

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. Name of Property

historic name Dinsmore Homestead (Additional Documentation)
 other name Dinsmore, James, House; BE-16
 s/site number _____
 Related Multiple Property Boone County MRA; Boone County, Kentucky MPS

2. Location

street & number 5655 Burlington Pike NA not for publication
 city or town Burlington NA vicinity
 state Kentucky code KY county Boone code _____ zip code 41005

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,
 I hereby certify that this X nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.
 In my opinion, the property X meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:
 ___ national ___ statewide X local
 Applicable National Register Criteria:
X A ___ B ___ C ___ D

Signature of certifying official/Title Craig Potts/SHPO Date _____
Kentucky Heritage Council/State Historic Preservation Office
 State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.
 Signature of commenting official _____ Date _____
 Title _____ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:
 ___ entered in the National Register ___ determined eligible for the National Register
 ___ determined not eligible for the National Register ___ removed from the National Register
 ___ other (explain:) _____
 Signature of the Keeper _____ Date of Action _____

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RESEARCH DESIGN

This National Register of Historic Places nomination update follows the perspective of a historical study. As such, this update involves extensive examination of the past drawing from archival documents and oral histories that recount stories of people and events to document and explain the significance of the African American experience as it pertains to the Dinsmore Farm. This study pulls from written documentation, both primary and secondary sources, along with interviews of descendants. It draws conclusions from the research cited that allows for documentation of written facts as it pertains to the property and analyze the site's African American history during its Period of Significance¹. Conducting research in this way enables the researchers to draw evidence-based assumptions about the lives and relationships of the African Americans associated with the farm.

Most of the archival documentation used for the nomination were primarily records from the Dinsmore Homestead such as the farm's economic documents, as well as letters and journal entries written by James and Julia Dinsmore that mostly spoke to the white experience. The majority of regional histories were derived from primary and secondary sources provided by the Boone County Public Library. Because some of the abovementioned records were written from a white perspective, which noticeably lacked insight on African American viewpoints, this nomination also evaluated the physical landscape to understand the socio-economic activities at play.

Before diving into the historical significance of African Americans on the Dinsmore Farm, a historic context was developed to veraciously describe the African American experience nationally, statewide, and regionally between 1842-1968. The sections that delve into the lives of African Americans at the Dinsmore farm reflect back to themes in the context (the history of enslavement and farming in Boone County) that aid in the analysis of the African American people, their perspectives, and their relationship with the Dinsmore Farm. This nomination also investigates the physical, social, and psychological aspects of African Americans on the farm by analyzing and interpreting the architecture of the site, arrangement of buildings, and treatment of burials to understand the power dynamics at play around the unequal treatment of African Americans on the Dinsmore property. Furthermore, the study ends with a summary of the site's African American significance as well as an in-depth discussion of its historical integrity.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Dinsmore House (BE-13; NRIS 79000962) was first listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in 1979 under Criterion C because of its historical significance as one of the last remaining Federal and Greek Revival style homes in Boone County that also retains many of its original outbuildings, which have since been identified as a combination of residences for the property's African American workers and outbuildings for livestock. In 2005 the NRHP listing was updated (NRIS 05001307) to include another level of historic significance. According to the terms of Criterion A, the farm was found to be significant for its role in regional agriculture as a farmstead during the mid-19th

¹ According to the National Park Service's *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Form*, the "Period of Significance is the length of time when a property was associated with important events, activities, or persons, or attained the characteristics of which qualify it for National Register listing".

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and early-20th centuries. This current documentation proposes that the property meets Criterion A for its significance within the historic context “African Americans in Boone County, Kentucky, 1799-1965.” The farm is significant for helping tell a fuller story of the rural work experience of Black Americans in Boone County, Kentucky between 1842-1968, when the last African American tenant (Harry Roseberry) left the farm. The farm becomes important as we recognize its ability to articulate the presence and contributions of African Americans in Boone County, and beyond, especially due to the relative absence of traditional written narratives which could give a more personal voice to this experience. With the complexities of slavery, and later Jim Crow segregation, such written records reflecting the experiences of African American people are not just wanting, but the existing archives may only provide glimpses of their experiences because most extant documents were written from the white perspective or for a white audience.

HISTORIC CONTEXT: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN BOONE COUNTY (1799-1965)

As measured by time and legal status, the possibilities for African Americans in Boone County could be interpreted to have been a positive experience over time. The first one-third of Boone County’s existence (1799-1865: 66 years) allowed a dehumanizing of African Americans by the white population. By 1798, slavery was permitted by the laws of the United States and the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and most African Americans in Boone County were caught in this system; they were known as the slave codes that were instituted by the same legislative act that established Kentucky as a state.² Pro-slavery laws permitted owners of enslaved people, and society in general, to treat African Americans as *their* property, in a similar manner that they would treat other owned entities: animals, land, and tools. During this time, a small number of freed blacks are known to have lived in Boone County, and while not technically subject to the same life as enslaved Blacks, their lives were impacted by the overall regard for African Americans which was forged by the paradigm of slavery.

The following long span, from 1865 until about 1950, offered all African Americans in Boone County a new existence, one where they are legally considered American citizens. While this may sound like a much better situation than the previous one, this new status was complicated by the continued resentment held by much of the white population. Whether the white person was a farmer who felt the sting of having their farm assets legally snatched in the aftermath of the Civil War, or a person who never owned an African American but had grown accustomed to regarding them as less than human, the new status of citizen did not immediately and significantly improve the lives of African Americans. The dominant white population erected social structures, and sometimes codified those practices into law, to confine African Americans within a different set of life opportunities than those open to white citizens.

² Caldwell, Merrill S. “A Brief History of Slavery in Boone County: A Paper Read Before a Meeting of the Boone County Historical Society”, (Northern Kentucky Views, 1957).

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Starting around World War II, an idea began to grow in which Blacks would receive the full span of options and treatments available to white citizens, where their life's possibilities would not be defined by "the color of their skin but by the content of their character".³ A number of Supreme Court decisions and laws passed in the 1950s and 1960s, and a growing number of African American achievers in some sectors of society, gave apologists evidence that the African American experience has reached parity with white citizenry. More recently, focus upon a pattern of surveillance, incarceration, and killings of Blacks by white policemen and others, and the movements arising in response to these killings, have challenged the most optimistic claims that the African American experience is much the same as the experience of whites. If Dr. King's vision is a dream, a hoped-for *future* in 1963, one that the legal system had not fully forced into existence for 98 years, then during Boone County's historic period 1865-1973, it seems appropriate to characterize the African American experience as one which starts with nominal citizenship, but a citizenship grudgingly acknowledged and under sanctioned attack. Thus, this will become one important framework through which the historic resources are examined and interpreted on the Dinsmore Farm and elsewhere in Boone County.

Early Settlement of Boone County

Boone County was officially established in 1799 after being split off from Campbell County in 1798. By the early 1800s, Boone County's landscape consisted of small-to-medium sized farms and a few small towns with populations of less than 500 citizens.⁴ These farmsteads did not cultivate crops intensively, and while some might have been larger in acreage, they were not producing large harvests that went straight to market. Most farms were in the hands of Euro-American landowners; the African-Americans who labored on these farms were for the most part owned by the Euro-American farmers. Those African-Americans tended to these small-scale farming operations and households. These first farm owners, their household, and their owned workforce, typically came to Boone County from Virginia.

One important way by which we know the County's earliest African Americans is through the households to which they are attached. Conventional historical narratives of Boone County mention John Tanner as the first known white settler in Boone County during the late-1780s. Tanner was a Baptist preacher who, by the time of his death in 1813, owned 86-acres of land on Taylor's Creek.⁵ He was also known for founding "Tanner's Station" (officially named Petersburg in 1818), one of the county's largest communities prior to the Civil War.⁶ There is no conclusive evidence that John Tanner owned any workers, but his associate, another Boone County white Baptist preacher by the name of John Taylor, owned 21 of his workers. Taylor, who, along with Tanner, was known for forming Baptist churches throughout the South, moved in 1795 into the area which would become Boone County a few

⁸ "Julia Dinsmore's Journal," 1873-1922. Dinsmore Family Collection. MS 1016.

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years later. He served as the first minister of the Bullittsburg Baptist Church, which had been founded in 1794. The written record does not indicate whether African Americans attended services held by Tanner, nor whether Taylor welcomed his own workers to his services. But what does seem clear is that at the turn of the 19th century, when Boone County was opened for whites and blacks to establish a new society, slavery was not seen as being in conflict with the social, legal, or prevailing Christian moral system.⁷ Thus, the African American experience in Boone County began. It was not until 1850 that census records provide us evidence of a freed black resident of Boone County, which had the potential to widen the experience of African Americans in Boone County into two groups: the majority experience of being under the agency of an enslaver, and the new experience, of a somewhat greater degree of self-agency. The last known enslaved worker on the farm is believed to be Jilson Hawkins, who remained on the farm after the end of the Civil War until he moved to Rising Sun in 1874, working for Julia Dinsmore and gaining wages.⁸

Farming and African American Enslavement in Boone County (1800-1862)

The history of African American enslavement in Boone County during the 1800s mirrored that of the state of Kentucky — the enslaved population was divided among numerous white landowners, where the majority owned less than 10 individuals. Farms in Boone County were smaller, and thus, only around 30-percent of white landowners were able to purchase enslaved workers.⁹ Early U.S. Census data confirms these trends, with the 1800 Census having enumerated 325 slaves out of a total of 1,534 individuals (around 20% of the total population). Within ten years the county's population doubled as did the number of enslaved people. According to the 2000 *Historic and Architectural Resources of the County of Boone, Kentucky, 1789-1950* National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF), enslaved quarters in Boone County were extant on several farms including the Duncan Farm (BE-79), the Winston-Gaines property (BE-128), the Surface-Noel Farm (BE-387), the Hughes Farm (BE-208; NRIS 88003282), and the T. A. Huey farm (BE-1033; NRIS 00000900).

The last architectural survey completed for the Duncan Farm was in 1995 and notes the presence of a main house, a family cemetery, and myriad farm buildings including a “front-gabled outbuilding believed by the owners to have been a slave house”.¹⁰ Based on aerial photography it appears that the main house and outbuildings are still extant, which includes the building believed to have been occupied by enslaved workers. Both the Surface-Noel and Winston-Gaines property are no longer extant;

⁸ “Julia Dinsmore’s Journal,” 1873-1922. Dinsmore Family Collection. MS 1016.

⁸ “Julia Dinsmore’s Journal,” 1873-1922. Dinsmore Family Collection. MS 1016.

¹⁰ Warminski, Margaret. *Duncan Farm (Resource # BE-79)*. Kentucky Historic Resources Individual Survey Form (KHC 91-1). Recorded on May 6, 1995.

¹⁰ Warminski, Margaret. *Duncan Farm (Resource # BE-79)*. Kentucky Historic Resources Individual Survey Form (KHC 91-1). Recorded on May 6, 1995.

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however, according to their Kentucky Historic Resources Individual Survey Forms, there used to be a “log slave house, believed to date from the 1860s...” on the Winston-Gaines property and that “although the house was destroyed by fire in 1992, the site retains three significant dependencies: the former slave house and two barns.”¹¹ Based on present-day aerial photographs, the former slave house and two barns are no longer extant. The T.A. Huey Farm is listed on the NRHP under Criterion C for its “architectural design, incorporating the qualities of a nineteenth century Boone County farmstead anchored by a principal house buttressed by slave quarters and agricultural dependencies”.¹² The nomination mentions the presence of a vernacular brick slave house and states that “the slave quarters is an example of Property Type IIF, domestic outbuildings/tenant house”.¹³ This property type was reflected in the 2000 Boone County MPDF.

Even though some of above-mentioned survey forms and NRHP nominations mention that houses occupied by enslaved workers were present on their respective farms, the NRHP authors typically conveyed low confidence as to whether the buildings they labeled as slave houses were in fact for enslaved people. The limited research and identification work done to document extant such houses in these survey forms and NRHP nominations make it challenging to provide a robust context on the history of slave houses in Boone County; however, such wanting information also provides insight on the lack of historical importance placed on outbuildings intended for enslaved individuals in the historic preservation field. Architecturally, all the aforementioned houses are small (about two-bays wide), feature a simple gable roof, are devoid of ornamentation, and have very few windows. The manner in which white slaveholders used these buildings—primarily to provide shelter to their enslaved workers—makes it unlikely that enslaved African Americans resided in the main house. It was common for more than one enslaved family to reside in unadorned, small quarters which made an already tight space more cramped. Without being able to have legal rights, enslaved African Americans were made to believe that they were second-class citizens and that complaining would likely only make things worse.

Religion and Slavery

A number of social forces intersected with strong implications for the African American experience in Boone County during the period covered by this historic context. Those forces included the legalities of land ownership, the evolving labor needs of farming, the legal status of African Americans as owned property and then as citizens, and attitudes toward the African American population sanctioned by society at large as well as by religious bodies. Continued enslavement was recognized as an economic driver for farm life throughout the county. The experience for many African Americans was that they were valued insofar as they brought material gain to their enslaver/employer, without challenge to that

¹¹ Warminski, Margaret. *Winston-Gaines Property (Resource # BE-128)*. Kentucky Historic Resources Individual Survey Form (KHC 91-1). Recorded on June 18, 1993.

¹² Taylor, David L., *Thomas Huey Farm (NRIS 00000900)*. National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Listed on August 24, 2000.

¹³ Ibid.

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enslaver/employer's sense of power and control. The environment of work was physically structured to maintain those power relationships, and we can see some of those structures at play on the Dinsmore Farm.

The dominant Judeo-Christian tradition has a complicated relationship to slavery. One of the earliest figures, Moses, led the nation of Israel out of enslavement at the hands of the Egyptians. The annual celebration of this escape from slavery—Passover—remains one of the highest holy days of the Jewish calendar today, and is celebrated in the Seder meal. Jesus of the Bible's New Testament was celebrating Passover at the Seder meal immediately prior to his execution. His story was a new form of liberation—from sin and death. His message could be adopted by those who were free or in bondage. Paul of Tarsus, author of many books of the New Testament, urged slaves in the first decade after Jesus to accept their enslaved condition. Thus, the Christian Bible promised freedom in the next life while many of its passages sanction slavery in this life. Christian proponents of slavery could use these passages to advocate for the retention of slavery within the social and legal systems. Thus, church was a setting in which African American attendees could be shamed, and given the message “If you are not on your best behavior, if you do anything to destabilize society, you will be punished”, a notion that carried long into the 20th century.

