibiting assemblies of slaves in certain cases. This could be accomplished
by the appointment of a standing committee of visitation or suppervision composed
of members of the First Church, who should watch over the interest of the colored
Bretheren, attend their meetings when necessary, advise with them, and attend to
their general welfare, leaving them to manage other internal affairs in their own
way. The existence of such a committee as board, would have the effect of
shielding the Colored Church from suspicion and difficulties if difficulties
should ever occur, as well as afford them the means of being wisely and faithfully
inferred of their rights and duties under the law.

2nd a questions might arise concerning the proper made in which the colored
church should be represented in the general association, convention, and other
meetings of the churches. Experience and good sense of the brethern will
suggest the most proper mode of securing such representation.
3rd It will be borne in mind, that on the dissolution of any religious
society or a neglect to exercise its corporate functions for a certain length
of time, the property which it may hold when its powers were suspended,
'escheats to the state. It may be well to provide that if such take place, with
regard to this church, its property may revert to the First Church or receive
some other direction, in which it may still be applied to religious uses.
The existing uncertainty as to what laws may hereafter be affecting the
right, and rendering uncertain the permanent residence of our colored population
may furnish reasons why this suggestion should be entitled to some weight.

The committee are pleased to witness the prosperity of the colored Branch of
this church especially since it has been under the ministerial charge of its
present excellent and faithful pastor, brother Henry Adams, and occassioned that
the First Church cordially join in all arrangements calculated to secure its
property and perpetuate its use.

Certified as true copy
of the record by G. Shryock
Church Clerk

signed in behalf of
the committee
Chairman

The Church then adjourned

D C Shyrock Clerk

Louisville April 24th 1842 Church met and after signing and prayer proceeded
to business. A door opened received by letter Reached marriner from the woodford
County Ky. Sister Selina Collins was on her acknowledgment of her wrong
sisted to the fellowship of the Church.

Sister Hannah Pagee on her confession of her wrong was restored to the Church.
Henry Smith was excluded for disorderly conduct. Morriah Prier was excluded for
disorderly conduct. The case of difficulty between Sisters Ellen Morton and Hannah
Williams was settled and dismissed.

H. Adams, Moderator

D. C. Sheble Clerk

Copied from old book by J. M. H. Cott

May 22 Church met after prayer, attended to business and an acknowledgegment of his wrongs Bro. Anthony Gailbreath was restored to the Church. Letters of dismissal were granted to the following persons. Frank Graham. H. Adams, Moderator Thad. Singleton Richard Holsues and one to Charles Strasos in which is to stated that she is not entirely in good standing in the Church. Wilson Evans was exluded. Called brother Hadaens as Pastor another year, continued as before by a vote of the Church, the salery to be the same $600.

Wm. Colgan, Clerk

Copied from the old book by J. M. H. Cott

June 26. Church met after prayer. Proceede to business. Restored Anotress Cousins Restored Milly Buckner and George White to fellowship. The case of difficulty between sister Phelbe and Fanny Meriweather was settled, and they agreed to say no more about it at all.

The case of the French and Thomas families was settled and the parties agreed to say no more about it. The Pastor reported the amount of money collected and paid out from 21st of Feb, up to 19th of June. But by Pastor request the report was not entered but is remain until the bor. Clerk returns.

H. Adams Mod.

Form this state up to 28th August the minutes are lislaid. Jeff H. (sic)
Louisville August 28th 1842. Regular meeting of the colored Baptist Church. After singing and prayer by brother Jef. Malbert, the door was opened for reception of members. When Susan Pearce presented herself, and was led for Baptism.

On motion the following Preamble and Resolution were adopted.

To the delegation of 1st Baptist Church in Louisville as the Long run association.

Dear Bretheren:

You are aware that at meeting of the last association, we were incorporated in your . That since that time, we have been dismissed from you and been constituted into a separate body under the name of the Colored Baptist Church of Louisville Ky.: Therefore,

Resolved, that the delegate from the 1st Church, be requested to represent our case to the asse when assembled, and ascertained what course we shall pursue in order to be represented in their body.

Our member at the time of organization was 475 since that time we have died .

The case of sister Kesier Carter and Besey Hord (charged with falsehood and fighting) as taken up and they were excluded.

The Deacon reported Ellen Morton for exclusion on a charge of disorderly conduct. The report was concurred in and she stands excluded from this church.

Brother Isaac Wilson offered his credencial of deaconship which were accepted. Jeff Hewett of the 1st Church was chosen Clerk for this Church

On Motion adjourned.                Jeff Hewett, Clerk

H. Adams, Clerk
Louisville September 8th, 1842. Regular meeting of Colored Baptist Church of Louisville, Ky., Meeting opened by singing and prayer. The Deacons Reported favorably to the application of Wm. Cousine, for restoration to this church. The report was adopted on his public acknowledgment of his errors.

Henry Simons presented a letter from a church at Little-flock Bullitt County, Ky., and was received. Peggy, a servant of Dr. B. F. Hall, was into the watch-care of this church, until she could obtain letter of dismission from the Church at Lexington, KY., to which she belongs.

On motion of brother Welch it was resolved to build a house of worship.

On motion and record the Deacons, in connexion with brother Adams Hewett were appointed a committee to make suitable inquiries for a lot, and be ready to report at next meeting.

Brother Andrew Lewis was nominated for the Office of Deacons. He was unanimously chosen. The Pastor presented the following report, which was adopted.