Early white settlers like Reverend John Taylor employed religion to support slavery as a legitimate part of the social system. Two spin-off churches (with ties to slavery) formed from Bullittsburg Baptist Church, including Woolpers Bottom and Middle Creek Baptist church, founded in 1801 and 1803 respectively.¹⁴ The records of both churches list African American members, many of whom were enslaved by white members of the same church. Records from these churches also detail the exclusion of Black enslaved members for any act of defiance, an extremely broad category. According to Belleview Baptist Church meeting minutes, on August 8, 1818, “Reuben Graves complained against Aaron his slave boy, stealing neck handkerchief – found guilty & excluded (all meetings hereafter are not dated but are the second Saturday of each month).” In February 1830 “Larkin Ryle complains of Milly (Benjamin Stephens) for adultery – did not attend in March & was excluded.”¹⁵

Historically, churches have always been at the center of Black communities because they provided African Americans with a place to worship and hold meetings. However, because it was more common for enslaved African Americans in Boone County during the first half of the nineteenth century to become members of the same church as their slaveholder (the same congregations founded by white settlers), there were expectations for Black members to follow the white man's rules. According to the records of Middle Creek Baptist Church the inclusion of African American members coincided with the increasing enslaved population in the county during the 1820s to 1840s. Black members could be

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

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excluded for virtually any reason, which suggests a level of oppression by the dominant white society. Also, in many cases, these congregations did not permit Black members to worship in the same space as white slaveholders (or even inside the church). Instead they allowed Black members to appoint a fellow African American to serve their deacon; someone who would preach outside the building. For enslaved African Americans in the county, these churches technically served as both a spiritual and community or social space, but they were not necessarily safe spaces to worship or converse because of the power dynamics at play with the white slaveholding population, who owned and managed the churches. Below is a brief history of Boone County churches that opened memberships to enslaved African Americans.

Bullittsburg Baptist Church

In 1809, Bullittsburg Baptist Church voted in their first African American member, Asa, who was enslaved by John Graves (and John Taylor before him). John Taylor stated in his book, *The History of Ten Baptist Churches*, that he taught Asa to read and often had striking conversations with him. Soon after he was baptized, Asa was permitted to act as a Deacon to African Americans. One particular moment of Asa's preaching was mentioned in Taylor's book, an interaction with an enslaved woman named Letty who converted to the Baptist faith after a conversation with Asa that helped her accept their religious teachings and see that God has mercy on her.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that when reviewing the 1829 Bullittsburg Baptist Church Minute Book, it was clear that almost all mentions of African American people were recorded complaints made by white church members.¹⁷

Middle Creek Baptist Church

Established on March 12, 1803, Middle Creek Baptist church (later renamed Belleview) was aided in its organization by Bullittsburg Baptist Church. The Church of Christ at Middle Creek, which it was historically called, held its first meeting in April 1803. Their first building was a log cabin that overlooked Middle Creek. Early church clerks included white men, Moses Scott, Elijah Hogan, William Garnett, John Hawkins, and John Brady.

The church had accepted Black members since its inception. However, these African Americans were enslaved people "belonging" to a white church member.¹⁸ Similar to Bullittsburg, Black members at Middle Creek were encouraged to gather outside of the main, white slaveholding congregation. Since its beginnings, enslaved Black people were received by the church; however, records show the largest increase of African American membership occurred between 1842 and 1843, where people like Nancy McGruder and Coah (from the Dinsmore Farm) joined the church.¹⁹

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

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Hopeful Lutheran Church

Other religious congregations like Hopeful Lutheran Church, founded in 1806 in present-day Florence, lists myriad members with ties to slaveholding, including their first pastor, William Carpenter.²⁰ Reverend Carpenter, who came from Virginia with enslaved people in 1813, had a one-square-mile farm around the area that the Florence City Building, Boone County Library are currently located.²¹ Even the second pastor of Hopeful Lutheran Church, Jacob Crigler, who took over for Carpenter in 1834, brought slaves with him from Virginia. Reverend Crigler's 128-acre farm, which was adjacent to the church, was said to have enslaved workers even after his death — until his wife died in 1859.²² In 1854, a spin-off church was formed called Hebron Evangelical Lutheran Church, which later became Hebron Lutheran Church — modeled after their sister church (of the same name) in Virginia.²³

Sand Run Baptist Church

When it was formed in 1819, Sand Run Baptist church had 23 Black and 55 white members. Notable founders of the church included Chichester Matthews, William N. McCoy, William Montague, Lewis Webb, Cave Johnson, Andrew Brockman, Jeremiah Kirtley, Beverly R. Ward, William Gaines, Benjamin Mitchell, and a few others. Early in the church's history the congregation met at the homes of church members. The church constructed their first building and subsequent cemetery near Sand Run stream around 1820. In 1823, the church baptized their first Black (non-charter) member, Brother Kreey. Over time, the church building had been updated and the cemetery grew in size. In 1954, they demolished the old church and constructed a new one. The congregation is still active today.²⁴

Antebellum Slavery in Boone County (1815-1842)

Records from 1810 show that nearly one-third of all Boone County families owned their workers; however, only about three out of ten families actually had slaves.²⁵ During this time, approximately forty percent of farms throughout the county had enslaved African Americans, and it was more common for larger farms to have more slaves. John Watts owned 20 of his workers, the largest total among those who owned their workers. William Hamilton and Cave Johnson each owned 16 while Edmund Garnett owned 14 workers. John Aloway, John Craig, William Riddell, and John Terrell owned 13; while John Jones, Hannah Parker, Malen Rafferty, and John Ryle each owned 11.²⁶

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

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During the Antebellum years, white slaveholders equivocated the worth of enslaved African Americans as a value similar to “20-acres of ‘good’ land or a full complement of livestock”.²⁷ In Boone County, African American enslaved people were expected to stay on their farms unless otherwise told. This was especially difficult for enslaved families who were split up from loved ones and sold to (or inherited by) others on nearby farms. In cases like that of the enslaved couple Coah and Winny, who were enslaved on two different Boone County farms belonging to James Dinsmore and his uncle, Silas Dinsmore, respectively, enslaved people would turn to religion to be able to see their relatives. The fact that the Dinsmore family chose to separate Winny and Coah despite knowing they were married shows that white enslavers prioritized the material success of their farms over the recognition of African American family ties. It is likely that other slaveholders did as the Dinsmores did: separating families as a means of economizing the cost of purchasing entire families for their workforce. This leads to the hypothesis that Boone County slaveholding was done generationally (only families could accumulate wealth from the employment of slave labor over a long time) and at a small scale relative to other farming operations in the Deep South. Some Boone County slaveholding families who had only one or two enslaved people would have them work as domestic servants, gardeners, drivers, or laborers for small businesses.²⁸ At a time when multiple tasks were demanded of workers, this labor-economic environment required African Americans to have or acquire numerous skills to demonstrate their value. While having varied skills was known to provide opportunities for free Black workers, after the Civil War, it was likely that during time of enslavement, having to learn new skills to support white landowners would cause undue stress to the enslaved worker.

The Underground Railroad in Boone County (1842-1862)

Since the nineteenth century, the term “Underground Railroad,” has been used to describe the complex network of secret escape routes and hiding places that were used by enslaved people and those who aided in their escape (often abolitionists) to ‘free states’ seeking freedom. The Underground Railroad became active in the borderlands of Northern Kentucky as early as the 1840s. Its existence would soon begin to test the bonds of communities (and their residents) on both sides of the Ohio River.²⁹

Over the next few decades, the amount of enslaved African Americans in Boone County held steady but peaked by 1840, with 2,183 slaves out of a total population of 10,034 individuals.³⁰ In 1850, there were 2,104 slaves for every 9,044 white people in Boone County.³¹ Around this time, Boone County was ranked 39th out of 100 counties in Kentucky for the most enslaved people. It contrasts with Jefferson County (seat: Louisville) and Fayette County (seat: Lexington) each of which had over 10,000 slaves.³²

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³⁰ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1840. United States Census Records.

³¹ United States. Census Bureau, Population Statistics, 1850. United States Census Records.

³² Tanner, Paul. *Slavery in Boone County, Kentucky and Its Aftermath* (Frankfort KY: 1986), 5.

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By 1860, these numbers had decreased to 1,745 enslaved people for every 9,373 white people in the county. Leading up to the Civil War, roughly 18% of the population of Boone County was an enslaved Black person. The number of “Free colored” persons remained low in the county with only 27 free Blacks in 1840 and 48 in 1860.³³

The proximity of the Ohio River served not only as a travel route to locales near and far, but also as a symbol of a way of life completely different from that in Boone County. Ohio and Indiana were free states, despite both offering varying degrees of welcome to Black people. Some of the enslaved crossed successfully into their new statuses as free people; others had to try two, even three times until attaining freedom.³⁴ Many of the known examples of freedom seeking on the Underground Railroad from Boone County reference African Americans fleeing to Rising Sun, Indiana and Cincinnati, Ohio. Below are three significant stories of freedom seeking along the Ohio River; histories that are tied to Boone County including the stories of Escape of the 28, Margaret Garner, and Samuel Berkshire.

Escape of the 28

The story of the Escape of the 28 begins in Petersburg, in Boone Co., Kentucky in April 1853 when John Fairfield, a white man, helped a group of enslaved people from the area cross the Ohio River into Cincinnati and continue on to Canada in search of freedom.³⁵

In Cincinnati, Fairfield went to his friend, John Hatfield, an African American barber, steamboat steward, a deacon of Zion Baptist church, and the leader of Cincinnati’s Vigilance Committee assisted those fleeing slavery. John Hatfield, a black barber and steamboat steward who led Cincinnati’s Vigilance Committee, aided Fairfield in hiding the slaves. The two men, along with Levi Coffin and the Vigilance Committee, formed a plan to help the group escape to Canada. The fugitives were taken from their hiding places in buggies and joined a funeral procession, making their way towards Wesleyan Cemetery in Cumminsville. There they would take Colerain Pike until they reached College Hill, where white abolitionist families would hide and shelter them.³⁶

The journey to freedom was not without challenges. The group traveled in three covered wagons, drawn by two horses each, and were pursued by slave catchers from Boone County. The slave catchers offered a reward of \$9,000 for anyone who captured the group and \$1,000 for information on their location.³⁷ The group finally reached Canada, where they found freedom. This history highlights the risks and dangers of escaping enslavement in Boone County, Kentucky and the importance of the Underground Railroad in aiding enslaved people in their escape. The story also emphasizes the bravery and courage of those who helped the slaves in their journey to freedom, including free African American John Hatfield,

³⁵ Porter, Diana and Betty Ann Smiddy. “Escape of the 28” (Hamilton Avenue Road to Freedom Project).

³⁵ Porter, Diana and Betty Ann Smiddy. “Escape of the 28” (Hamilton Avenue Road to Freedom Project).

³⁵ Porter, Diana and Betty Ann Smiddy. “Escape of the 28” (Hamilton Avenue Road to Freedom Project).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

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as well as John Fairfield and Levi Coffin and the white abolitionist families in College Hill and beyond.³⁸

Margaret Garner

Margaret Garner's story begins in 1856, six years after the Fugitive Slave Act was enacted, when she, a pregnant woman, her husband (Robert), and four children (Thomas, Mary, Samuel, and Cilla), fled the Marshall Plantation in Richwood, Kentucky in an attempt to escape enslavement.³⁹ They crossed the frozen ⁴⁰Ohio River on foot and eventually made it to her free cousin's home in Cincinnati.

Unfortunately the location was compromised due to the number of inquiries the Garner's had to make to find the house. Because the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act gave slaveholders legal rights to recapture runaway slaves, law enforcement issued a warrant for the arrest of the Garner's. In a tragic turn of events, when the officers arrived, instead of allowing them to recapture her children (who would ultimately be returned to a life of enslavement) Margaret murdered her two year old child and tried to kill her other children to avoid their return to slavery.⁴¹ She did not want them to endure the same terrible horrors she experienced. Margaret's story well characterizes the dehumanizing nature of enslavement because she felt that it wouldn't be until death that her children would get the freedom they deserved.

Samuel Berkshire

Perhaps the most relevant example of enslaved African Americans seeking freedom in Rising Sun, Indiana and Cincinnati, Ohio (respectively) is that of Samuel Berkshire. Prior to 1833, Samuel Berkshire (born c.1797), his wife Frances, and their six children were enslaved in Boone County. In 1833, Samuel was manumitted (freed) by Joseph Hawkins, a slaveholder belonging to Middle Creek Baptist Church.⁴² After gaining his freedom, Samuel bought 100-acres in Boone County, which was quite unusual for an African American man during that time, particularly because purchasing that much land was so costly. By 1836, Samuel had set up shop as a cooper in Rising Sun and soon started putting in ads in newspapers and city directories.⁴³ Somehow, Samuel managed to dedicate his life to being an Underground Railroad conductor in Rising Sun, a career much riskier to African Americans than whites due to fear of abuse or death if they were caught.

Indiana was not an enslavement state, and its community of Rising Sun, located just across the Ohio River from Rabbit Hash, Kentucky, had become an active location for freedom seekers prior to 1850. In

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Taylor, Nikki Marie. *Driven Towards Madness: The Fugitive Slave Margaret Garner and Tragedy on the Ohio*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016), 24.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 30-38.

⁴¹ Ibid., 40-46.

⁴² Delaney, Hillary. "Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky." The Berkshire and Hawkins families of Boone County and Rising Sun: An Underground Railroad Borderlands Story November 03, 2020.

⁴⁵ Tanner, Paul. *Slavery in Boone County, Kentucky and Its Aftermath* (Frankfort KY: 1986), 6.

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1851, Indiana's constitution made it illegal for any free people of color to move into the state and settle as permanent residents, curtailing some incentive to look to that direction as a route to freedom. While this did not stop Samuel, his family, and other locals helping African Americans escape slavery, the law made it harder to operate as an Underground Railroad conductor. Nonetheless, after the Civil War, Rising Sun once again was seen as a place that African Americans could settle peacefully, as evidenced by the many free Black families who permanently moved to Rising Sun during the Reconstruction era, including formerly enslaved people at the Dinsmore farm like Sally Taylor who relocated there with her daughter Angeline during the 1870s.⁴⁴

Boone County Farmsteads

By 1850, Kentucky had the third highest total population and third highest number of enslavers of all 15 states engaged in legal slavery.⁴⁵ Due to the relatively small number of "owned workers" per enslaver, Kentucky had the ninth highest number of owned workers.⁴⁶ Census records from 1850 reported that there were 1615 families and 982 farms in Boone County.⁴⁷ Thirty-percent of the County's families owned at least one worker, compared to the 40% of farmers who owned a worker.⁴⁸ These owned workers were enslaved African Americans who were often brought to Boone County by the family that enslaved them during a migration to Kentucky from another state. Enslaved African American men on Boone County farms typically worked in the fields raising crops like tobacco, feed corn, wheat, hay, grapes, and orchard fruits. While some women worked out in the fields, it was more common for them to do domestic work in and around the main house.

The increasing numbers of the younger "mulatto" population in the 1850 U.S. Census' "slave age" schedules could suggest that many enslaved African American women bore children whose fathers were Caucasian, with 18.6% of children under the age of four having been considered "mulatto".⁴⁹ This was a time when Boone County, as a whole, had very few "free Blacks" and enslaved women had no rights (or voice).⁵⁰ As such, it is likely that there were cases in Boone County where "mulatto" children were forcibly fathered by an enslaved woman's white male enslaver (or his son). However, it is important to note that back in 1850, the U.S. Census enumerated almost anyone with a lighter tone of skin as mulatto, which may also suggest that not just Caucasian, but also Native American generational ancestry may exist, meaning that their mixed lineage could go back a number of generations.

⁴⁵ Tanner, Paul. *Slavery in Boone County, Kentucky and Its Aftermath* (Frankfort KY: 1986), 6.

⁴⁵ Tanner, Paul. *Slavery in Boone County, Kentucky and Its Aftermath* (Frankfort KY: 1986), 6.

⁴⁷ United States. Census Bureau, Agricultural Schedule, 1850. United States Census Records.

⁴⁷ United States. Census Bureau, Agricultural Schedule, 1850. United States Census Records.

⁴⁸ Tanner, Paul. *Slavery in Boone County, Kentucky and Its Aftermath* (Frankfort KY: 1986), 7.

⁴⁹ Jackson, Eric R. *The Underground Railroad Emerges in Southwest Ohio and Kentucky: A Historiography Essay of the Movement* (Perspectives in History Vol. XIX, 2003-2004), 8.

⁵² Ibid.

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There were myriad white slave owning families in Boone County in 1850. The person who owned the most enslaved people was Cave Kirtley, with 19. Samuel Arnold, Jos. C. Hughes, and Benjamin Stephens each owned 17 of their workers. Nancy Dudgeon and William Murphy owned 16 workers each. And finally, Ephraim Blankenkemper, Chiles Coleman, John H. Crawford, Henry J. James, John Piatt, and John Stephens each owned 15.⁵¹ In *Slavery in Boone County, Kentucky (and Its Aftermath)*, author Paul Tanner, who has synthesized a great deal of U.S. Census data on regional enslavement, indicates that the majority of enslaved people owned by both Samuel Arnold and Jos. C. Hughes were “mulatto”. Because they have a significant amount more “mulatto” slaves than the other enslavers, their involvement (or that of their male children) is conspicuous and begs the question of whether these men and/or their sons were reenforcing their socioeconomic position by forcibly fathering children with the African American women they had enslaved (perhaps even in an effort to prevent future escape).

Overall, the labor costs of farming during the 19th century in Boone County contributed to farms shrinking in size. One common reason for this was split-inheritances; where farmland would be split among younger relatives (often the children of a loved one) after older relatives passed away. Furthermore, once land was split up, farms with smaller acreages were likely to be sold to wealthier farmers who bought adjacent farmland to increase the size of their farms. By 1880, the average farm size in Boone County was 121-acres, and by 1890 it had dropped to 99-acres.⁵²

Farming on a smaller scale (on plots of less than fifty acres) was found predominantly in the more hilly reaches of the county above the floodplain of the Ohio River.⁵³ These farms were typified by a dependence upon the major crops of tobacco, hay, and corn; most livestock kept on these farms served domestic use. Whether before the Civil War or afterward, the African American farm worker in Boone County would have been confronted with a tense work climate, with constant expectations by the farm’s owner to increase his or her output, as more profits were demanded on smaller acreages.

Boone County During the Civil War (1862 - 1865)

The Civil war was fought between 1861-1865 where the United States of America divided themselves into the Confederate states and the Union in 1860. This conflict was primarily over the long standing disagreement between the two parties over the legality of slavery and whether or not the institution should remain in our United county. Boone County’s members participated in the Civil War for different reasons. Boone County provided soldiers to both sides. According to historic preservationist Margo Warminski, Northern Kentucky remained neutral to the conflict.⁵⁴ Per the United States (U.S.) Colored

⁵² Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁰ “Violence Against African Americans.” Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky. Boone County Public Library, June 2,

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Troops Military Service Records, 1861-1865, there were African Americans from Boone County that served in the Civil War. A number of enslaved African Americans from Boone County joined the 117th Regiment of the U.S. Colored Infantry including Issac Sanders, who had been enslaved at the Dinsmore farm. The 117th Regiment of the U.S. Colored Infantry was organized out of Covington, Kentucky in 1864 and sent to fight in the Petersburg-Richmond Campaign that ended in March, 1865. The infantry was then sent to Brownsville (Tex.) where they were mustered out August 10, 1867.⁵⁵

Locally, there were a few skirmishes that took place between 1862 and 1863, these occurred due to Confederate scouting missions in an attempt to take Cincinnati in September 1862, while preparations were being made for said attack General Heth received word that General Bragg could not spare any men to help him hold Cincinnati due to a Union attack where he was stationed. This caused them to swiftly move to the center of Kentucky rather than advancing north into Cincinnati.⁵⁶ During wartime, widows and spinsters successfully operated large farmsteads while keeping families together. When the men returned home from war they re-immersed themselves in their communities and for the most part, put aside their animosity toward their enemy combatants, and became fellow neighbors, church-goers, and friends again.⁵⁷ The Civil War was one of the bloodiest wars in our nation's history, with just four years of conflict. The war ended when the rebellious states yielded and slavery was abolished.⁵⁸

Post-Civil War in Boone County

Reconstruction was the period in the United States directly following the end of the Civil War; it is considered to take place between 1865-1877. This period was a major point in United States history as it was a massive shift from the ways that society had been organized for a century before. The Reconstruction period was meant to rebuild society that needed to organize itself without slave labor and establish new laws in the formerly Confederate states that established as well as protected the newly freed black population's legal rights. Immediately after the Civil War, Boone County saw one of the highest rates of out-migration of African Americans, with 45 percent leaving Boone County. Nearly 800 African-Americans left Boone County after the Civil War, many of those that stayed became tenant farmers and very few owned their own farms, and the remaining became artisans who built houses and barns in the country.⁵⁹ Many historians consider Reconstruction to have been a failure in the former

2021.

⁶⁰ "Violence Against African Americans." Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky. Boone County Public Library, June 2,

2021.

⁶⁰ "Violence Against African Americans." Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky. Boone County Public Library, June 2,

2021.

⁶⁰ "Violence Against African Americans." Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky. Boone County Public Library, June 2,

2021.

⁶⁰ "Violence Against African Americans." Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky. Boone County Public Library, June 2,

2021.

⁶⁰ "Violence Against African Americans." Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky. Boone County Public Library, June 2,

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Confederate states and Border states, as their economy, which was largely based on labor of enslaved people, did not rebound as quickly as the economies in their northern counterparts. At least two factors, the lagging economy and the national government awarding African Americans full citizenship, led many white southerners to find ways to regain their antebellum power. Many laws passed immediately after the Civil War, to raise the status of African Americans, were disregarded by the local population, who soon passed discriminatory laws to re-assert power, and often turned to violence and other extra-legal methods to accomplish their goals.

Reconstruction Era (1865 - 1877)

While the Civil War had ended and the Emancipation Proclamation was enacted, there were still those that fought the new direction and legislation the country was taking. Some of those actions were of a violent nature and possibly some, if not all of, the reason for significant out-migration in the area for the years following the Civil War. In December 1865 there was a habeas corpus lawsuit brought against two enslavers who still kept their families enslaved. In 1866, families who were affiliated with the Union Army, be it themselves, by descent, or marriage; were in many cases driven out of the county lines, “beaten in a most cruel and inhumane manner”, homes and belongings destroyed and those ejected were threatened to never return to the county. The victims of said attacks were Jordan Finney (and his two daughters), Wiliam and Eliza Sleet, James and Mary Alexander, Carter Utz, and Simon Adams - who was taken from his home by Benjamin Norman and three others. In 1867, Amanda Bishop, who was formerly enslaved in Boone County, was taken from her place of employment in Covington and beaten with a club, because “she worked for a Union man and refused to work for the Rebel who beat her.” Amanda’s father, Henry Bishop, previously had sued for the freedom of his family.⁶⁰

Lynchings became a common form of this retaliatory violence from June 1876 until September 11, 1885. These vigilante killings occurred after the victim had been arrested for one crime or another. The incarcerated Black man would be taken from the jail, denying them a fair trial. Instead, the assailants would execute the man. The Victims were as follows: Smith Williams (1876), Joe Payne (1876), Parker Mayo (1877), Theodore Daniels (1879), Charles Smith (1880), Charles Dickerson (1884), and William Scales (1885).

Industrialization (1876 - 1900)

The Industrial Revolution was a hard shift in America from an agricultural based society to one based in industry. The prominent ethnic minorities at the close of the nineteenth century—Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and African Americans—faced new possibilities in earning wages. They were employed by new industries, which amounted to “new forms of exploitation and oppression” with the

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⁶⁰ “Violence Against African Americans.” Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky. Boone County Public Library, June 2, 2021.

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promise of “new opportunities to rise in the social structure and succeed in America.”⁶¹ A large part of the industrialization was aided by inventions that enabled workers to produce much faster and more effectively, such as in the iron and steel industries, and related industries, such as railroads. But African American partook very little in the fortunes being made by these new processes. Patents played a critically important role in driving innovation, but with few African Americans having access to education, inventive African Americans were forced to rely on a literate party to apply for a patent. Even in the instance where a creative African American had a literate partner to aid them in the patent application process, their contributions to the innovation were often left off of the application, even though research concludes that “from the period after the end of the Civil War to the start of World War II, northern Black people were among the most inventive people in world history.”⁶²

Progressive Era (1900 - 1929)

While the Progressive Era in the United States is commonly known as the period between 1900 and 1929, in Kentucky it is more commonly dated as being between the years of 1890 to 1920. American lawmakers sought to make the work world safer and less pernicious to workers. Advocates of these laws pushed for better conditions for workers—their living situations and places of work, regulating big business, cleaning up the environment.⁶³ A few African Americans benefited from these workplace and social improvements. However, because much of the work and living places for African Americans were physically separate from those of whites, the improvements for whites and Blacks occurred disproportionately. Education was the focus of many uplift campaigns, and few African American schools received the benefit of these funding efforts. If the African American communities, workplaces, and schools were separate, they could be passed over by investments that were made in these places. The unsafe conditions that led to the progressive legislation often remained in place for African Americans.

In Boone County and the surrounding areas, there is plenty of evidence that African Americans had difficulty being accepted as equal citizens. On July 11th, 1903, three newspaper articles published incidents of ill treatment of African Americans. One involved over 200 refugees from Evansville that arrived in Rising Sun, Indiana. These people endured threats upon their housing and their lives, many of whom arrived injured from their negotiations with the white population. In another article were details of a four-day riot in Evansville that preceded the large migration of refugees. Also in the paper that same day, an article from Linton, Indiana reported that eight African Americans were chased out of the town

⁶⁵ Goldenberg , Army Col. Richard. “African-American Troops Fought to Fight in World War I.” U.S. Department of Defense. U.S. Department of Defense, February 1, 2018.

⁶⁵ Goldenberg , Army Col. Richard. “African-American Troops Fought to Fight in World War I.” U.S. Department of Defense. U.S. Department of Defense, February 1, 2018.

⁶⁵ Goldenberg , Army Col. Richard. “African-American Troops Fought to Fight in World War I.” U.S. Department of Defense. U.S. Department of Defense, February 1, 2018.

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for attempting to work at the Elks Club preparing and serving a meal. It was also noted in this article that no African Americans had been able to keep residence in Linton for the previous seven years, in retaliation for a group of African Americans, from Terre Haute, Indiana, being strikebreakers for the local coal company.⁶⁴

In one arena, African Americans proved to be of equal value: in combat. In 1914, War started in Europe. America entered the war late, but sent more than 380,000 African Americans to serve in the Army during the war, about 200,000 of which were sent to Europe. About half of those deployed to Europe were the backbone of the infrastructure in support of front line battles.⁶⁵

The *Harlem Hellfighters* were the members of the African American 369th infantry regiment originating from Kentucky, which supplied 14,236 men for the Army⁶⁶. Their name was bestowed on them by the Germans for their ferociousness in battle. This group had many victories and in their more than six months of combat, and never lost a trench or foot of ground to the enemy or a single man to capture. Two of the unit received the Medal of Honor and many others earned a Distinguished Service Cross. The French even gave the Croix de Guerre, their highest medal of valor to the entire unit. Yet, despite these commendations, the unit was still belittled by their white American comrades and commanders. However the French welcomed them and many remained in France after their deployment.⁶⁷ This war helped push the country's culture in a new direction. After the war's end in 1918, waves of activism for equal rights, among both African Americans and women, gained public attention.⁶⁸ These protests indicate that the international regard for the contributions of African Americans did not dislodge the local prejudice that prevailed against Black people in places such as Boone County.

Great Depression (1929 - 1939)

“When the Great Depression began, the United States was the only industrialized country in the world without some form of unemployment insurance or social security. In 1935, Congress passed the Social Security Act, which for the first time provided Americans with unemployment, disability and pensions for old age.”⁶⁹ One-fifth of those receiving federal aid during this period were African Americans living in the rural south, the main cause of this was that farm and domestic workers were not included in the

⁶⁵ Goldenberg , Army Col. Richard. “African-American Troops Fought to Fight in World War I.” U.S. Department of Defense. U.S. Department of Defense, February 1, 2018.

⁶⁵ Goldenberg , Army Col. Richard. “African-American Troops Fought to Fight in World War I.” U.S. Department of Defense. U.S. Department of Defense, February 1, 2018.

⁶⁶ “African Americans in the Boone County Recorder during WWI .” Boone County, KY: Boone County Recorder, Microfilm, Boone County Public Library, n.d.

⁶⁷ Aug, Lisa. “Honoring Black WWI Soldiers of Kentucky.” Columbia Magazine, February 3, 2017.

⁶⁸ “U.S. Participation in the Great War (World War I).” Progressive Era to New Era, 1900-1929 : U.S. history primary source timeline. The Library of Congress. Accessed March 13, 2023.

⁶⁹ “Great Depression: Black Thursday, Facts & Effects.” History Vault. History Channel, October 29, 2009.