The entire Amount Collected from the 1st of August 1841 to the 18th of Sept. 1842

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{To this add} & \quad 1,167.94 \\
\text{Collected by me as agent} & \quad 426.61 \\
\text{Paid for Gallery} & \quad 587.50 \\
\text{Contingent Church Expenses} & \quad 264.05 \\
\text{Last years salary} & \quad 600.00 \\
\text{Leaving on Hand} & \quad 33.00 \\
\end{align*}
\]

Milly Wite presented letter from the Church at Elizabethtown, Ky., Was read.

Rebecca Thompson presented herself for membership and was detained until next meeting, there being no evidence of her immersion.

Letter of Dismission to Francis A. Graham on Motion Adjourned.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{N. Adam Mod} & \quad \text{Jeff Nevitt Clerk}
\end{align*}\]
October 23rd 1842  Regular meeting of the Colored Baptist Church in Louisville

Meeting opened by singing and prayer.

The Deacon then made the following report. On the application of Robert
Jones for restoration, they reported favorable. He had been excluded for
buying a Lottery Tickets, but on his public acknowledgement of his error, and
promise to do so no more, the report was adopted.

The case of Fanny Williams, charged with fighting she presented herself,
and made such acknowledgements, and pledges, as induced the church to forgive
her, and restore her to their fellowship.

The case of Herran. An application for restoration
report favorable she came forward and satisfied the Church and was restored.

Glover application for restoration, and on her presentation herself and
making such confession as was deemed satisfactory she was restored.

Brother Bullett applied for liberty to marry again, (he wife not living)
was laid over until ext meeting.

John Smart was reported for sundry things unbecoming a christian, and was
excluded.
### POPULATION, BY RACE, SEX, AND NATIVITY.

#### Table V.—Population, by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860.

#### Kansas—Continued.

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<th>White 1880</th>
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**NOTE:** All figures are rounded off.
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*Persons of African descent only.*
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<th>COUNTIES</th>
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**Table 13.—Population as Native and Foreign Born and White and Colored, by Counties: 1880, 1880, and 1870—Continued.**
SLAVE TRADER

D. R. Hundley, Social Relation in Our Southern States, (1860)

pp. 138-143
poor whites. The slaves were not numerous and were owned by
not more than a score of families in the county. They were
mostly house-servants; probably not as many as two hundred
were regular field-hands. Probably not five hundred in all were
owned in the county, partly for the reason that the table-land
of the region, being all near the Ohio and the Licking rivers,
was so deeply indented by the drainage channels that it was
not suited for large plantations; but mainly for the reason that
slaves readily escaped to the free country. What negroes there
were belonged to a good class. The greater number of them
were from families which had been owned by the ancestors of
their masters in Virginia. In my grandfather’s household and
those of his children, who were grouped about him, there were
some two dozen of these blacks, mostly pretty decent and
fairly industrious people. They were well cared for; none of­
them were ever sold, though there was the common threat that
“if you don’t behave, you will be sold South.” One of the com­
monest bits of instruction my grandfather gave me was to re­
member “that my people had in a century never bought or sold
a slave except to keep families together.” By that he meant that
a gentleman of his station should not run any risk of appearing
as a “negro-trader,” the last word of opprobrium to be slung at
a man. So far as I can remember, this rule was well kept and
social ostracism was likely to be visited on any one who was
fairly suspected of buying or selling slaves for profit. This state
of opinion was, I believe, very general among the better class
of slave-owners in Kentucky. When negroes were sold, it was
because they were vicious and intractable. Yet there were
exceptions to this high-minded humor.

There is a common opinion that the slaves of the Southern
households were subjected in various ways to brutal treatment.
Such, in my experience, was not the case. Though the custom
of using the whip on white children was common enough, I
never saw a negro deliberately punished in that way until 1862,
when, in military service, I stayed a night at the house of a
friend. This old woman from the
friend of his children. In
yard, and on limb of a tree, t
a man had well de
thing in the only

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common opinion that the slaves of the Southern
households were subjected in various ways to brutal treatment.
Such, in my experience, was not the case. Though the custom
of using the whip on white children was common enough, I
never saw a negro deliberately punished in that way until 1862,
when, in military service, I stayed a night at the house of a
PENAL LAWS.

1268.

said manslaughter be not committed wittingly, wilfully, and of purpose, under pretext and color of keeping the peace.

Ses 2. If any woman, not being a slave, be delivered of any issue of her body, which being born alive, would by law be a bastard, and shall endeavor privately, either by drowning or secret burying thereof, or any other way, either by herself or procuring of others, to conceal the death thereof, so that it may not come to light, whether it were born alive or not, but be concealed; in every such case the mother so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be deemed a felon, and sentenced to undergo a confinement in the jail and penitentiary house, for a period not less than two years nor more than seven years.

Ses 3. Whosoever shall unlawfully pull or put out an eye, cut or bite off or slit a nose, ear or lip, or any part thereof, or cut or bite off any other limb or member, by fighting or otherwise, except in self-defense; every such offender, his or her aiders, abettors and counsellors, upon conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to undergo a confinement in the jail and penitentiary house, for any term not less than six months nor more than five years.

Ses 4. Any person or persons who shall be hereafter guilty of stealing or selling any free person for a slave, knowing the said person so sold to be free, or his or her aiders, abettors or counsellors, and who thereof shall be lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced to undergo a confinement in the jail and penitentiary house, for any time not less than five years, nor more than ten years.