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Social Security Act of 1935, therefore employers in those fields could pay less with little to no repercussions. Since these types of aid were administered locally there was ample discrimination in the programs and those African Americans who were eligible on paper were often denied.⁷⁰

World War II (1939 - 1945)

In 1941, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, American forces quickly began a mass mobilization effort with millions of men and women deploying overseas to serve.⁷¹ More than one million of those men and women were African American. This was the first time that African Americans were allowed to fight in combat roles, but racism was still at play, while African Americans were drafted into the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps they were all assigned to segregated units because it was believed that they were not as capable as their white counterparts. To add to the insult, their units were often assigned white officers from the south to command them, knowing of their racial prejudices. Despite these affronts, these units stood out amongst the military's best, breaking records for number of planes shot down by one fighter group, and achieving commendations for their courage and gallantry.⁷² "The achievements of African Americans during the war provided valuable evidence that civil rights activists used in their demands for equality. Though President Harry S. Truman ordered the US military to desegregate entirely in 1948, African Americans' fight for equal civil rights was far from over."⁷³

There were 33 African Americans documented as serving in the war from Boone County, all of which were in their later years of life, being born anywhere from 1877 until 1895.⁷⁴ While these individuals may have been an active part of the community, had knowledge of, or been familiar with those who had ties to the Dinsmore estate, none of them are documented as having a direct relation to the property.

Post World War II and "the American Dream" (1945 - 1968)

In the years following World War II, American society became more affluent, sparking the idea of the "American Dream" for the white portion of the United States. However, upon returning home from War, minorities were excluded from the Dream's full meaning. African Americans, Hispanic Americans and women spent the years following the war pushing to win their full freedoms and equal rights.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ "World War II: Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945 ." U.S. history primary source timeline. The Library of Congress. Accessed March 13, 2023.

⁷² Malloryk. "African Americans Fought for Freedom at Home and Abroad during World War II." The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. The National World War II Museum, January 31, 2020.

⁷³ Malloryk. "African Americans Fought for Freedom at Home and Abroad during World War II." The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. The National World War II Museum, January 31, 2020.

⁷⁴ "African Americans from Boone County in World War II." Chronicles of Boone County. Boone County Public Library, 2022.

⁷⁵ "Overview : the Post War United States, 1945-1968 ." U.S. history primary source timeline : classroom materials at the

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Within this post-war period is a Civil Rights Era, which gives evidence that the experience for African Americans still did not consist of full citizenship rights. This era begins with the May 17, 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court decision. This case overturned the “separate but equal” ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).⁷⁶ Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, groups like Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Martin Luther King, Jr., the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) lead the nation in a series of non-violent demonstrations to challenge injustice, racial segregation, and discrimination.⁷⁷ These protests included boycotts against segregated buses and public areas, and included the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Freedom Rides, and Sit-ins. There was a largely opposed movement to desegregate educational opportunities, that can be seen with the students of Little Rock Nine. Marches were also utilized to display their peaceful disagreement with society, with examples such as the March on Selma, Alabama. Overtime, other groups broke away from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s notion of peaceful protesting and the Watts and Detroit riots are examples of this shift to violence, leaving behind property damage and physical harm to the citizens of the community, including protestors.

During the Civil Rights movement, many of the peaceful protests put on by African Americans were met with violence by those who felt that their rights would be threatened if everyone were to be treated equally and the Civil Rights Movement were to succeed. Because of the relative absence of African Americans in the United States government, among police officers, within government offices, and even local branches of the United States military, force was used to maintain the status quo. Groups of African Americans, such as the Black Panthers, rose up with their own violent response. While the Black Panthers are often known for their violent opposition to racial inequities, they also launched numerous civic programs that strengthened the African American community. These included such services as tuberculosis testing, legal aid, transportation assistance, and free shoes to disadvantaged people. The programs confronted the economic problems of African Americans, which the party argued the civil rights reforms did not do enough to address.⁷⁸

Library of Congress. The Library of Congress. Accessed March 13, 2023.

⁷⁶ Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Timeline of the American Civil Rights Movement.” Encyclopædia Britannica.

Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed March 9, 2023.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

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Civil Rights Movement in Cincinnati, Ohio and Northern Kentucky

June 13, 1967 Riots broke out in the Avondale area of Cincinnati, Ohio. Calls of looting, rioting, and fires were reported and within minutes half of the police cruisers were dispatched to the area and the national guard was notified. While the start of the riots was unknown it was believed to be due to the arrest of Peter Frankes who was protesting the arrest of Postel Lasky, an African American who was accused of the murder of Barbara Bowman. Lasky's case was on appeal and local businessmen pledged to take the case to the White House. The arrest of Frankes was seen as police harassment when the police began breaking up the crowd gathering to witness the arrest. Protesters continued to gather several nights against police orders and indicated that if the police moved on them they would continue to return. Many citizens in the area were unaware of what was happening or the cause and were alarmed by the police in full riot gear, especially as a 54 year old African American was quoted as saying "They said, 'It couldn't happen in Cincinnati.' Yeah? Well, it's happening." Shortly after, fire alarms began going off in various parts of the area and the police Captain noted that he witnessed African Americans smashing storefronts and looting before "It just mushroomed out of everywhere". Several injuries occurred before the scene dispersed.⁷⁹

Rosella French Porterfield was an educator and activist born in 1918 in Owensboro, KY. "Though the options for an African American girl were few in rural Kentucky at the time, Rosella French defied the odds, dedicating her life to learning and sharing that knowledge with others."⁸⁰ Her interest in learning started very early on. She attended Western High School in Owensboro and was named Valedictorian of her class, then continued on to earn a BA in English, graduating magna cum laude from Kentucky State College. In the 1940s she gained her first teaching job at the all-black Dunbar School in Erlanger and went on to become lead teacher at the new all-black Wilkins High School. At the time of the Supreme Court's ruling on Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, Porterfield was already showing her advocacy for the Civil Rights Movement, by refusing to cater to segregation of busing. She continued her push for desegregation in Kentucky by becoming a voice of change resulting in the Erlanger-Elsmere school district becoming one of the earliest to desegregate in Kentucky.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DINSMORE FARMSTEAD

Dinsmore Family History

In 1839, James Dinsmore purchased farmland in Boone County and moved his family there from Bayou Black, Louisiana. James was drawn to the area, convinced by his uncle Silas Dinsmoor, who had scouted out this area of northern Kentucky and sent letters touting how "arcadian" the land was, noting it was "just fit for shepherds."⁸¹ By this time, Silas had settled in Boone County after spending quite a bit

⁷⁹ "Racial Violence Flares in Avondale Section." *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 13, 1967, no.65 edition.

⁸⁰ "Rosella French Porterfield." *Chronicles of Boone County Kentucky*. Boone County Public Library, November 3, 2020.

⁸⁴ "Jamison Buy." 1841. Dinsmore Family Collection. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

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of his adult life working throughout the South. Silas was also known to have enslaved workers, like Winny, an African American enslaved woman whom he had with him while living in Mississippi, during most of the 1810s and 1820s. In 1826, Silas sold Winny to James Dinsmore to pay his (Silas') debts.

James and his wife Martha decided to move north to Kentucky. They had three daughters – Isabella, Julia and Susan. Susan died at age 15 in a boating accident, but Isabella married and had two daughters, Martha (Patty) and Sarah (Sally); while Julia, never married. When James' uncle Silas died in 1847, he was buried atop a hill overlooking the Dinsmore Estate — this was the first known burial at what would become the Dinsmore family cemetery. When he was alive, Silas kept a diary. His diary entries between October 1842 and December 1844 provide a glimpse into the inner workings of his farm and the arrival of James Dinsmore, which he calls his “cousin” in the journals. Silas' farm, which was also located in Boone County, was dependent on the labor of enslaved people. Silas was listed as having 10 enslaved African Americans in the 1840 US Census Slave Schedule, but was determined to have only one in his 1844 tax assessment.⁸²

Enslaved African Americans at the Dinsmore Farm (1842-1865)

The tax record for 1841 indicated James Dinsmore owned 264 acres of land in Boone County valued at \$2640 plus another 110-acres valued at \$510. The 1841 tax record indicates no slaves were yet present at the farm.

In a letter to his wife dated January 10, 1842, James indicated that he “shall bring up Coah and probably Sally and her family” but “left it to their own choice to go or be hired here,” referring to all the enslaved African Americans he had at the Bayou Black plantation in Louisiana. A month later, in another letter to Martha, James informed her that house servant Nancy said she was willing to go to Kentucky and never return. Per the letters, Nancy recognized that if she stayed in Louisiana, she would have to work out in the field and could no longer remain a house servant because the new property owner had their own enslaved workers for the home.⁸³

By 1842, James constructed a homestead on his Boone County farm, where he would grow grapes, willow trees for basket making, and raise sheep. In that same year, James also brought up many of the same enslaved African Americans, including Winny from Bayou Black, Louisiana to his new farmstead in Kentucky. Winny was immediately sent to work at Silas's farm and Jamison, who (according to City of New Orleans and State of Louisiana legal documents) was purchased by James Dinsmore on April 1, 1841 per legal documents that also stated the following;

⁸⁴ “Jamison Buy.” 1841. Dinsmore Family Collection. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

⁸⁴ “Jamison Buy.” 1841. Dinsmore Family Collection. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

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“Who declared, that for and in consideration of the sum Five hundred Dollars cash in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged. He does by these Presents, grant, bargain, transfer, sell, convey, and deliver unto James Dinsmore of the Parish of Terrebonne in this State now in this City. Present and accepting, and who hereby acknowledges possession there of a certain negro man slave named Jamison or James aged about forty years, acquired by purchase of Isiah O. Ham...”⁸⁴

The full list of African Americans that James Dinsmore specifically brought to his Dinsmore Homestead included;⁸⁵

1. Coah (c. 1790-1862)
2. Nancy McGruder (c. 1810-1906)
3. Sally Taylor (c. 1800-1889)
4. Issac Sanders (c. 1830-1889)
5. John Taylor (child, b. 1830)
6. Daniel Taylor (child, b. 1833)
7. David Taylor (child, c. 1838-1860s)
8. Nannette Taylor (child, c. 1835-1870)
9. Judy Taylor (child, b. 1840)
10. Angeline (child, b. 1842)
11. Jamison/Jim (unknown)

By 1844, the farm grew to 650 acres, was valued at \$6,500, and had the same 11 enslaved people that James brought with him to Kentucky. Tax records indicate that Silas Dinsmore owed 130 acres of land in 1847, the same year he died. Silas did not bequeath any land or enslaved people to James. In 1850, James Dinsmore’s farm was valued at \$7,700 for 832-acres. The Dinsmore farm was particularly active from the late-1840s through the Civil War. During these years the workers would raise sheep, willow trees, grapes, and orchards to sell wool, wood, vinegar, and cider. The farm also grew and sold beans, peaches, potatoes, cabbages, and wheat. According to the 1850 Slave Schedule, James Dinsmore had nine enslaved African American workers. Slave schedules would categorize enslaved people in a dehumanizing fashion – by age, birth year and sex only. In an effort to break down the barriers to archival U.S. Census data, we’ve done our best to match the following descriptions with the enslaved African American individuals we believe the data is referencing.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ “Jamison Buy.” 1841. Dinsmore Family Collection. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

⁸⁸ *James Dinsmore Financial Records, 1856*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation.

⁸⁸ *James Dinsmore Financial Records, 1856*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation.

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1. Age: 58; born c. 1792 (male) ~ *maybe Coah*
2. Age: 42; born c. 1808 (female) ~ *maybe Nancy McGruder*
3. Age: 40; born c. 1810 (female) ~ *maybe Sally Taylor*
4. Age: 19; born c. 1831 (male) ~ *maybe John Taylor*
5. Age: 14; born c. 1836 (male) ~ *maybe Issac Sanders*
6. Age: 16; born c. 1834 (male) ~ *maybe Daniel Taylor*
7. Age: 14; born c. 1836 (female) ~ *maybe Nannette Taylor*
8. Age: 11; born c. 1839 (female) ~ *maybe Judy Taylor*
9. Age: 8; born c. 1842 (male) ~ *David Taylor*

Within a decade the farm size grew modestly, to 870-acres; valued at \$18,400. It wasn't until around 1862 that tax records show large cattle at the Dinsmore Farm — seven horses and 20 cows. During the 1850s and early-1860s, tax records show the number of enslaved people on the farm decreased from nine in 1850 to seven in 1854; however, by 1863, the County tax record on the farm lists 17 enslaved people 'belonging;' to James Dinsmore.⁸⁷ These enslaved people were;

1. Nancy McGruder
2. Sally Taylor
3. Issac Sanders
4. David Taylor
5. Eliza Hawkins
6. Jilson Hawkins
7. Nannie Graves
8. Ellen Simpson
9. Judy Jones
10. William Jones (child)
11. Willie Graves (child)
12. Phoebe Simpson (child)
13. Lizzie (young Eliza) Hawkins (child)
14. Mary Hawkins (child)
15. Jenny Graves (child, b. 1863)

On occasion, based on his own family's household expenses, James Dinsmore would pay for items for certain enslaved individuals. One such item was "coat for Coah" that he paid \$3.00 for in 1856.⁸⁸ When

⁸⁷ *James Dinsmore Financial Records, 1856.* Dinsmore Homestead Foundation.

⁸⁸ *James Dinsmore Financial Records, 1856.* Dinsmore Homestead Foundation.

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Coah died in 1860, James Dinsmore purchased a shroud for his body to be buried in.⁸⁹ Household expenses from 1862 note that a coat was purchased for Isaac. In March 1863, James “paid for negro clothing &c. by Isabella” and in August of the same year, he paid \$5.00 “for Jilson’s girls”.⁹⁰ While the expenditures James made on his workers prior to 1865 could be thought of as business expenses, the fact that he paid for young Eliza Hawkins funeral expenses in 1870 may show an expansion of his willingness to accord one formerly owned worker a new status. Since she was no longer considered enslaved, James was not technically responsible for her interment. Records show that he paid \$8.00 for Eliza’s coffin and \$7.00 for the services in Rising Sun.⁹¹ The fact that he would have voluntarily paid for Eliza’s funeral services in Rising Sun suggests that his regard for her went beyond the mere commercial.

Free African Americans at the Dinsmore Farm (1865-1968)

While it is not clear what happened to all the enslaved people after the Civil War, there is evidence that some, not all, stayed on the Dinsmore farm as paid laborers. For example, Julia mentions in her journals that Jilson Hawkins was hired by her father in 1868 to help tend to the farm.⁹² After her father died, Julia hired additional workers, including Charlie Rockwell. According to Julia Dinsmore’s journal entry on December 29, 1868, “one month after date I promised to pay Jilson Hawkins \$110.76 cents for value received, being for his labor up to this day”. It does not seem that James paid Jilson the full amount because Julia, on occasion, mentions paying Jilson “on papa’s note”.⁹³ It wasn’t that James gave Jilson cash, but rather wrote Jilson a note which he would then proceed to save until he presented it to Julia for payment. It would seem that Jilson would save the note, essentially have his wages withheld, until he needed the money.

Julia’s journals also provide insight on what actually happened to Nancy McGruder, who left the farm after the end of the Civil War in 1865. Even though she left the Dinsmore farm peacefully, Middle Creek Baptist Church (the church she belonged to) excluded her from their membership, exclaiming that she was a “runaway” and, as such, committed an act of defiance.⁹⁴ However, in Julia’s journals, she normalizes Nancy’s move to Oxford after the Civil War, and does not characterize her as a “runaway.” Reflective of their correspondence and her actions, Julia did not view Nancy’s departure the same way the church did. In fact, after Nancy left for Oxford, Ohio in 1865, Julia would do her best to provide Nancy with the support she needed, which often included monetary assistance. Their letters remain a good example of the kinship they had, which seems a rather uncommon bond between a former enslaver and the African American person they once considered “property.”⁹⁵ Based on their written

⁸⁹ *Dinsmore Family Household Expenses, 1861-1864*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *James Dinsmore Financial Records, 1870*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation.

⁹⁶ *Dinsmore Family Tax Assessments 1841-1899*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

⁹⁶ *Dinsmore Family Tax Assessments 1841-1899*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

⁹⁶ *Dinsmore Family Tax Assessments 1841-1899*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

⁹⁶ *Dinsmore Family Tax Assessments 1841-1899*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

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correspondence, though, their relationship, while pleasant in spirit, seems rather transactional. In many other cases where Julia interacts with formerly enslaved African Americans from the Dinsmore farm, she provides money bills and such, which, perhaps leads to more questions than answers as to the reasons behind her actions. Was it out of remorse and guilt? Did she think she was being kind? Or, maybe was paying them money they were owed from work they did while “free”?

When James died in 1872, his farm was 371-acres in size and valued at \$5,565. Among other things, he had owned 34 sheep, 43 goats, a double barrel shotgun, six shooter colt revolvers, eight barrels of wine, six barrels of cider, and debt of \$1,279.59 due to Richard Moreland.⁹⁶ As the oldest living heir, James’ daughter Julia inherited the family estate after her father died. Around 1866, after the death of her sister Isabella, Julia’s nieces, Patty and Sally, came to live with her at the Dinsmore farm.⁹⁷ According to the U.S. Census, by 1880, Julia owned 371 acres of land valued at \$9275, five horses valued at \$225, 16 cows at \$600, gold and silver at \$100, 42 hogs, 2400 pounds of tobacco, 40 tons of hay, 1200 bushels of corn, and 147 bushels of wheat.

In his will, James stated, “I will and bequeath to my old and faithful servants, Jilson Hawkins and his wife Eliza, a comfortable subsistence out of my estate during their lives when too old to gain a livelihood by their labor.⁹⁸ He also willed that his “colored servant Sallie” [Sally] be under the” care and protection” of his daughter Julia upon his death.⁹⁹ Even though James brought enslaved African Americans to work at the Dinsmore Farm prior to the Civil War, it would seem that his sentiments towards African American workers changed by the time he wrote his will in 1867, evidenced by the fact that he insisted that Jilson and Eliza Hawkins had money to live off of when they became too old to work for their wages and that requested that Sally be put under Julia’s care after he died. However, while the phrasing used in James’ will could suggest sentiments of genuine care for African Americans, there still lies undertones of a power struggle between white landowners who were formerly slaveholders and ‘free’ Black workers even after the Civil War. As such, it is likely that the sense of responsibility the Dinsmore’s had for African Americans workers at the farm may have come across as patronizing and pretentious to Black workers, particularly if they felt their relationship with the family was forced and/or mostly transactional in nature.

African Americans on the Dinsmore Farm Post-Civil War

Julia’s relationship with formerly enslaved people, like Nancy McGruder, Jilson Hawkins, and their families, offers present-day researchers with details about the African American experience in Boone County during the Reconstruction Era.¹⁰⁰ In May 1873, Julia indicates that she and Jilson took two formerly enslaved African Americans, Sally Taylor and her daughter, Angeline Sanders to Rising Sun, Indiana. While Julia’s journals mention a few members of the Hawkins family, she commonly reflects

⁹⁶ *Dinsmore Family Tax Assessments 1841-1899*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

⁹⁷ “Julia Dinsmore’s Journal,” 1873-1922. Dinsmore Family Collection. MS 1016.

⁹⁸ *James Dinsmore’s Last Will in Testament, August 4, 1867*. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Oral History interview with Linda Thomas (descendant of Harry Roseberry). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 20, 2023.

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on her interactions as an employer to Jilson who would do everything from mowing grass, cutting weeds, and manicuring the graveyard site to selling and fetching buggies, carriages, and goods. According to journal entries from 1874 and after, Jilson moved to Rising Sun with his wife and children. By March of that year, Hawkins got a mortgage. It would seem that Julia paid some of the cost in an effort to pay “on papa’s note”.¹⁰¹ This is money that Jilson had James save for him but was paid out by Julia after her father’s passing.

After James died, Julia found herself needing help around the farmstead. In 1881 she hired George Roseberry as a seasonal worker. George and his wife Mary Jane Sebree and had a son named Harry who would continue to work on the Dinsmore farm for the majority of his adult life. Harry would do everything from maintenance work and gardening, to tending to livestock. In 1890, Julia Dinsmore’s 371 acres of land was valued at \$10,000. She had \$11,500 in the bank/trust, 70 livestock (sheep, horses, and cows) 3,000 pounds of tobacco, 21 acres of wheat, two acres of corn, 10 acres of meadow, and 15 acres of woodlands. Harry, who lived on the farm permanently by 1894, lived in a house that Julia had built for him. Harry’s presence on the farm would become increasingly important to the history of the Dinsmore farm during the 20th century. After Harry married Sussie Riley in 1904, additions were built onto the building they resided in. The couple had four daughters; Cleo, Anna Myrtle, Ruby, and Faye.¹⁰² In an oral history with Linda Thomas, Cleo’s granddaughter and Harry’s great-granddaughter, it became clear just how much Harry loved working and living on the Dinsmore farm. “He didn’t know anything other than farm life”, Linda said. Linda also mentioned that Harry’s wife Sussie apparently hated living at the Dinsmore farm.¹⁰³ She worked for Julia in the main house and they did not seem to get along. Sometime after 1910, Sussie committed suicide in 1941 by hanging herself, and Harry continued to raise his four daughters at the farm after his wife died.¹⁰⁴

During the 1900s, Julia’s land value, size, and output had remained steady but she had acquired farming implements such as carriages and wagons and had no cash in the bank.¹⁰⁵ Dinsmore farm continued to be run by Julia until she died in 1926, and began to decline during the 1940s.

After Julia’s death, various housekeepers and tenants oversaw day-to-day management including Harry who continued to work on the farm until 1968. Harry’s great-granddaughter, Linda, reflected back to the time she spent with her great-grandfather before he passed away in 1970 and remembered that the reason Harry left the Dinsmore Farm was because his daughter Ruby didn’t want him to stay at the farm

¹⁰² Oral History interview with Linda Thomas (descendant of Harry Roseberry). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 20, 2023.

¹⁰² Oral History interview with Linda Thomas (descendant of Harry Roseberry). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 20, 2023.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Oral History interview with Linda Thomas (descendant of Harry Roseberry). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 20, 2023.

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by himself. Linda said that, “by that time Harry was the only one left on the farm”.¹⁰⁶ While Harry Roseberry, a Boone County African American and tenant of the Dinsmore Estate, does not occupy pages of history books, his actions were significant in that they eased local racism. From 1881 to the 1960s he garnered a relationship with Julia Dinsmore that became symbolic to the area, as it was free of racial antagonism. Julia trusted him with being custodian of the property and even aided in his education after the school he attended burned down.¹⁰⁷ While the family owned slaves, Julia’s view of her workers would have been shaped by local understandings. And, based on the way Julia wrote about both enslaved and free African Americans, she did have a tendency to sound racist in both journals and letters. But as she aged, she did gain empathy and understanding about African-Americans.¹⁰⁸ Harry never became a nationally recognized writer nor led any civil rights' marches. Instead his long work at the Dinsmore Farm enabled this home and its contents to remain intact so that future generations could see a faithful representation of Boone County heritage. His lifelong efforts to take care of this piece of local history also contributed to the blurring of racial lines and allowed people of differing heritages to recognize the value of a man's word and his work; not just his color.¹⁰⁹

The Dinsmore Homestead Foundation purchased a section of the farm c. 1986. During the late-1990s, they purchased the remainder of the property and began operating it as a living history museum.

Biographies of Enslaved African Americans at the Dinsmore Homestead

Winnie (unknown-c. 1850) was enslaved by Silas since the 1810s when they were located in Mississippi; however, he lost her at an auction for his debts in 1826 where she was purchased by James Dinsmore (his nephew). Winnie came with James Dinsmore from Louisiana to Boone County where he hired her out to Silas Dinsmore to work as his “house servant”. While in Louisiana she married Coah, which James said in his journals was the driving reason he purchased Coah in the early 1840s. Silas Dinsmore lived a mile away from James. Winnie and Coah became members at Middle Creek Baptist Church soon after arriving in Boone County, which allowed them to see each other on Sundays.

Coah (c. 1790-1862) was born in West Africa and enslaved by the Minor family in Mississippi, he was sent to work on James Dinmore’s Bayou Black plantation in Louisiana. When James Dinsmore relocated to Boone County Kentucky in 1842 he purchased Coah from the Minor Family. Coah joined the Middle Creek Baptist Church in 1842 and was an active part of the parish along with his wife Winnie. Coah worked as an enslaved laborer for the Dinsmore family tackling various tasks including; logging, sawing, putting up fences, along with working, preparing, and planting the garden, vineyard, and orchard. While most of his labor was unpaid, he was occasionally paid for logging, depending on

¹⁰⁶ Oral History interview with Linda Thomas (descendant of Harry Roseberry). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 20, 2023.

¹⁰⁷ File 1067. Unknown letter, Oct 28th 1897. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation.

¹⁰⁸ Oral History interview with Cathy Collopy (Dinsmore Homestead Foundation). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 21, 2023.

¹¹⁰ Oral History interview with Cathy Collopy (Dinsmore Homestead Foundation). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 21, 2023.

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who purchased the logs, and for peeling osier willows. Similar to other enslaved people on the property, Coah raised pigs and chickens, and had his own vegetable garden that the Dinsmores and their workers would make purchases from. It is believed that he and his wife (Winny) had some amount of closeness to James Dinsmore due to James burying them in the family cemetery and writing kind inscriptions for their gravestones, even though he never followed through with the carvings.

Jamison “Jim” (c. 1801-1850) was purchased by James Dinsmore at the age of 40 years old for \$500 in New Orleans. While there is not a lot known about his life, we do know that James brought him to Kentucky around 1842. It is believed that he died sometime after 1850 because he was no longer mentioned in any documentation after that year.

Sally Taylor (c. 1800-1889) was likely born in Mississippi and was taken to the Bayou Black plantation in Louisiana. All except her two oldest sons Adam and Henry made the move to Kentucky with her. It is noted in Dinsmore Homestead documentation that it is likely that Jamison was her husband and father of her children due to the timeframe of his purchase. The following are assumed to have been the children of Sally Taylor; Adam (b. 1830), Henry (b. 1831), John (b. 1833), Daniel (b. 1834), Nannette (b. 1835), David (b. 1836), Judy b. (1838), Angeline (b. 1840), Jane (b. 1842), and Susan (b. 1862).

Adam Taylor (c. 1830-unknown) was the eldest son of Sally Taylor and he was one of the first enslaved people to be sent to James Dinsmore’s Missouri plantation with two of his brothers. After the Civil War he remained on the Bayou Black plantation.

Henry Taylor does not have much documentation about him, except that he was one of the two sons of Sally Taylor that did not make the move to Kentucky like the majority of his family. However, there is an enslaved person in Julia’s journal that is referred to as “Black Henry” who may be a nickname for Henry Taylor as they would’ve been about the same age.

John Taylor (c. 1830-unknown) was the youngest enslaved person the Dinsmore family owned when they relocated in 1842. He is the oldest son of Sally Taylor that made the move to Kentucky. When James purchased a farm in Missouri, John was the first enslaved person that was moved there along with his brothers Daniel and Adam, but there is no known record of him returning post Civil War as there is for his brothers.

Daniel Taylor was born in Louisiana and was a son of Sally Taylor. He was moved to the Dinsmore Farm in Missouri sometime in the 1850s, definitely by 1858. While most of the enslaved people were brought to Kentucky during the Civil War, Daniel and Adam remained in Missouri. After their freedom from slavery, Adam and Daniel did visit a Dinsmore cousin in Kansas City in 1871 and it was recorded that Daniel was married and while they may not have been doing very well financially he was a church

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leader and Sunday school teacher.

Nannette Taylor, daughter of Sally Taylor, born in Louisiana. While she was brought to Kentucky in 1842 she was not mentioned in the Dinsmore records other than in 1859 and 1863, which entries were made in Julia's journal. She married Jim Graham/Graves in around 1860, who was owned by a neighbor to the Dinsmores. The pair had at seven documented children: William, Jenny, Maggie, Jane, Judy, Julia, and Lizzie.

David Taylor was born in Louisiana and was a son of Sally Taylor. He was involved in the September 1864 draft but James Dinsmore paid the \$200 bounty and he was let go. He did later serve in the US Navy during the Civil War. He returned to the farm in 1865 for about a year and in 1868 he married Laura Ann Terrill. There are references in Julia's journal that indicate that he died prior to 1874. He may have been the one Julia was referring to as "Slave Dave" in her journal.

Judy Taylor, also known as Julia, was the daughter of Sally Taylor born in Louisiana. She left the farm several years after the civil war and moved to Rising Sun where she married Milton Jones and had three children. Her two younger sisters lived with her in Rising Sun. Later, Judy moved to Ohio and joined a Quaker parish.

Jane Taylor (b. 1842) was born at the time that the Dinsmore family was being relocated, it is not clear if she was born in Kentucky or Louisiana. She was the daughter of Sally Taylor. She was very young over the course of the war and therefore did not get mentioned much in documentation. After the war she relocated to Rising Sun with her sister Judy.

Susan Payne "Aunt Susan" (b. 1862) is assumed to be the youngest daughter of Sally Taylor, especially as there is no mention to her prior to the Civil War. It is possible that her full name may be Susan Payne. She worked for Julia in the 1890s when she was living in Indiana.