Ses 5. Whosoever being married, shall, the first husband or wife (as the case may be) being alive, marry any person or persons, shall, being thereof lawfully convicted, undergo a confinement in the jail and penitentiary house, for a period not less than three years, nor more than nine years: Provided, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any person or persons whose husband or wife shall be continually remaining beyond the seas by the space of seven years together, or whose husband or wife shall absent him or herself, the one from the other, by the space of seven years together, in any part within the United States of America, or elsewhere, the one of them not knowing the other to be living within that time: Provided, also, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any person or persons that shall be at the time of such marriage divorced by lawful authority, or to any person or persons where the former marriage hath been, or hereafter shall be by lawful authority declared to be void and of no effect, nor to any person or persons for or by reason of any marriage had or made, or hereafter to be had or made within age of consent.

Ses 6. If such offender be a man, his first wife shall, on his conviction, be forthwith endowed of one-third part of his real estate, which she shall hold as tenant in dower, the assignment of which
Eastern Dispensary, 326 Clay St., Louisville

Western Dispensary, South side of Rowan St., later Twelfth-Thirteenth St.,
(located three yrs.)

Louisville Marine Hospital

pp 24-26/4 blacks admitted to Lon Marine Hosp. 1869

Report of Lon. Alms-House

p 7/20 blacks then Dec 31, 1869

p 10/10 blacks admitted to black section Oct, Nov, Dec

1869 - 1st blacks admitted
still residing in Millersburg. He is a Democrat in politics. Religiously, he is connected with the Methodist Church. Mr. Bryan was married, October 13, 1808, to Miss Mollie E. Owen, a native of Scott County, and daughter of Charles Owen, a farmer of that county.

OCTERLONY, JOHN ARVID, M. D., was born June 24, 1838, on the estate of his father, in the province of Smaland, Sweden. His father was a captain of dragoons in the Swedish army, and was a man of property. The family of Octerlony, or Auchtnerony, was of Scotch origin, though for several generations resident in Sweden. The Swedish progenitor was one of the Scotch cadets who sought distinction in arms on the Continent, and the military passion continued in the family, his own brother attaining eminence in the navy. His mother was of French extraction, a lady of many excellent qualities. Dr. Octerlony was thoroughly educated in the Swedish Government School, among the best in Europe. He came to America in 1857. Having chosen the profession of medicine, he entered upon its study in the University of New York, and received the degree of M. D., in 1861, and entered at once upon the practice of his profession, in New York City. In 1862, he entered the army as a medical officer, and was assigned to the Twenty-Seventh Pennsylvania Infantry, but was soon after appointed surgeon in charge of the general hospital at Battle Creek; during that year, was transferred to General Hospital No. 8, at Louisville, Kentucky, which he had been instrumental in establishing; in 1863, accepted the position of surgeon to the hospital in that city, on Sixth Street, between Walnut and Chestnut; in the Fall of that year, became one of the physicians to the "Brown" General Hospital, near Louisville, a position requiring great labor; in 1864, succeeded Dr. McLean, as surgeon in charge of the general hospital, "Ohio," was afterwards appointed surgeon to the "Strader" General Hospital; and, upon its disconfinement, took charge of Hospital No. 3, retaining that position until the close of the war. In 1865, he was appointed physician in charge of the Government Dispensary at Louisville, and performed the duties of the position until 1868. He early displayed fine abilities as a teacher; organized a private class in 1863; was appointed Lecturer on Clinical Medicine in the University of Louisville in 1864; performed his duties with the highest degree of approval; for the next three years continued classes in the University of Louisville, the Kentucky School of Medicine; and was one of the corps of teachers in the University Dispensary, until 1869; on the organization of the Louisville Medical College, accepted the Chair of Dermatology and Clinical Medicine; on the resignation of Professor Breckinridge, was elected to the Chair of Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Clinical Medicine, which he resigned in 1876. In 1875, the Board of Regents of the Kentucky School of Medicine proffered him the Professorship of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, which position he also resigned in the following year. In 1865, on the establishment of the "Old Ladies' Home," at Louisville, he was appointed physician in charge of that institution, and still continues in that capacity. Since 1869, he has been one of the physicians to the Louisville City Hospital, in which he has taken unwearying and active interest, and is now President of its Medical Board. His papers on "Angina Pectoris," "Graves' Disease," "Cystic Degeneration of the Kidneys," "Molluscum Fibrosum," and "Diagnosis of Syphilitic Affections of the Skin," are probably his most valuable contributions to professional literature; but he has written also many clinics and medical reviews, and is a writer of great strength, clearness, and beauty of diction. He has resided in Louisville since 1865, and has established a large and lucrative private practice, winning for himself a high reputation as a skillful and successful practitioner, and has also taken position among the leading medical teachers of the day. He is a member of the American Medical Association; of the Kentucky State Medical Society; was formerly President of the Louisville Obstetrical Society, and Medico-Chirurgical Society; was corresponding member of the Gynecological Society, and is one of the original members of the American Dermatological Society. He is decidedly scholarly in his tastes, and finds time, during his laborious practice, to devote much attention to the literature of France, Germany, and his native country, and, in his private life, partakes largely of the habits of the refined people of the Continent. In manners he is genial and attractive, and is also of admirable personal bearing. Dr. Octerlony was married, in 1863, to the second daughter of Hon. U. H. Granger, of Louisville, a member of the celebrated Buckner family, of Kentucky, a woman of many amiable and noble traits, whose memory will ever be held in high regard by many—a soldier of the late civil war. They have one child.