Isaac Sanders (c. 1830-1889) was born in Louisiana and brought to Kentucky as a young boy. It is possible that he was a son of Sally Taylor, but chose a different last name. Isaac was described as "light-skinned" indicating that if he was the son of Sally Taylor, he did not share the same father as her other children. In 1852 Isaac ran for freedom and was captured by Marcellus McNeely, James Dinsmore had to pay him \$68 for his return. He worked on the farm during the Civil War until he joined the Union Army. After the war he moved to Rising Sun and married Amanda Crisler. The couple had six children, only two of which survived childhood.

Isaac Sanders Jr. was the son of Isaac Sanders who came to work on the farm in the 1890s saying that he was kicked out of the house in Rising Sun. He was described by Patty Selmes as "lame" and she even

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purchased him a brace. Later in life he got married and moved to Cincinnati. He kept in touch with the descendants of Dinsmore until his death.

Angeline Beatty (b. 1842) is likely the daughter of Sally Taylor. After the Civil War, she married Lewis Beatty of Bourbon County and moved to Rising Sun. She worked on and off for Julia Dinsmore during the 1870s and 1880s. She had three children who made it to adulthood and two who died as children.

Lewis Beatty was from Bourbon County and the husband of Angeline (Taylor) Beatty.

John Beatty was the son of Lewis and Angeline Beatty. He had a relationship with John and Patty Selmes where they would continue to correspond via mail.

John Rogers was the farm's Black Preacher, listed by James Dinsmore in the early 1860s as a "free Black".

Nancy McGruder (c. 1810-1906) was born in Virginia and purchased by James Dinsmore in Mississippi in 1825. She was taken to the Bayou Black plantation in Louisiana and then to Boone County in 1842. While in Louisiana she married Vincent, but he was not owned by the Dinsmore family so he remained in the south. Once in Kentucky she joined the Middle Creek Baptist Church and she was married to "Rice's Noah", who later died, according to Silas Dinsmoor. In 1865, after the Civil War, she left for Oxford, Ohio but was seen as a fleeing runaway to her church and was promptly excluded for leaving the state, even though the war was over. She visited Julia Dinsmore occasionally in the 1870s and she returned permanently in 1879 because she was unable to continue to financially support herself. Dinsmore Homestead records state that Nancy may have had some relation to Jilson Hawkins as they remained together even after the war. She remained at the Dinsmore farm until she died in 1906.

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Photo 1: Nancy Mcgruder in the doorway of the Cooks Cabin, courtesy of The Dinsmore Homestead Foundation

Jilson Hawkins was born in Virginia and was possibly Nancy Mcgruder's brother. He was purchased in 1825 by James Dinsmore in Mississippi and taken to Louisiana in 1829 where he stayed after the Dinsmore family relocated to Kentucky. In 1857 he was relocated to Missouri and in 1863 he was in Boone County with his family where he began working for the Dinsmore family. After the Civil War, he was able to purchase a house in Rising Sun in 1874.

Eliza Hawkins when she was 12 years old in 1831 when she was purchased by James Dinsmore in Virginia for \$375. She was married to Jilson in Louisiana and stayed there until he was moved to the Missouri farm by 1857. The couple and their three daughters, and granddaughter moved to Kentucky in 1863. It is unclear as to whether Eliza was the daughter of Jilson and Eliza or Ellen and Peter. In 1879 Jilson and Eliza had a son named William. Eliza Hawkins (the mother) died in Rising Sun and is buried there.

Mary & Eliza Hawkins were two young girls who lived in the Hawkins household after arriving in Kentucky in 1863. Eliza died in the late 1860s and is buried in the family graveyard. In the early years of her journal, Julia Dinsmore wrote about sending Mary to school and paying for it. Mary died in 1873 and is also buried in the family graveyard. Jilson Hawkins was buried next to them when he died.

Ellen Hawkins Simpson Graves was born in Louisiana. She married Peter Simpson and had a daughter named Phoebe. Ellen and Phoebe accompanied Jilson and Eliza to the Dinsmore farm in Missouri in the 1850s and by 1863 they were all in Kentucky. In 1870 she married Jim Graves and became step-mother to and helped raise Jim and Nannette's seven children; the couple had one daughter of their own.

Phoebe Simpson Everson was born in Louisiana in 1855, she is the daughter of Peter and Ellen Simpson. Phoebe was taken to Missouri with Ellen and then on to Kentucky. She moved to Rising Sun and married John Dumont/Ebberson/Everson in 1880 and had 5 children.

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George Roseberry was the tenant on a neighboring farm and served as a seasonal worker for Julia around 1881, but he really only worked on the farm for two days every couple of years.

He was married to Mary Jane Sebree and was the father of Harry Roseberry, who would end up being a life-long tenant and worker on the Dinsmore farm.

Harry Roseberry (c. 1881 - 1970) is the child of George and Mary Jane Sebree Roseberry. Harry first came to work at Dinsmore in 1894 and married Sussie Riley in 1904. His work at the farm included interior and exterior maintenance at the Disnmore family home, gardening, and slaughtering pigs, like his father had done. Harry continued to work on the farm even after Julia Disnmore's passing, and was employed at the farm until the 1960s.

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Photo 2: Harry Roseberry harvesting tobacco, courtesy of Linda Thomas Dinsmore Homestead Foundation



Photo 3: Harry Roseberry outside the slave/cook's cabin, courtesy of



Photo 4: Harry standing in front of the Garage and Smokehouse, photo courtesy of Dinsmore Homestead Foundation



Photo 5: Harry, Sussie, and Cleo Roseberry, photo courtesy of Dinsmore Homestead Foundation

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Sussie Riley Roseberry was native to Boone County and married Harry Roseberry on November 23, 1904, a fencing and farming tenant at the Dinsmore Homestead with whom she had four daughters. She



was also a tenant at the Dinsmore farm and died there, having committed suicide in 1941.



Photo 6: Family photo of Sussie Roseberry, courtesy of Linda Thomas
courtesy of Linda Thomas

Photo 7: Harry and Susie Roseberry's daughters and granddaughter,

There are several other individuals noted in record, however, the details about their lives are not readily documented. These individuals are as follows: Judy Jones, William Jones, Willie Graves, Jenny Graves,

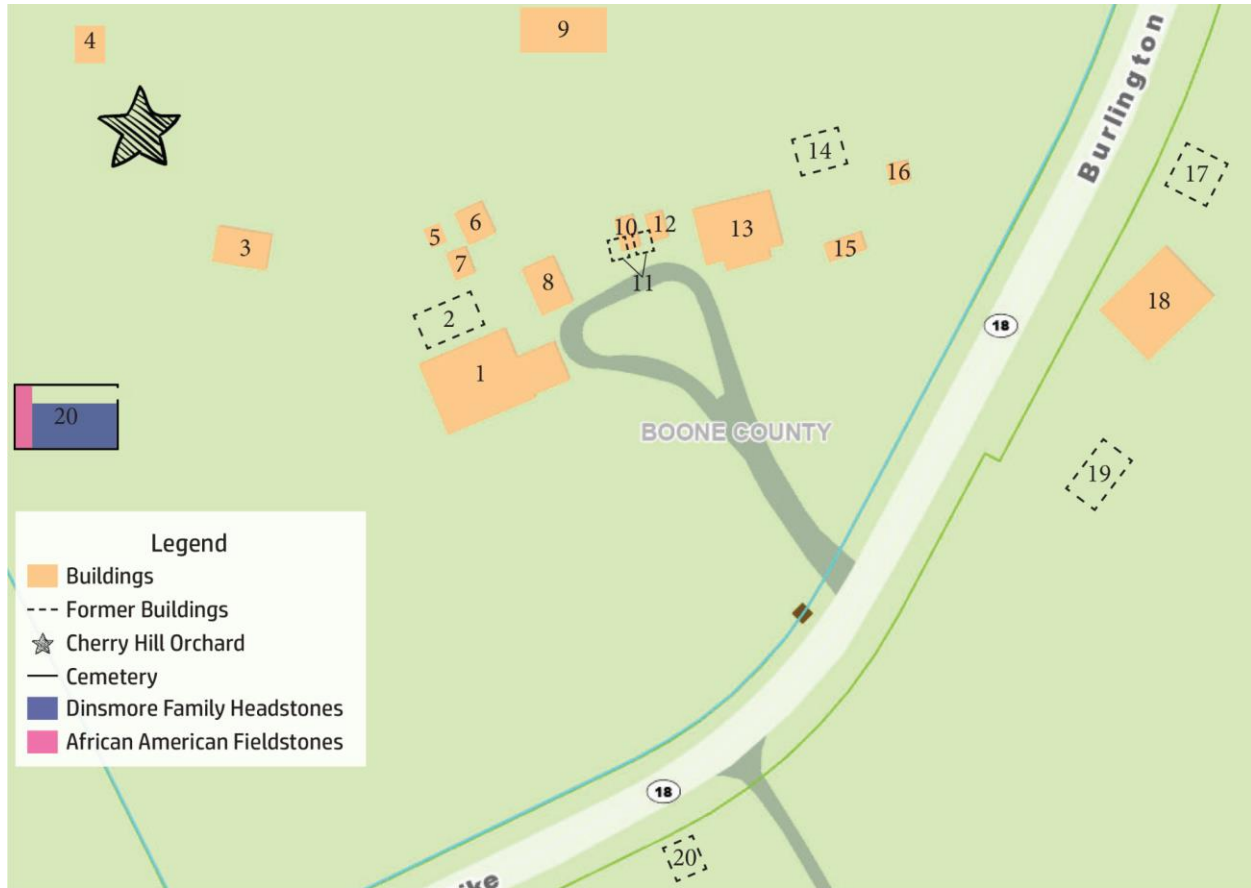
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Young Sally Taylor, Charlie Cummins, and David Garnett.

BUILDINGS ON DINSMORE FARM WHERE AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVED



Key

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 1 Main House (c. 1842) | 8 Slave Cabin / Cook House (bef. 1839) | 15 Hen House (c. 1930s) |
| 2 Former Site of Original Kitchen | 9 Horse Barn | 16 Chicken Coop (c. 1930s) |
| 3 Wine House (c. 1870) | 10 Garage | 17 Former Site of Basket Shop |
| 4 Tenant Cabin | 11 Former Site of Log Cabins (c. 1830) | 18 Tobacco Barn (c. 1900) |
| 5 Privy (c. 1930) | 12 Smokehouse (c. 1842/43) | 19 Former Site of Sheep Barn |
| 6 Ice House (c. 1840) | 13 Roseberry House (c. 1890) | 20 Former Site of Tenant House |
| 7 Carriage House (c. 1850s) | 14 Former Site of Nancy's Cabin | 21 Cemetery (c. 1867) |

Figure 1: Site Map of Dinsmore Homestead

Main House (c. 1842)

The main house was accessible by most of the enslaved and African American tenants on the property, however they were restricted to the entrance in the kitchen, which was an addition to the home in 1916.

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This addition included a Kitchen, indoor restrooms, and a larger furnace.¹¹⁰ The women who worked within the house would have had access to all of the rooms for the purpose of cleaning and starting fires, while other more trusted servants would have aided the family more closely with their daily routines. The cooks would have likely had little access outside of the kitchen, though some households utilized the lower level kitchen staff to tend to the fires. The men were only allowed to enter through the door to the sick room (formerly the office). The office was converted into a sick room in 1895 and remained its primary use until 1926. There is a window here that used to be a door and it was the only door the enslaved males and tenants were allowed to enter the home through.¹¹¹ It is not likely that the African American men on property would have been allowed access to other areas of the house, outside of the rare occasions of maintenance being needed, or large pieces of furniture being moved.



Photo 8: Main House Front Facade



Photo 9: Main House Right Facade



Photo 10: Main House in Context

Outbuildings

The outbuildings on the Dinsmore farm are still original to this day and they are very well maintained. There are 14 buildings on the property, if you count the silo, in addition to the main house. The buildings that were not intentionally torn down, during the operation of the property as a farm, were mainly utilized by the enslaved African Americans, day laborers and tenants who lived and worked on the property. The different outbuildings supported the various activities that took place on the farm — from growing and harvesting crops to basket weaving and raising livestock. As a life-long farmer, James Dinsmore adapted to innovative farming techniques for the time period by purchasing machinery and farming implements to ensure they were producing, harvesting, and efficiently maintaining all of the goods they produced.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Oral History interview with Cathy Collopy (Dinsmore Homestead Foundation). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 21, 2023.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹³ “Julia Dinsmore’s Journal,” 1873-1922. Dinsmore Family Collection. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

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Wine House (c. 1870)

The house used to store wine from the vineyard towards the horse barn.



Photo 11: Wine House Front Facade



Photo 12: Wine House Side Facade

Privy (c. 1930)

This building was understandably a very frequented building as it was the only restroom located outside the main house. It was also used by the Dinsmore family prior to the installation of indoor plumbing in the main house c. 1900. This building is believed to have fallen down and was rebuilt by Harry Roseberry in the 1930s.



Photo 13: Privy

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Ice House (c. 1840)

This building was used to store ice underground for the Dinsmore main house.



Photo 14: Ice House

Carriage House (c. 1850s)

The carriage house was the building where the riding carriage and horses were stored that would be used for transportation purposes.



Photo 15: Carriage House

Slave Cabin / Cook House (bef. 1839)

This building had dual purposes as Sally Taylor was believed to reside in the Cook House (kitchen) because she did most of the cooking for the Dinsmores. Occasionally, Sally Taylor came back post Civil War to help Julia and look in on her daughters, she would stay in this cabin. Angeline Beatty did the same when she was helping Julia, as would most other African American female helpers. There were other cabins similar to this one much further away from the main house that hired farm hands would live in, these were the tenant houses and there were about five families that would have resided in them.

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Photo 16: Slave Cabin /Cook House Front Facade

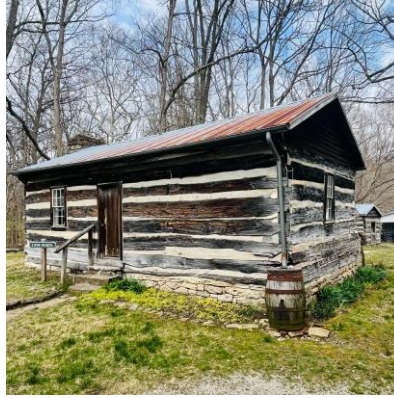


Photo 17: Slave Cabin /Cook House Rear



Photo 18: Slave Cabin /Cook House Right Facade

Log Cabins (c. 1830)

There were once two cabins next to the main house, we know this from a photograph and that Silas Dinsmore noted that there were two cabins on the property in 1838 when the property was purchased by his nephew. It is believed that one was a wash house and the other may have been a wool house based on the spinning wheel found. The one that is still standing today is believed after recent research to have been a slave cabin. It was believed that due to the size of this cabin that Sally Taylor lived here with her seven children.



Photo 19: Historic Photograph of the wash house and possible wool house, courtesy of The Dinsmore Homestead Foundation

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Horse Barn

The large wood horse barn is located far in the rear of the property and is in poor condition. This building currently stores farming implements and is extremely dilapidated.



Photo 20: Horse Barn



Photo 21: Horse Barn

Smokehouse (c. 1842/43)

This v-notch joined log building was believed to have been used to smoke meat and potatoes. According to Julia's Journals, white workers on the farm maintained the building between the 1880s and 1900s.¹¹³



Photo 22: Smoke House Left Perspective



Photo 23: Horse Barn Right Perspective

Roseberry House (c. 1890)

The home was "built c. 1890-1900 as a hog slaughtering shed, this is a one-story structure of rectangular footprint."¹¹⁴ At some point between its construction and 1910 the foundation was rebuilt as concrete and the walls were enclosed with vertical wood siding and clapboard and the use changed to the farm office and remained that way until 1910, when Julia Dinsmore moved Harry Roseberry into it and he began to make it a home by building additions.¹¹⁵ Once complete Harry kept the home well maintained throughout his life, raising four daughters and four granddaughters in this home. This home became a gathering point for his family and other African Americans in the community. Today it is an honest look

¹¹³ "Julia Dinsmore's Journal," 1873-1922. Dinsmore Family Collection. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

¹¹⁴ "Dinsmore House Boundary Increase" National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (KHC 91-1). Listed in 2005.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

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at what African American living as farm tenants looks like post civil war. Harry remained in this home until he left the property in 1968.



Photo 24: Roseberry House Front Facade



Photo 25: Roseberry House Right Perspective



Photo 26: Roseberry House Left Perspective

Chicken Coop & Hen House (c. 1930s)

There are two on the property that were believed to be built by Harry during the 1930s using the wood from the Basket Shop, a building formerly located on the Dinsmore property (across Burlington Pike). It would seem that Harry and his wife, Sussie, had chickens prior to constructing these buildings because Julia's journals indicate that she split the cost of the chickens, as well as the profit from them while she was still alive.



Photo 27: Chicken Coop



Photo 28: Hen House

Tobacco Barn (c. 1900)

The tobacco barn is now located across the street from the main house, as the road was a later addition dividing the property. Most of the production buildings for the Dinsmore farm ended up across the street; that was not there when the farm was running under Julia Dinsmore; it was added later. A little ways down from the tobacco barn was the basket shop that started in the 1850s by German immigrants from the Westphalia region of Germany. The tobacco barn was used to store one of the farm's major

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cash crops.¹¹⁶



Photo 29: Tobacco Barn

Additional buildings on the property include a corrugated metal shed and silo. Outside of the dates we believe they were built there is not much documentation on these structures.



Photo 30: Corrugated Metal Shed



Photo 31: Corrugated Metal Silo

¹¹⁶ "Dinsmore House Boundary Increase" National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (KHC 91-1). Listed in 2005.

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Dinsmore Cemetery

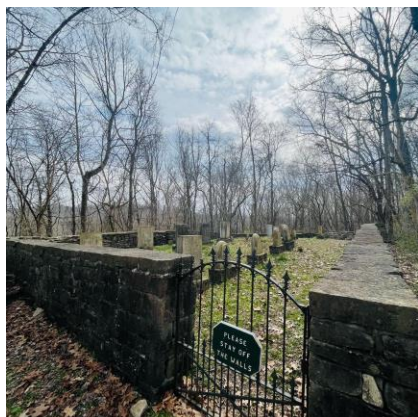


Photo 32: Cemetery Entrance



Photo 33: African American Fieldstones

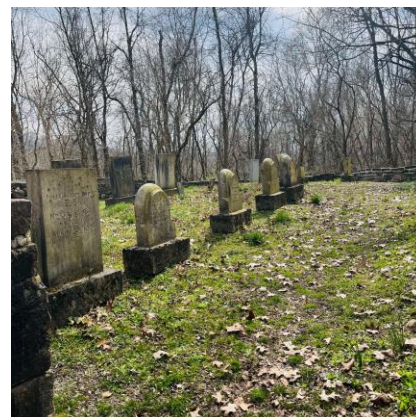


Photo 34: Dinsmore Family Headstones

The Dinsmore family Cemetery is a rectangular lot that sits atop a steep hill and is located a few hundred feet northwest of the main house. It became common in Kentucky (and throughout the nation) for pioneer families to bury deceased relatives on their home property. The practice continued with many families as a sign of affection or emotional connection, even when church and civic cemeteries began to offer other choices for where the dead could be laid to rest. Many white slaveholding families in Boone County had their own private cemetery lots, usually upon a hill nearby the main house. In some cases, these families would bury enslaved and/or free African American workers in their family cemeteries. One extant local cemetery that dates back to the 1800s is the family cemetery lot at the Duncan Farm (Resource # BE-79), a private family cemetery with known African American interments.¹¹⁷ The Duncan cemetery is recorded in the Boone County Cemetery and lists the names of 12 out of the sixteen people buried in the lot, however the documentation does not specify the names of the African American people known to be interred there. Historically, due to the socio-economic structure of burial hierarchy, African American were commonly interred in unmarked or mislabeled gravesites. Based on this information, it is plausible that the four people that were not mentioned by name on the Duncan Farm's Boone County Cemetery Register form were, in-fact, African American.

At the Dinsmore family cemetery, both relatives and (formerly) enslaved African Americans have been interred at the cemetery. The location of their burials, as well as the markings used to commemorate them and denote their gravesites, are vastly different — decorative headstones were erected for white people, while vernacular “fieldstones” were used to denote African American burials. Furthermore, the gravesites of white relatives are located closer to the main house and closest to the Ohio River, while African American burial sites are located on the northern edge of the cemetery lot. The only African

¹¹⁸ Dinsmore Family Collection. “Letters from Julia Farley Loving to Patty Selmes.” November 11, 1885; December 18, 1885; December 27, 1913; November 2, 1920; and November 26, 1920. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

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American in the cemetery with an engraved headstone is Julia Farley Loving, who never actually lived or worked at the Dinsmore Homestead. Instead, Julia Farley Loving was a servant for the Selmes family. According to letters between Julia Farley Loving to Patty F. Selmes the relationship Julia Farley Loving had with Isabella Selmes went beyond kinship.¹¹⁸ In fact, when Julia died, Martha Breasted brought her remains to the family cemetery to be buried after she passed away in 1950. According to the Dinsmore Homestead Foundation website, when Julia's coffin was brought to the Dinsmore property, the undertaker dropped her coffin at the end of the farmstead's driveway. Instead of driving it up to the Dinsmore Cemetery lot, the undertaker left it for others to carry up the steep hill to the cemetery.

The first documented burial in the family lot was Silas Dinsmore who died in 1847. Silas, along with all the white Dinsmore relatives who were buried after him, have engraved stone headstones. Although the gravesites of the enslaved African Americans and free Blacks buried in the cemetery are accompanied by wood "fieldstones", there are no notations that indicate who exactly is buried in that location. According to Cathy Collopy, the historian at the Dinsmore Homestead Foundation, it is likely that Winny and Coah were the two who were buried under the two large flat rocks at the northern edge of the cemetery.¹¹⁹ Freed African Americans buried in the cemetery (those who died after the Civil War) include Jilson Hawkins and his children Mary and Eliza, as well as Julia Farley Loving and Nancy McGruder. Most of their graves are marked by wood fieldstones—located between Coah and Winny's believed burial site (north) and the white Dinsmore relatives (south). The stone wall that surrounds the entire cemetery along with the metal entry gate were said to have been completed in the summer of 1867, "by local men that James Dinsmore hired to build the graveyard walls and gate."¹²⁰

Interpretation of Burial Locations and Fieldstones

The use of unworked fieldstone, to mark the grave of the Dinsmore family's workers, calls for an interpretation by us today. The lack of markings and remembrances on fieldstones suggest that less attention was put on the death of African Americans in terms of sentiment and effort, as contrasted to the feelings toward family members whose burials are marked with carved stones commemorating their passing. Being that the Dinsmore Cemetery is an antebellum private family burial ground, its long history of African American interments and the manner in which their gravesites are now identified reflects back to the mindset and traditions of the time. To contextualize this cemetery's mortuary landscape, it is important to recognize that the role of a private cemetery is to accommodate the burials of a select number of individuals over an extended period of time and serve as a place to commemorate

¹¹⁸ Dinsmore Family Collection. "Letters from Julia Farley Loving to Patty Selmes." November 11, 1885; December 18, 1885; December 27, 1913; November 2, 1920; and November 26, 1920. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1016.

¹¹⁹ Oral History interview with Cathy Collopy (Dinsmore Homestead Foundation). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, March 21, 2023.

¹²¹ Rainville, Lynn. "Social Memory and Plantation Burial Grounds, a Virginian Example." The African Diaspora Archaeology Network. March 2008.

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them in perpetuity. While not all private cemeteries used extravagant obelisks and/or headstones to mark and preserve the memory of those who passed, it was common for families who had the monetary means to erect a masonry grave marker to demarcate burials and represent the memory of a loved one.

Most existing literature on 19th century African American burials focuses on either the interpretation of an African American cemetery or the analysis of two disparate cemeteries that have interred Black and white people in two distinct cemeteries. The histories of these pre-and-post Civil War cemeteries differ from the Dinsmore because they specifically avoided burying African Americans people to whites. In those cases, the relationship between an enslaved person and the slaveholder is more divisive than what we've found at the Dinsmore Farm. In an article written in African Diaspora Archaeology Network newsletter on cemeteries in the Virginia Piedmont region, the author and cemetery historian, Lynn Rainville, found it was more common to come across two separate cemeteries on former slaveholding properties — one for the interment of enslaved people and another containing the gravesites of slaveholding family members.¹²¹ It would seem that because the Dinsmore family cemetery accommodated burials of enslaved and free African Americans within the same lot as white relatives, that the relationship between the Dinsmore family and African American workers like Coah, Winny, Nancy McGruder, and members of the Hawkins family was unique. The Dinsmore family chose to bury African Americans in the cemetery near their own loved ones when they were not mandated by law to do so, which suggests that the Dinsmore's felt a responsibility for Black workers even after death. Interestingly, according to Dinsmore Homestead Foundation records, James Dinsmore had written epitaphs for Coah and Winny on a small piece of paper that were never engraved on their fieldstones.¹²²

“In memory of Coah
a native of Africa
A good & faithful
servant who has
entered into the joy
of his Lord.”

“In memory of
Winny, wife of Coah
for many years a
kind & faithful
nurse, affectionately

¹²¹ Rainville, Lynn. “Social Memory and Plantation Burial Grounds, a Virginian Example.” The African Diaspora Archaeology Network. March 2008.

¹²² “Epitaphs for Coah & Winny,” unknown date. Dinsmore Family Collection. Dinsmore Homestead Foundation. MS 1018, f9.

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remembered by those
she served.”

Throughout Boone County, many people, like the Duncan’s, found themselves in the same position as the Dinsmore family, i.e., deciding what to do with a worker who lived on site and who died. How they responded to this moment would indicate the general and life-long regard that that family held toward African Americans, which forms some of the African American experience. Some white families would have turned the body over to the worker’s own family or church to bear the burden of burial. Some owners, during enslavement, might have found less humane options including burying multiple people in a single plot or, worse, a shallow grave with no marking. Collectively, these decisions form a record of the evolving regard given to African Americans in life and after death.

The ornate stone work, marking the passing of a Dinsmore family member, was meant to inform later generations of family members, who would not have had personal acquaintance with that member of the family, of the ancestor. Perhaps James, and later his daughter Julia, Dinsmore buried their workers in the family lot out of a sense of connection and sentiment, and that owner knew who was under the particular stone, but did not envision that the sentiment would extend to future generations of the family. Thus, that white family member would not have found the expense of a cut stone marker for that African American worker as necessary or appropriate, as having the same purpose as the cut stone markers had for family members. Being that the existing fieldstones and markings that help identify where African Americans are buried at the Dinsmore Cemetery are unadorned and sporadically placed, there is little evidence to determine if fieldstones are accurately placed. For example, during a fieldwork visit in November 2022, Cathy Collopy pointed out the two fieldstones (rocks) that are believed to be marking Coah and Winny’s gravesites and mentioned that it is not clear which rock corresponds to Coah’s grave and which represents Winny’s, but that the smaller rock was believed to indicate where Winny is buried.¹²³

In an effort to better understand the socio-economic hierarchy and racialized disparities of interments at the Dinsmore Cemetery, it is important to know who exactly is buried there. As such, the following is a compiled list of everyone known to be interred in the family cemetery lot, beginning with African Americans;

Northern Side: African-American Burials

In the family cemetery to the right of all of the family graves you will find the final resting place of the African Americans who lived and worked on the Dinsmore Farm. Their graves are marked with field-

¹²³ Oral History interview with Cathy Collopy (Dinsmore Homestead Foundation). Conducted by Deqah Hussein-Wetzel, November 30, 2022.

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stones. Some of these stones had notations of inscriptions that never were followed through on.¹²⁴

1. Julia Farley Loving (1857-1950) - Born Free in Virginia, living in St. Paul when she agreed to accompany Patty Selmes to the Dakota Territory to keep house. In this position she helped raise Isabella Selmes. The two had a strong bond and she was asked to follow her to New York City and help raise her children. Her grave is the only one for an African American that has an engraved headstone. She was "over six feet tall and fluent in French, she retired to California. When Martha Ferguson died, she requested to be cremated and to have her ashes placed in Julia Farley Loving's grave."¹²⁵



Photo 35: Julie Farley Loving caring for young Isabella

2. Nancy McGruder (ca. 1810-1906) - Born an enslaved person of the Minor family of Natchez. James purchased her in the 1820s and brought her to Kentucky. She fled slavery in 1865, but was reunited with the Dinsmore family in 1878 when she returned because she could no longer make a living. She remained on the farm until her death.

3. Winny (ca. unknown-1850) - An enslaved woman who was owned by Silas Dinsmoore since the 1810s, purchased by James in 1826, and came to Kentucky with James in the 1840s. While in Louisiana she married Coah. When they arrived in Boone County, she was sent to work for Silas Dinsmoor who lived a mile away from James. They both joined Middle Creek Baptist Church soon after arriving, which allowed them to see each other on Sundays. Winny is believed to be buried next to Coah at the Dinsmore Cemetery, under one of the two large flat rocks located on the north side of the cemetery lot.

4. Coah (ca. 1790-1862) - Born in Africa and sold into slavery as a boy after surviving the treacherous trip across the sea as part of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. In Louisiana, he was enslaved by the Minor family of Natchez but was sent to work at the Dinsmore plantation in Louisiana. James purchased Coah just before moving to Kentucky in 1842. Coah is said to have requested to be buried in

¹²⁴ National Park Service. *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. U.S. Department of the Interior.