OBURN, HON. JOHN, Merchant and Judge, was born in 1764, in Philadelphia, where he was raised and educated; studied law, and was admitted to practice in 1788. In 1784, he came to Kentucky, located at Lexington, and entered into mercantile business, in which he was very successful; in 1794, located in Mason County; had continued successful in mercantile pursuits; was appointed Judge of the Mason District Court; afterwards became
talking in groups on the streets unless 'something is up.'...  

23rd [1863]  
many people have come to Lexington from various places to live, and houses are in consequence scarce, and rent,  

26th [1863]  
day dawned as bright and beautiful as one could wish not a sky and the weather mild and pleasant. At an early hour servers & waiters covered with white napkins were to be their way to the hospital shadowing forth, what to the attraction of the day, the dinner which was to be given at the hospital and for which the union ladies had been some time... I may safely say, there could not be neater utilfully clean kitchens desired than that at the hospital. In attendants and officers of the hospital must be very attentive for I have heard numbers of persons say that this hospital, set to the cellar, was the cleanest nicest place they ever saw. wards and beds [are] so tidy[,] the men so well attended to in such nice order. In fact we take great pride in our  

28th [1863]  
servers & Reporter did not publish Pa's notice of the hospital Thanksgiving]. I dont see any reason for that, as there was ting to politics in it, being really a short piece, mentioning and thanking the ladies.  

1st [1863]  
an old store box on Cheapside that is called the Abolition use the Union men go there to talk or speechy, and I expect a great many stump speeches delivered tonight...  

December 2nd [1863]  
ough to rouse anyone, to hear the numerous tales of the suf- fering inmates of Libby and Belle Island appear in the cruel treatment of the Richmond prisoners has had a great our soldiers. They fight much more desperately, having such  

of the diary entry for this date indicates that news had just arrived of defeat at Knoxville, resulting in the capture of 5,000 Confederate troops. vans Papers, Box 7.  
were two of the Confederate government's chief prisons. Libby Prison in Rich-  

a prospect before them if they are taken prisoners, and do all they can to avoid capture...  

Wednesday Dec 9th [1863]  
... The Providence R. I. Journal of Dec 5th contained a notice of the dinner given at the hospital here on Thanksgiving day. [It was] written by a member of the 7th Rhode Island expressing the greatest gratification at the attention paid them and the other soldiers here... I am sure the union people here were more than paid for what they did, by the pleasure it seemed to give the soldiers, and we only wished we had been able to do more. The soldiers are always so grateful for any kindness shown them, that we would be mean indeed if we did not feel pleasure in doing what we could for them.  

Thursday Dec 10th [1863]  
... I think Mr. Lincoln's message a very sensible one. We did not think much of him at first and he only got one vote in Lexington, but the more we see of him the better we like him. If he runs for President next election as there is little doubt he will be obliged to do to satisfy his friends, he is almost certain to be reelected. I know a good many people here will vote for him.  

Sunday Dec 13th [1863]  
... The darkies met with a great mishap this evening. Just as their churches were being dismissed a number of soldiers who had been stationed outside rushed upon the unsuspecting negroes capturing all the men they could lay hands on. The darkies in great terror ran in all directions, some jumping out of the church windows and all doing their best to elude pursuit, sometimes in a most laughable manner, stout, pale men pretending to be crippled & hobbling along with their canes. The soldiers however caught a good many whom they sent off to Camp Nelson to work on the wagon road they are going to make to Cumberland Gap until they can get hands enough to finish the railroad. It was right mean of them to be 'pressing' the darkies on Sunday and all dressed in their 'go to meetin' clothes, and not even give them time to take off the latter... The hospital is full. Some of the sick had to be put on the floor, as there were not enough beds.  

Miss Peter refers to Lincoln's "Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction" issued on December 8, 1863. It specified that whenever ten per cent of a Confederate state's 1860 voting population had taken an oath of allegiance to the Union, that element could reestablish a state government along republican lines. Certain high ranking Confederates were excluded. For the text of the Proclamation, see Basler (ed.), Collected Works of Lincoln, VII, 53-56.  

Lexington had three Negro churches: The First African Baptist on the south side of Short Street, between Spring and Lower (now Patterson); the Second African Baptist, southeast corner of Back (now Dewees) and Short Streets; and the Independent African, southwest corner of Main and Locust, Williams' City Directory, p. 17.  

Established in 1863, Camp Nelson was the principal site in Kentucky for the enrollment and training of black soldiers. Located in Jessamine County at the mouth of Richland Creek near Arian on the Lexington and Danville Pike, it had a fortified circumference of ten miles. Autobiography of John G. Fee (Chicago: National Christian Association, 1894), pp. 174-18.
National Cyclopaedia of Col. Race
p. 176/ Edward E. Underwood M.D.

born Mt. Pleasant, Ohio

grad. H. S. 1871

1881 grad medical dept. West. Reserve U., Cleveland, Ohio

began practice Frankfort, Ky. - then 25 yr.

Edited Blue Grass Page Frankfort 7-10 yr.
John P. Davis, ed., Am Neg Ref 1870

P. 405/ CME Church, Colored Meth. Early Now Christian Meth./

At end of CW 250,000 black Meth in ME Church, South

Organized 1870 into CME Church. Gen. Craft held Johnson

TN in 1870. Elected Henry Miles and Richard H. Vanderhorst

as the two Bishops.
"To Stop A School"

September 23rd 1816 It is ordered by the Board aforesaid that J H Schooler, P B Atwood & W Hobson, be appointed to notify Joe a negro man Slave the property of W. Barrets heirs, in person, that he the said Joe is to stop a School Which he has Set on foot for the purpose of assembling and educating the negroes of this place and its vicinity and that if in future the Said Joe Should attempt to assemble any Slave or Slaves in this Town for sd purpose or any other purpose whatsoever he the Said Joe Shall receive on his Bare Back 15 lashes well laid on after being convicted of said offence before a Justice of the peace & any Slave or Slaves assembled as aforesaid after being convicted as aforesaid Shall receive 15 lashes on his or their Bare Back well laid on - From the first record book of the Trustees For The Town of Greensburgh, page 79
Deaths under 1 year of age counted as 1.

Deaths under 1 year included in deaths under 10 year category.

Madison County births included in Kentucky figures.

Data taken from David C. Greene, comp., "1860 Madison County, Kentucky Mortality Records," Heritage Highlights 2 (Spring 1990): [6-7].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Death</th>
<th>Whites (No.)</th>
<th>Slaves</th>
<th>Free Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.03 (75)</td>
<td>30.31 (54)</td>
<td>30.33 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Causes of Death

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Whites (%)</th>
<th>Slaves (%)</th>
<th>Free Blacks (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>20.5% (15)</td>
<td>19.2% (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflammation</td>
<td>10.9% (8)</td>
<td>9.6% (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropsy</td>
<td>4.1% (3)</td>
<td>9.6% (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Cockesey&quot;</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>9.6% (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrofula</td>
<td>1.4% (1)</td>
<td>7.7% (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Age at Death

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Whites (%)</th>
<th>Slaves (%)</th>
<th>Free Blacks (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 80 yrs.</td>
<td>18.6% (14)</td>
<td>5.6% (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 10 yrs.</td>
<td>13.3% (10)</td>
<td>29.6% (16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1 yr.</td>
<td>5.3% (4)</td>
<td>14.8% (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Slave Data (54 Total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent Mulatto</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Birthplace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Percentage</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>90.6%</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Ky.</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison Co.</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Work Data (34 Total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled (No Cooks)</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled (w/ Cooks)</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Hands</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in Home</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Such accounts of Breckinridge's fondness for drink contained only a modicum of truth but would be the basis for many later assertions—generally unfounded—that would support Bragg's excuses for his own failings.

In Richmond in the winter of 1863-64, the Kentuckian, according to one observer, paced "like a caged lion," rarely sitting down. Although a favorite of the capital's society, he still longed to redeem his name and honor, besmirched by Bragg's charges. On 15 February 1864 Breckinridge received orders relieving him from command in the Army of Tennessee. Soon, however, he was given command of the Trans-Allegheny or Western Department of Virginia, a vast but valuable territory known as the "graveyard of Confederate generals." Relieving his predecessor in March, Breckinridge found a state of "social war" existing in the more mountainous part of his command and began to plan and consolidate for the attacks that must come. The troops reacted positively to their new leader. An aide wrote that Breckinridge's impressive bearing in the "sober garb of a civilian" would excite a stranger's admiration. But in the uniform of a general, superbly mounted "as he always was, he was the very embodiment of manly grace." The soldiers soon would hail "the new Jackson."¹²

The clash of arms restored Breckinridge's prestige. In a "brilliant" battle at New Market in May, he faced an enemy superior in numbers and won decisively in what has been termed "the finest day in his military career." Using his artillery well, displaying the courage of earlier battles, Breckinridge forced a federal retreat. Richmond again talked of the "dashing commander" in the Valley. Moving to aid Lee in his struggle with Grant, Breckinridge narrowly missed death when a cannonball struck his horse, pinning him beneath it. Temporarily disabled, the general left his sickbed (on Lee's urging) to return to the Valley when the Union forces again advanced. Joining his good friend General Jubal A. Early, Breckinridge marched northward. Successful in turning back the federal army in the area, Early invaded Maryland. Breckinridge got close enough to Washington to see the dome of the capitol he had left three years earlier. General Early joked that he would let Breckinridge lead the column and invited him to sit in the vice-president's chair once more. Such light moments did not last long. The army retreated and, after the battle of Winchester, never threatened to advance again.¹⁸

The aftermath of one of those rare triumphs left more bitterness than did a defeat. Confederates repulsed Union General Stephen G. Burbridge's Kentucky forces at Saltville on 2 October 1864, and the fleeing federals left behind many wounded, a good number of them black soldiers. The next morning, gunfire filled the fog-covered valley. Wounded blacks were being killed, and a young Confederate later wrote, "We surely slew negroes that day." Kentuckian James B. Clay, Jr., wrote his mother
two weeks afterwards: "I assure you it was a great pleasure the next morning to go over the field & see so many Lexingtonians of the African decent [sic] lying mangled & bleeding on the hills." Not in the fury of battle, but in a cold-blooded massacre, soldiers killed about a hundred of the wounded. A boy of not more than sixteen lined seven or eight blacks along a wall and then shot them. No orders had been given; the men, said one participant, simply could not be restrained. Breckinridge heard the firing, and "with blazing eyes and thunderous tones," ordered the massacre stopped. To the long nightmare of war another haunting chapter had been added. The horrors Breckinridge warned of in 1861 had visited him once again.19