¹²⁵ National Park Service. *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. U.S. Department of the Interior.

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a shroud and was buried next to his wife, Winny, both of whom were supposed to have had kind gravestone inscriptions written about them by James; however, he never followed through on those plans.

5. Jilson Hawkins (ca. 1810-1879) - Jilson was purchased by James Dinsmore from the Minor family. He is believed to have been married to Eliza.
6. Eliza (ca. 1855- 1870) - Hawkins child or grandchild
7. Mary (ca. 1866-1873) - Hawkins child or grandchild

Southern Side: Front Row

8. Julia Dinsmore (1833-1926) - Middle daughter of James and Martha Dinsmore. She inherited the farm when her father died in 1872.
9. Isabella Dinsmore Flandrau (1830-1867) - Oldest daughter of James and Martha Dinsmore. Isabella married her first cousin Charles Flandrau in their family home in 1859. They had two daughters who were born on the farm. Isabella died shortly after the birth of her 2nd child.
10. Martha Macomb Dinsmore (1797-1859) - Married James Dinsmore in May of 1829. Mother of Isabella, Julian and Susan Dinsmore.
11. Susan Dinsmore (1835-1851) - The youngest child of James and Martha, Susan died at the age of 15 in a boating accident on Lake Erie.
12. James Dinsmore (1790-1872) - Born in New Hampshire, he later moved south to Mississippi and on to Louisiana where he partnered with another property owner and became wealthy through the farming industry and slavery. He later relocated to Boone County and practiced scientific farming, bringing along a couple of his trusted slaves from Louisiana to start his own farmstead in Kentucky.
13. Mary Gordon Dinsmoor (1777-1854) - Wife of Silas Dinsmoor, Uncle to James Dinsmore.
14. Silas Dinsmoor (1766-1847) - A US Indian Agent from New Hampshire, who spent a decent portion of his life in the south. When his nephew James Dinsmore moved to Boone County he made the journey with him bringing along his slaves. One of which, Winny, was married to one of James' slaves, Coah. He purchased land about a mile away from James.
15. Mary Gordon Dinsmoor "Molly" (1849-1851) - Daughter of Thomas and Eugenia Wadsworth Dinsmoor. She passed before her second birthday due to the aftermath of a slight fall.
16. Catharine Goodrich (1831-1848) - A friend of the Dinsmore family who took ill upon her visit,

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causing her death. Since her body was not returned to her family in New York it is believed that cholera or another contagious disease was the cause of her death.

Southern Side: Back Row

17. Sarah Flandrau Cutcheon "Sally" (1866-1947) - Youngest daughter of Charles and Isabella Flandrau. She was born on the farm and raised by her aunt Julia Dinsmore, upon the death of her mother. After attending school she married Frank Cruceon and had a successful life, later inheriting the Dinsmore farm in 1926.
18. Franklin F.W.M. Cutcheon (1864-1936) - Husband of Sally Flandrau. He was a successful Corporate lawyer in New York City and had homes in Santa Barbara and Long Island.
19. Martha Flandrau Selmes "Patty" (1861- 1923) - Oldest daughter of Charles and Isabella Flandrau. She attended school in Cincinnati and at 21 married Tilden Selmes. The couple had one child, Isabella, before Tildens early death. After which she ran the ham business on the farm and drew the attention of Teddy Roosevelt and Gutzon Borglum.
20. Tilden R. Selmes (1853-1895) - A Missouri born Yale graduate who practiced law in St. Paul where he met and married Patty Flandrau. The couple relocated to Dakota Territory and it was there that they befriended Teddy Roosevelt.
21. Robert H. M. Ferguson (1867-1922) - Scottish born, Rough Rider, friend of the Roosevelt and Selmes families. He married Isabella Selmes in 1905 and three years later was diagnosed with tuberculosis before relocating to New Mexico with his family to unexpectedly outlive his diagnosis.
22. Robert Ferguson (1908-1980) & Frances Hand Ferguson (ca. 1907-1995) - More commonly known as 'Bob' was the son of Robert and Isabella Ferguson. Grew up in New Mexico and graduated from Yale with a law degree. In 1933, he married Frances Hand, and had 3 children.
23. Isabella Selmes Greenway King (1886-1953) - Born on the Dinsmore farm. Wife of Robert H.M. Ferguson, they had two children. She remarried Robert's friend, John Greenway in 1923 and had a son. After being widowed for a second time she opened the Arizona Inn and became Arizona's first Congresswoman. Later marrying Harry King.
24. John Campbell Greenway (1872-1926) - Born in Alabama and a Yale graduated engineer, Rough Rider and was a brevetted Brigadier General. He became the second husband of Isabella Selmes and died three years later after surgery.
25. John Selmes Greenway (1924-1995) - Son of John Campbell Greenway and Isabella Selmes Greenway. Attended Yale but left to enlist in WWII. Later he relocated to Tucson and graduated from

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the law program at the University of Arizona.

26. Martha Ferguson Breasted (1906-1994) - Daughter of Robert and Isabella Ferguson, born in New York and growing up in New Mexico she became very sociable and well-traveled. At 26 she married journalist Charles Breasted and had 4 children. She is responsible for Dinsmore Farm being turned into a museum.

Evaluation of the Significance of the Dinsmore Farm within the historic context “African American Experience in Boone County, Kentucky, 1842-1965”

This iteration of the Dinsmore Homestead NRHP begins with a robust historic context on the African American experience in Boone County before delving into historical significance of African Americans at the Dinsmore Farm. The historic context leads with the Civil War and continues through the Civil Rights Movement, though this is not because it is the most notable period of change for African Americans in American society, the period indeed hits closer to home. The Dinsmore's took ownership of the property in 1842 and built their home and farm on the abundant amount of land and brought with them enslaved persons from their Mississippi and Louisiana properties. In this process they picked and chose which families of their enslaved peoples got to make their move together. It is not known the exact reasoning behind these choices but based on the records kept by James Dinsmore it can be reasonably deduced that it was based on strategizing to keep their existing properties profitable while hoping for the same in Kentucky. After the end of the Civil War, some of the African Americans formerly enslaved remained on the property as laborers and the Dinsmore family later took on tenants, like the Roseberry's who remained on the farm long after the Dinsmore family.

By taking a look at the historic and community gathering places, such as churches, in the surrounding area, an image of daily life begins to emerge. Due to the fact that there is still a record of several formerly enslaved persons and tenants on the Dinsmore farm including in the family's economic documents and letters (primarily written by James and Julia), we can deduce that, while African Americans were not placed on the same social level by the Dinsmore family post Civil War, the relationship was not always distraught. Although options for where formerly enslaved persons could live and work may not have been vast after the war, the Dinsmore family treated Black workers as if they were responsible for them. Julia, in particular, seemed to care about the livelihood of most African American tenants, which is seen by how she provided them work and lodging as well as offering financial support to formerly enslaved workers during Reconstruction. Furthermore, the Dinsmore family also shared their family cemetery lot with enslaved African Americans who passed away prior to the Civil War and free Blacks who worked on the farm. This is not to say that African Americans were treated as kin or friends by the Dinsmore's. The relationship, at least read in the journals and letters Julia kept, seemed to be more obligatory, transactional even. After James passed away, Julia needed help running the farm and brought on about three or four white workers. An African American by the name of George Roseberry was a tenant on a neighboring farm and went to the Dinsmore a few times a

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year to help seasonally. George's son Harry later became a tenant and maintained the property, even after Julia's death in 1926, until 1968, which is also the end-date for the Period of Significance.

Many of the African Americans mentioned in this document lived a good portion, if not all of their lives, on the Dinsmore property or had a relationship with family, whether good or bad. Even if the tangible elements cease to exist, their stories and legacies would remain connected by the presence of the farm. This is a remarkable testament to the value of the Dinsmore Homestead and the farming experience, especially when taking note that many descendants of not only the Dinsmore family, but also the African American families associated with the farm still take ownership and interest of the history that occurred here. The sense of place still holds value because decades later the property is still a gathering place as the Roseberry family practiced while they were still residents, not only for their immediate family, but for the community. The Dinsmore farm acts as a case study to help us to understand the true history of the African American experience in Boone County. This history is based on primary documents — such as journals from the owners and letters between the Dinsmore family and individuals that used to live and work on the farm in various capacities. This study is also backed by photographs, interviews of descendants, and other accepted documentation of the surrounding area. It is believed by local historians that Julia's open mindedness, which came about later in life (in regards to the formerly enslaved staff) mirrored the local understandings and mindset towards the treatment of African Americans in Boone County. It is the goal of this nomination to not only document the true history, but to also capture and convey the evolution of the African American experience and their day-to-day life at the Dinsmore Homestead. It is our hope that this NRHP serves as a precedent for African American research methods and framework for documenting narratives of farmsteads with similar histories in Boone County.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND EVALUATION OF INTEGRITY

Historical Significance of the Dinsmore Farm Within Historical and Physical Contexts

The Dinsmore Farm already possesses historical significance under Criteria A and C of the NRHP. While this present study does not intend to expand its listing, it seeks to introduce a new theme under Criterion A: Black (Ethnic) history. Originally listed in the NRHP in 1979 as the "Dinsmore House" (BE-13; NRIS 79000962), the property's original historical designation stated that it was historically significant under Criterion C for its architectural values: aesthetic characteristics and method of construction. When the NRHP listing for the "James Dinsmore House (Boundary Increase)" (NRIS 05001307) was updated in 2005, the property was updated to include another level of historic significance, Criterion A, with a focus upon the property's agricultural values. Evaluating the historic integrity of the Dinsmore Homestead (Farm) today requires us to go beyond the prescribed physical retention of materials, workmanship, and design related to the house's significant design as defined by Criterion C and the prescribed attributes of the farm as an agricultural space (under Criterion A) that

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helped translate the property's important status as a local farming operation.

The historic resources on the property have been carefully preserved to holistically reflect back to the past and help tell the full story of the property during its Period of Significance. Furthermore, most of the key characteristics, features, and elements that make up the Dinsmore Homestead a farm are still present — from the plan, spatial form, and relationship to other historic resources, to the massing, structure, style, and type of extant buildings. In an attempt to evaluate the physical aspects of the Dinsmore property to help us observe and understand the experiences of African Americans who worked on the farm, we look to both tangible and intangible elements to help tell the story of the Black experience. The tangible features are important to consider because they allow us to draw interpretations that the Dinsmore Homestead is historically significant under Criterion A of the NRHP as an African American landscape, in addition to an agricultural importance. Additionally, intangible heritage becomes especially necessary to explore when uncovering gaps in the historical narrative.

According to the National Park Services defines historic integrity as “the ability of a property to convey its significance.”¹²⁶ Today, the expression of historic character exuded by the Dinsmore property inherently captures the historic sense of the farmstead during its period of significance. As such, this integrity analysis attempts to take the insights gleaned from the documentary record about the African American experience county-wide and interpret the physical landscape of the Dinsmore as a single farmstead to determine which parts convey its historical significance relative to the African American experience.

Criterion A emphasizes historic associations over the design features at the heart of Criterion C. Within the perspective of Criterion A, the physical parts of the Dinsmore Farm which carry the associations with the African American experience are important to the historical narrative. Thus, the integrity evaluation of the farmstead will give greatest weight to the landscape parts that retain an integrity of location, setting, materials, and overall farm design. Boone County properties like the Dinsmore Homestead that have a strong connection to African Americans, and retain historical integrity of location, setting, materials, and design are excellent candidates for National Register listing (or updated listings) because they help tell the full story of the underrepresented Black population during a time when those groups considered lower-class American citizens because of socio-economic status.

Evaluation of Integrity

The Dinsmore Farm has integrity of **location**. Buildings and the cemetery on the Dinsmore Homestead property remain in the same positions they did during the period of significance, although some supporting buildings are no longer present. Both the Slave (or Cook's) Cabin and the Roseberry House are still extant and serve as excellent examples of intact buildings that housed African Americans. The presence of these buildings and their proximity to the main house speak to the fact that enslaved and

¹²⁶ National Park Service. *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. U.S. Department of the Interior.

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(later) free Blacks were not welcome to reside in the same building as the white landowning Dinsmore family. Furthermore, after the Civil War, the Slave Cabin became a Cook's Cabin — the same cabin Sussie Roseberry would (for the most part) make meals for the Dinsmore family. Even though the name and building use changed, being that Black women like Sussie were expected to make meals in the Cook's Cabin, as opposed to the main house, is yet another example of how African Americans were expected to function in separate spaces than white people. The landscape of the property remains in evidence as a historic farm, which enables the farm to retain integrity of **setting**. Buildings were added and removed over time during the occupancy of the property by the Dinsmore family. Those which remain were well maintained by those who spent their lives there, which enabled them to help preserve the memory of their users. The farm has the same topography and natural surroundings as it did historically, giving a visitor today the same view that one of its historic users had during the Period of Significance.

Today, the **materials** and **design** of the property maintain an expression of the farm's historic character during its Period of Significance. The historic resources on the property have been carefully preserved to reflect the past that the farm's African Americans engaged in. In respect to the properties that African Americans frequented, the Roseberry House and Slave Cabin are in excellent condition. The chicken coop and run, which was said to have been built by Harry Roseberry using materials salvaged from the former basket shop (previously located on the property until it was demolished during the 1900s) is in good condition as well as the carriage house, wine house, and garage—all buildings that Harry was tasked of maintaining before and after Julia's death in the 1920s. These tangible resources help tell the full story of the property – from its history of enslavement to its participation in the local agricultural economy through the exertions of African Americans. Many of the elements that made up the Dinsmore Farm historically are still present — from the plan, spatial form, and relationship to other historic resources, to the massing, structure, and style of extant buildings. Furthermore, except for the dilapidated horse barn, the extant buildings on the property also retain a sense of workmanship in addition to retained integrity of materials and design.

The Dinsmore Homestead serves as a direct link between the historical events that took place on the farm during its period of significance because it represents the history of what farm life was like in Boone County for not just the white family who owned the property, but the enslaved people who were forced to work on the farm prior to the end of the Civil War. With this integrity of association, the maintained condition of the property adds to the ability to be able to get a clearer idea of how it was utilized by all who lived there and can give us a look into the past. The history of the Dinsmore Homestead is greatly apparent when physically at the site, which allows us to capture a sense of feeling that dates back to the Period of Significance, when both enslaved and free African Americans lived and worked the farm.

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The uses of the buildings, for the most part, have been well kept and still maintain either their original use, or act as a museum for those original uses. As a museum property, and because the other factors of location, setting, materials, and design remain, the property retains a high degree of integrity of the important associations with the African American experience in Boone County.

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