A weary Breckinridge left all this behind when he went to Richmond in January 1865. Rumors that he had been offered the portfolio of the Confederate War Department vied with other rumors that Congress opposed this because Breckinridge had joined the Confederacy so late. Yet the popular general had been given the privilege of the floor of the Senate, and President Davis knew Breckinridge from their congressional days. Thus it surprised few when the Kentuckian was appointed secretary of war. On 7 February 1865 Breckinridge took over the affairs of the War Department, to operate in that capacity until the Confederacy died.20

Breckinridge served admirably in difficult times. William C. Davis even suggests that he proved to be the "most capable and efficient" of all the secretaries of war. For, unlike other secretaries, Breckinridge would be his own man—not President Davis's. Well qualified by service in all commands except the Trans-Mississippi, he received the confidence of the Confederate Congress, which backed him in his actions. Eventually he assigned officers, recommended promotions, advised Lee and Johnston on strategy, and generally strengthened his office. While not impressing one of his subordinates initially ("the new secretary is evidently not a man of papers") Breckinridge soon immersed himself in the ocean of orders. "Overwhelmed with work," he told a friend, he stayed up past midnight working at the new job. Assuming his duties under different circumstances than those of his predecessors, the last Confederate secretary of war took advantage of the situation to function more independently.21

Breckinridge's duties ultimately included organizing the evacuation of Richmond as Grant's armies drew near. One of the last leaders to leave the city, he ordered the James River bridges burned. Clifton Rodes Breckinridge resigned as acting midshipman and joined his father in flight. By 23 April 1865 the secretary of war had reached Charlotte, where he and other cabinet officers advised President Davis. With the ports closed, foreign supply sources lost, urban areas captured, and armies decimated, reasonable hope of success had disappeared. General Johnston, Breckinridge pointed out, should be allowed to surrender. If such suggestions were ignored, the contest would probably "lose entirely the dignity of regular warfare and cannot be solved." Preparing for the possibility, Breckinridge asked Johnston for the signature of a fugitive Confederate governor.

Pressing southward, the Trans-Mississippi theater in the Confederate treasury, money, and mob action seemed. Breckinridge told them that they must live honorably, not in "the vilest manner," with the finest-looking men magnetic and commanding men dispersed.22

When Davis was finally captured in May, he was already moving southward with the United States. In company with Zachary Taylor and former soldiers, he and his staff traveled southward in the Trans-Mississippi. His fears for personal safety were realized, and his fears for the country increased the bitterness against the government. Taylor increased the bitterness saying, "leading traitors" should die. Confederate cabinet members, he said, were all imprisoned. Breckinridge was willing to suffer such a fate.23

What followed enhanced Breckinridge's already appealing figure. Having been a charismatic Confederate leader for nine years, Breckinridge was no longer the same figure. Troops dispersed. Mosquitoes, ticks, sandflies, and other pests plagued him as he fled through the party rowed along the river. Turtles and ducks were rounded them; rain soaked the men. Breckinridge stopped them for questions and let them relax.24

Needing a larger boat, Breckinridge at gunpoint a larger craft. With the ports closed, they chanced stopping at a port. Seeing Breckinridge's gold they refused to stop, some ineffective gunfire a
made a free man in Kentucky was Monk Estill, a slave of Col. James Estill of Madison County. In 1782, in the battle known as "Estill's Defeat," which occurred on the hill where Mount Sterling is now situated, Estill, with twenty-five men, attacked a band of Wyandotte Indians by whom the brave Monk Estill was taken prisoner. In the height of the fight, Monk called out in a loud voice: "Don't give way, Marse Jim; there's only twenty-five of the Injuns and you can whip them." Colonel Estill was killed and his men retreated. The brave Monk escaped from the Indians, joined his white comrades and, on his stalwart shoulders, carried a wounded man twenty-five miles to Estill station. His young master promptly gave him his freedom and supported him in comfort during the remainder of his life.

It has been well said that in the solitudes of the wilderness and the isolation of the early settlements, the innate longings for the society of human-kind made the companionship of the masters and their households with the colored slaves an essential condition to the contentment and happiness of both. The white and colored elements were thus pleasantly blended in the household unit; and, hence, while the relations were civilly and socially so distinct, they were mutually confiding and affectionate. The pleasant relations thus early established in pioneer days, continued, as a rule, until slavery was happily no more, and to great extent, lingers yet among the descendants of those people—fifty years after slavery has ceased to be.

Of course, there were some in Kentucky who were cruel to their slaves but these were the exception, not the rule. Irresponsible power over others develops whatever meanness there may be in the nature of those who possess that power. In many asylums for the insane; for the orphan; the almshouses, and similar institutions, flourishing in the centers of our civilization today, may be found more cruelty and tyranny than was ever practiced by the most conscienceless master in Kentucky upon his slaves. The cruel and inhuman master was ostracized and taught by the silent contempt of his neighbors a lesson which he seldom failed to heed.

There is not lacking the testimony of former slaves, to the conditions of their servitude in Kentucky. George Brown, a colored man, long a slave, was in the years following the freedom of his people, the senior member of a firm known as "George and Dan," the latter being also a former slave, who conducted a noted restaurant in Louisville frequented by the best people of the city and the state. Some years before his death, Brown published in the *Winchester (Ky.) Democrat* an extended sketch entitled "Recollections of an Ex-Slave." In this sketch, he commented lovingly upon the kindness of his former owner, Mr. Allen, and his family, and adds: "I would not have the reader suppose that this kindness and humanity was peculiar to the Allen family for it was not; for a constant endeavor to make slaves happy and comfortable was a feature common to many slave owners about Winchester." The same may be truthfully said about every town and county in Kentucky.

Custom and usage invariably blunt the senses so that venerable wrongs are not recognized as such. In what one is born to and accustomed to, and has accepted as a matter of course, one cannot, as a rule, see any wrong. So a great majority of Kentuckians in times past, could see no wrong in slavery. But there was always, from the beginning, an element in Kentucky respectable in number and in every way, which recognized the wrong of slavery. Perhaps the most prominent of these was the elder Humphrey Marshall, Henry Clay, his fiery kinsman, Cassius M. Clay, James G. Birney, and Robert J. Breckinridge.

Before Kentucky became a state, a political
for the boy she had nursed in infancy, spoiled in his later years, and worshipped always. There was something charming and attractive in those old days and those who are old enough to recall that patriarchial era, regret passing, while, at the same time, giving thanks that human slavery has passed forever from the land.

One of the anomalies of legislation was illustrated by the Kentucky legislature in February, 1864, when that body, unanimously in favor of the Union, re-enacted the law prohibiting the importation of slaves into Kentucky as merchandise. There was no place from which to import them; no one who desired to bring them into the state. The ways of the average legislature are past finding out. This same legislature also protested against the enlistment of Kentucky negroes into the army, and requested the president to remove the camps of negro soldiers from the state. This request was, of course, ignored, and active recruiting of negroes went on. More than 20,000 negro soldiers were recruited in the state and credited—not to Kentucky, but to Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts and other eastern states.

In the presidential election of 1864, Mr. Lincoln received 27,786 votes out of a total vote of 92,087. There were many persons in Kentucky in those days, who found it conducive to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to remain away from the polls. This accounts for the small total of votes cast.

The foregoing, it is believed, is a fair and correct account of the more important events connected with slavery in Kentucky. Some general remarks upon a subject which entered so largely into the greatest of all civil wars may not be inappropriate.

In the decade from 1840 to 1850, the activity of the Abolition party in the north became very great. All along the Ohio river were stations for rescuing slaves and conveying them to places of safety beyond the border. The number of slaves who escaped in this way was relatively small—perhaps a few hundred each year—but the effect upon the minds of the people were out of proportion to the producing cause. The truth is, as has been stated more than once herein, that the slaves in Kentucky were not generally suffering from any bonds that weighed heavily upon them. There were minor exceptions; a few masters were not kind to their slaves, but these men suffered a social ostracism which tended to reduce their ranks and to a kinder treatment of their dependent servants. Slavery in Kentucky was of the domestic sort; that is, it was to most of the slaves not a grievous burden to bear. This is well shown by the fact that thousands of them quietly remained with their masters in the counties along the Ohio river when, on any night, they might have escaped across the border. Still, the "underground railway" system, as it was called, although it did not lead many slaves to freedom, profoundly irritated the minds of the owners, and even those who did not own slaves. Accompanied, as was this work of rescuing slaves, by a violent abuse of slaveholding, it destroyed in good part the desire to be rid of the institution which had grown on the soil, and gave place to a natural though unreasonable determination to cling to the system against all outside interference. Towards the end, the laws concerning slavery grew more rigid because of this interference by persons actuated by sentiment in some instances; by ignorance in others.

The rights accorded to the slaves from the initial settlement of Kentucky, if lost to them at a later date, were lost because of the fear of servile insurrection, rapine and murder as a resultant of the agitation kept alive by those who regarded slavery as a crime and any means that might be employed for its destruction, as legitimate. While seeking to destroy slavery, they were really adding to the burden of the slave and inducing in the slaveholding
states the enactment of laws clinching more tightly the bonds borne by the slave. It is fair to assume the honesty of purpose actuating these people, however much their plans and efforts may be decried. The world will never forget that it was New England that introduced slavery into the colonies and kept alive the slave trade until it was found that the bleak climate of the North Atlantic coast was unfit for people born under the scorching sun of the equator. When this fact was borne in upon them, they ceased to exchange New England rum for African slaves and made haste to dispose of those whom they held to the people of the more genial southern clime. It was not until they had thus shifted the burden of slavery from their own shoulders that they discovered what a crime against nature was slavery. The agitation against what was known as "the peculiar institution" was continued until nothing could withstand it and the direful effects of war alone destroy it.

There was no legal provision for the marriage of slaves. In some instances they were married, without licenses, by preachers of their own race. In other and in most instances, they merely "took up" with each other without the formality of a clerical ceremony. This loosely assumed tie was frequently maintained until the death of one of the parties, a deep-seated affection existing between the persons thus irregularly joined in matrimony. Slaves, in the sight of the law, could own no property, but many of them, by "hiring their time" from their masters, did accumulate small properties in the possession of which they were protected by their owners.

Most of the slaves in Kentucky were, by nature, amiable, affectionate and faithful. There were many instances of their fidelity to their masters and their families, which the history of the world could scarcely equal even between friends and equals, much less between masters and slaves. The slaves of the few "hard masters" would occasionally "run away" but after a few weeks absence would voluntarily return, take their punishment and fall again into the performance of their former tasks.

Generally speaking, slaves were allowed a great deal of liberty. However, when emissaries from the north became unusually active in the state the privileges of the slaves were necessarily abridged and restricted, as it was the current belief that these emissaries were bent upon stirring up strife among the slaves and inciting them to an insurrection in which the chief feature was to be an indiscriminate slaughter of white men, women and children. In those days a system of mounted patrols was instituted. These patrols rode about the country at night, on the highways and byways and through the plantations and woe betide the slave who was caught abroad at night without a written "pass" from his master. The negroes had a deadly fear of these nightriders whom they called "patter-rollers" and about whom they had a song which ran something like this:

"Over the fence and through the pasture,
Run, nigger, run, oh run a little faster,
Run, nigger run,
The patter-roller ketch you."

Like the savage Indians, the negroes had a marvelous system of inter-communication which no white man has ever fathomed. They got information concerning themselves almost as rapidly as the telephone would furnish it today. Almost every night one could hear a colored man in the woods or along a road, when the patrol was not near, mournfully chanting the "hoola" song, which would be taken up by another perhaps a mile distant and again chanted, while another and another would repeat it in every direction until the night became vocal with the mournful sound of that distressing and monotonous refrain:
ments and moral endowment, who should pay their addresses to his daughter, the suit of the slaveholder would be favorably received, while that of his rival would be disdainfully rejected." 6

The position of the slaves was not marked by excessive severity. The nature of the labor to be performed made their lot fairly easy. No great cotton, rice, or cane fields in malignant climates under a torrid sun wore out the life of a Kentucky slave. Great gangs of slaves were seldom met with; rather a few made up the possession of the average Kentucky slaveholder, and they were used as household servants or field hands, working with their masters often. 9 The custom gradually grew up among many masters of letting their slaves go out and hire themselves wherever opportunity offered. Many of these wandering slaves congregated in Lexington and other towns and became a nuisance, if not a danger, to the community, with their petty larcenies—stealing and concealing. Lexington passed ordinances imposing a fine upon masters who allowed their slaves these liberties, but conditions were little remedied. 7 Up until the last decade before the Civil war, selling slaves to the far South was little engaged in as an ordinary business. What commerce in slaves actually existed was not generally based on the sole motive of profit or gain. A master in urgent need of money would sell his slaves, so would a master who wished to solve the problem of unruly slaves. But often this latter problem could be settled by the mere threat "to sell him south." Slaves were also sold on the interstate slave trade to satisfy legal and technical requirements. In order to settle an estate slaves often had to be sold, and runaway slaves captured and held for one year unclaimed were required by law to be sold, and often found their way into the slave trade. Of course, there was much more slave traffic within the state than to other states and was much less objectionable. Breaking up families was condemned by the best sentiment in the sale of slaves. The concern for family integrity in one instance is illustrated in a letter from James Porter to Robert J. Breckinridge, which follows in part: "I have a boy, Jack, that has married a girl belonging to A. J. Shelby’s Estate. And as I propose moving to Missouri in a short time, I propose to you either to buy his wife or to sell you the boy. If you are wanting a boy, you cannot get a better servant, or one that is more valuable. I am now offered and can get at any time one hundred dollars a year hire. If you do not wish to buy, I will give a fair price for his wife, to keep from parting them, for I should dislike very much to do it, as he is a favorite servant and a good boy." 8

Many people in the state were opposed to slavery in varying degrees. Perhaps a majority of them would at any time have welcomed a miraculous metamorphosis of the state with slavery and all its effects left out. But slavery was a condition and not a theory in Kentucky, as it was indeed for the rest of the South, and it was therefore necessary to deal with it in a practical rather than visionary way. The freeing of the slave did not remove one of the great evils of the system, and it indeed immediately brought about problems of even greater moment.

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5 Brown, Gazetteer, 113, 114. N. S. Shaler said “Short of a great difference of race, there is no basis of social distinction that man has invented which is so trenchant as that which separates the slave-owner from the non slave-owner.” Kentucky, 225.

6 For statistics see Eighth Census (1860). Also see N. S. Shaler, “Chapters from an Autobiography” in Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 103 (January, 1909), 45-57. In a strong anti-slavery manifesto, John C. Young admitted that “Many circumstances operate here to mitigate the rigors of perpetual servitude; and it is probably the fact that no body of slaves have been better fed, better clothed, and less abused, than the slaves of Kentucky.” “An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, proposing a Plan for the Instruction and Emancipation of their Slaves, by a Committee of the Synod of Kentucky” in Stanton, The Church and the Rebellion, 431.

7 Kentucky Gazette, Jan. 16, 1823.

8 Breckinridge MSS. (1848). Letter dated Danville, June 12, 1848.
Legislative Document No. 34.

REPORT

OF THE

SUPERINTENDENT PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

OF THE

STATE OF KENTUCKY

FOR

FOUR SCHOLASTIC YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1891.

FRANKFORT, KY.: Capital Office: E. Polk Johnson, Public Printer and Binder.
1892.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Census Report to Superintendent</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>School Fund amount apportioned</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Per Capita</th>
<th>Number of counties represented</th>
<th>Number of Districts</th>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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Note: An act approved March 1st, 1870, changes the beginning of the school year from January 1st to July 1st, of each year. The school year 1869 was the same as the previous school year, commencing with the calendar year, from January 1st to December 31st, inclusive. From and after the school year 1870, the new school year began on July 1st, and ended on June 30th.
### Table XII

Exhibiting the Census, the Financial Condition, the Per Capita &c. of the Colored School System for each Year since its Foundation.

<table>
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<th>Census Report by</th>
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<th>School Fund</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Per Capita</th>
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*Equalization of School age includes all from 6 to 29 years old.
†Equalization of Per Capita to the White.